

This image shows a close-up, low-angle view of a red surface, likely a car bumper. The surface is heavily textured and shows significant signs of age and wear. The red paint is faded and discolored, appearing darker in some areas and lighter in others. There are several small white spots and patches of rust scattered across the surface. A thin, light-colored strip, possibly a piece of tape or a scratch, runs horizontally across the middle of the frame. The overall appearance is one of neglect and damage.

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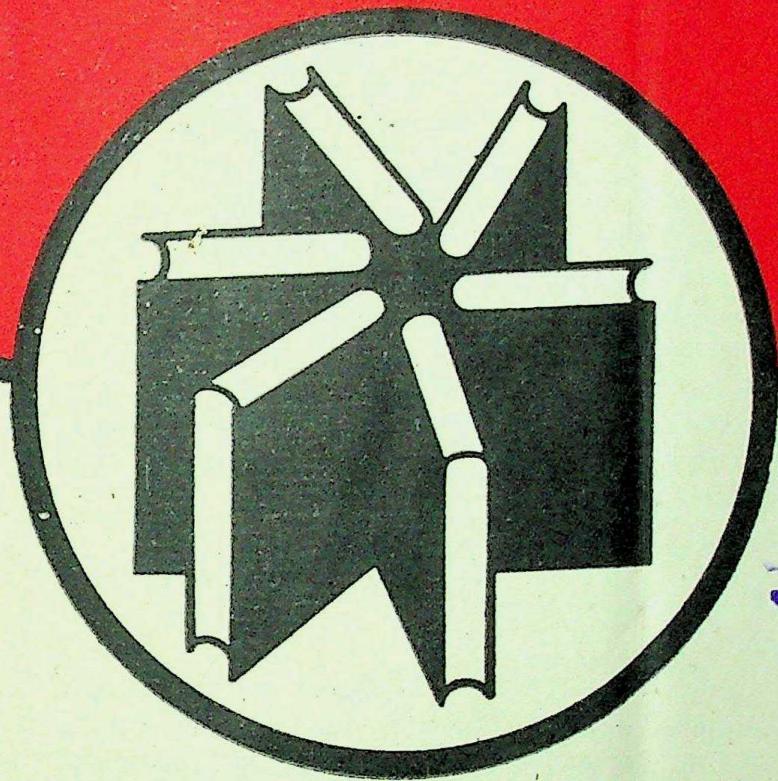
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Annual Number January 1983

indian book chronicle

NEWS AND REVIEWS



A VIVEK TRUST FORTNIGHTLY

नंदे से प्राप्त संख्या 116
प्राप्ति दिनांक 31-3-83

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Himanshu P Ray
M Gopalakrishnan
Sarojini Shintri

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Amitabha Bhattacharya

Aruna Sinha
B B Chatterjee
Bhabatosh Datta
Dalip S Swamy
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M K Naik
Meenakshi Mukherjee
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New Publications

THE VILLAGE BY THE SEA : An Indian Family Story

by Anita Desai

This is Anita Desai's first novel for children. Now available in a reprint for the Indian market.
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—The Guardian, London

"...it is a remarkably truthful picture of Indian rural life that emerges from Anita Desai's THE VILLAGE BY THE SEA...City and village travel and social change, topography and monsoon: in Indian literature, none have ever had such fine observation or rich description lavished on them."

—The Times Educational Supplement

1983

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Now available in a special reprint for the Indian market.

1983

Rs. 40.00 (Original price : £ 7.50)

R.K. NARAYAN : A Critical Appreciation

by William Walsh

The much praised Indian novelist R.K. Narayan has to date written eleven novels, several collections of short stories, three volumes of retold legends and an autobiographical book. It is this canon of work which William Walsh weighs and evaluates. Narayan's place in literature and the influence and events which have shaped his life are discussed alongside his development as a writer.

Professor Walsh is an accomplished and widely-known critic of Commonwealth Literature and his sensitive and perceptive appreciation of Narayan's *oeuvre* is discerning, persuasive and extremely readable. It reveals new ways of reading Narayan and will certainly lead others to the work of this delightful and important novelist.

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Indian Book Chronicle



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News & Reviews

Vol. VIII. Nos. 1 & 2 Jan. 1 & 16, 1983

BOOKS REVIEWED

Ram Rahul
Struggle for Central Asia

A.H.H. Abidi
China, Iran & the Persian Gulf

Ramesh Srivastava
Hemingway and His For Whom
the Bell Tolls

T.M.P. Mahadevan & G.V. Saroja
Contemporary Indian
Philosophy

K.D. Sethna
Karpasa in Prehistoric India

SUPPLEMENT

My Favourite Reading

Publishing and the Libraries

Price : Rs. 5.00

Indian Book Chronicle
2/26, Sarva Priya Vihar
NEW DELHI-110016
Telephone : 654461

EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH

On U.S.S.R. China & Iran

Why do academics produce books which add nothing to existing literature on the subject? Ram Rahul is described on the blurb as "the foremost expert on Central Asia". His book* would shame even a junior lecturer. The 56 pages of the text tell us little that is not commonly known and omit a good deal that could and should have been added even in an essay. Rahul tells the readers that the book "deals with the relative positions of the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in Central Asia, including Afghanistan and Mongolia, from the time of the alliance signed by them in Moscow on 14 February 1950 to the present".

1 The appendix contains, he adds, "all the political treaties concerning Central Asia since the 1920s". That is the only useful part of the book.

2 The text is a sketchy and inadequate resume of events laced with comment which is couched in the jargon of propaganda. He mentions, for instance, the Kosygin—Chou En-Lai meeting at Beijing airport on September 11, 1969, in the wake of the armed clashes on the USSR in March 1969. On October 20, 1969 talks on the border issue were resumed. Then follows this comment—"All the same the Chinese talk of an impending war with the USSR continued; so much so that the Chinese propaganda fanned a real war psychosis".

WAR PSYCHOSIS

Now, the Professor is well aware of the fact that Chou negotiated "to ensure against a Soviet attack on China". Every one knows that the USSR had even stooped to offer the U.S. a joint attack on China which Nixon rejected. Was it Chinese "propaganda" or Soviet conduct which "fanned a real war psychosis"?

3 The chapter on Sino-Soviet relations ends with this prediction which is truly amazing in a book published in early 1982, "The Sino-U.S. approachment seems to add a new dimension to this struggle. As in the past, it might indefinitely, if not snuff out altogether, the chances of the composing of the differences and return of the climate of relations, between the PRC and the USSR to what obtained in the 1950s". Note also the Professor's version. of cause and effect in Sino-Soviet relations.

4 Sample another. After reciting Soviet and Afghan proposals for negotiations the author adds this priceless comment, "Despite the above, the stalemate continues". One must be naive or worse to imagine that the Brezhnev and Karmal proposals gave any assurance of a settlement fair to the people of Afghanistan.

Finally the concluding chapter begins with this gem—"China and the Soviet Union are seeking to dismember each other". To repeat, this book was published early in 1982. The statement is too absurd for words. Rs. 60/- is too high a price to pay for the appendix.

*Ram Rahul, Struggle for Central Asia, pp. 102, *Vikas*, 1982, Rs. 60.00.

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LUCID & COMPREHENSIVE

A.H.H. Abidi's book lives up to the high standards set by his earlier work on Jordan. It is a study of the course of China's policy towards Iran and the Gulf countries. The documentation is thorough and the narrative comprehensive and lucidly written.

The historical overview brings out the antiquity of Sino-Iranian links. But it was fairly late in the day when the Shah of Iran and Mao Tse-tung discovered the advantages of cordial relationship. Iran recognised the People's Republic of China as "the sole legal government of China" only in August 1971, two decades after India and Pakistan had accorded recognition. For seven years thereafter China and Iran hit it off pretty well. Chairman Hua Kuo-Feng declaimed on September 1, 1978 at the airport at the end of his visit to Iran "We are waiting for the China visit of your Majesties, the Shahanshah and the Shahbanon". The Shah replied "So, we hope". Six months later the Shah fled from Teheran. In exile he gratefully acknowledged Hua's visit "at a time when the Iranian crisis was reaching its peak". Towards the end of July 1979 Hua conveyed an apology for the visit to Ayatollah Khomeini through Pakistan's Foreign Minister Agha Shahi. The Ayatollah duly declared that he had "forgiven" Hua. As has been said "*Duniya Jhukti hai Jhukanewala Chahiye*"; proud as the Chinese are, they nonetheless ate the humble pie at the Ayatollah's hands.

The author's resume of China's ambivalent policy on the American hostages question provides a fascinating study in diplomacy so also China's policy on the Iran-Iraq war. Ideology took a back seat, no less, on Chinese policy towards the Arab States of the Gulf.

The book is a most useful contribution indeed.

†A.H.H. Abidi, *China, Iran, and The Persian Gulf*, pp. 325, Radiant Publishers, 1982, Rs. 150.00.

A.G. Noorani, the well known author, is a practising lawyer at the Bombay High Court.

For Whom the Bell Tolls

Ramesh Srivastava

Hemingway and His For Whom the Bell Tolls

pp. xiv + 160, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1982, Rs. 19.20

Reviewed by Sarojini Shintri

The book, a revised version of a dissertation on *Hemingway and His for Whom the Bell Tolls* submitted to the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A. in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree, is intended as an aid to Indian students of American Literature to get acquainted with the background of American history, geography and culture. As such, I should agree with the author in his claim that it satisfies the help-seeking students, though, at the same time I have serious reservations regarding his other claim that it strives to satisfy the 'pedantic

professors' who, I think, have to delve deep to satisfy their scholarly curiosity.

Ramesh Srivastava, I am afraid, has made a vain bid to call his book both scholarly and useful. He writes in the Preface: "Caught in the duality of academic ideals and the state of English studies in India, many professors would rather have a scholarly book to languish on the library shelves than welcome something which could be both scholarly and useful." Not much harm would be done, if they languish. Certainly great would be the loss were they to be not there!

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

Srivastava's book will not find a place, I am sorry to say it, in their row, but on the shelves meant for the students who need guidance, I shall certainly not rank it with, "the cheap, annotated editions of various English and American classics hurriedly prepared to make money," to use his own words but with model annotated books brought out with "a sincere scholarly and painstaking effort" keeping in mind academic ideals.

INFORMATIVE

The book includes informative material on Hemingway's life and his works, in addition to a discursive essay on 'tragedy', Hemingway's hero, and a detailed study of the Spanish Civil War which very much figures in the novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. His style has also been analysed at length by devoting an additional chapter on symbolism and irony.

It is true, as Harold Moore in his Foreword puts it, Ramesh Srivastava did not write this book to display 'his learning only', which would have little effect beyond itself, but to make Hemingway and his work "more accessible to readers in India". The author's intention in writing this book is very obvious. He wants to share with his countrymen, particularly the students, his own love and knowledge of American literature. His notes on the typical American turn of speech and slang are to be appreciated. One entirely agrees with Harold Moore when he says: "Keep it close beside you, listen to his voice, and you will in turn hear Hemingway's voice more clearly and more fully". The book will not languish on the shelf! Such books are the need of the day.

Sarojini Shintri is Reader in English at Karnatak University, Dharwar.

We wish our
readers a Happy

1983

Indian Philosophy

T.M.P. Mahadevan & G.V. Saroja
 Contemporary Indian Philosophy
 pp. 282, Sterling, 1982, Rs. 90.00

Reviewed by M. Gopalakrishnan

Man, they say, philosophises in times of dire need and acute distress just as he remembers simultaneously an omnipotent entity called 'God' (or his representatives on earth). But all those who philosophised did not become philosophers; nor were philosophers all those who became as such under stress.

Indian philosophy, a generic term, is in a sense misleading, since it really is not one but consists of several systems. Even when we sweep away the dust of Ages, the shine of 'Philosophy', that great men and women of the past several decades (going back into the 19th Century even) contemplated upon and popularised by their sayings, puts out so many colours that for layman it is puzzling.

This volume, edited by a distinguished philosophy Professor from the South and his well known associate Saroja, is intended as a University level text book prepared under a project of the UGC; Nothing can be more fitting.

It is in two parts—Part One, the introductory portion runs to sixty four pages and is Mahadevan's brilliant exposition while Part Two, the more detailed one, running to over two hundred pages, is an adequate exposition of the philosophies of eight distinguished sons of India whose lives span nearly six score years, across two turbulent centuries of India's existence. The earliest, Bal Gangadhar Tilak was born in 1856 and passed away in 1920 having had the distinction of being the Mahatma's political mentor. Dr. Sarvapalli the 'junior most' of them was born in 1888 and after leading a world-famous life, passed away in 1975, nearly twenty years after Ramana Maharshi did. It is impossible to conjecture what this country would have done without Tilak, Tagore, Vivekananda, Gandhi, Aurobindo, K.C. Bhattacharya,

Ramana Maharshi and Radhakrishnan. Each of their lives was bound up with one aspect of India's existence and nothing did they touch which they did not adorn.

All had one thing in common, albeit with their own individual differences of exposition viz., an unshakeable faith in "Advaita," called in English terminology by several names (but the authors rightly stick to the terms "Non-dual" and "not two"). Every one of them expounded this philosophical faith in his own characteristic way. Tilak, principally a Scholar-Teacher was called upon by the circumstances of his time to don the mantle of a political leader in India and was greatly influenced by the "Bhagwad Gita" (the "Song Divine" that Arnold made famous for the English-speaking people). The authors seem to find a self-contradiction in Tilak's theory of right action and his criterion of right action. Both the authors find in Tilak's assertion that a "Jnani should perform his duties even after realising the identity of Brahman" (Mahadevan's words). Should the enlightened one who has realised that only Brahman is real and all else is unreal and that the "body" is the effect of "Prarabda-karma", that is, his earlier acts in earlier lives, necessarily cease to engage himself in the worldly (and bodily) acts? The fire of this knowledge makes him a 'Jivan Muktha,' one

who while living has been liberated from life's bondage. The senior author argues against such a course of continued engagement of the 'Liberated one' from all worldly activities and quotes "Adi Sankara". "If the man who has awakened to the non-dual Reality believes as he likes, what then is the difference between a dog and a man of knowledge in the matter of eating prohibited food?" This is one of the great debates of philosophers of Advaita. In my humble view, the Gita settles the point when it says that man should leave all consideration of fruits of action to the Lord (Brahman) and engage himself to perform his duties with optimal efficiency (which is true Yoga).

The treatment of each of these eight distinguished persons' philosophy is done in a brief but masterly fashion by the Senior author and expounded in more detailed and consistent fashion in the second half of the book by the second author.

When a reader goes through this volume he must be electrified, as I was, all the great sayings of these eight Sons of India who, probably more than any others who followed in the footsteps of Adi-sankara, did the greatest service to humanity.

The book is well-bound and priced at Rs. 90/-, perhaps beyond the reach of the average student in a college.

M. Gopalakrishnan, a member of the Indian Administrative Service, is Secretary, Department of Health, Andhra Pradesh.

Readers who are unable to obtain books reviewed in these

columns through formal trade channels may write to us

directly. We shall assist them in every way we can.

January 1983

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

Historical Conjectures

K.D. Sethna

Karpasa in Prehistoric India

pp. 203, Biblia Impex, Delhi, 1981, Rs. 70.00

Reviewed by Himanshu P. Ray

The title of the book is rather misleading as one would expect an analysis of cotton cultivation in ancient India, and perhaps its significance in the economy. Instead the author attempts an evaluation of the Aryan problem vis-a-vis the Harappa culture and uses the term *karpasa* to clinch the issue. As argued by him in the first two chapters *karpasa* is the only genuine Indian term for cotton and occurs for the first time in the Gautama Dharmasutra, the oldest text amongst the Sutra literature. Earlier texts such as the Rgveda, etc., do not mention cotton, though archaeological excavations have identified it in the context of the Harappan and later Chalcolithic cultures, notably at Chandoli and Nevasa.

The evidence from Mehrgarh in levels dated to the fifth millennium B.C. has to be discounted as poor preservation makes it difficult to determine whether the cotton seeds recovered came from a cultivated form of the plant. On the basis of this evidence the author postulates that the Vedas are earlier than the Harappan culture because there is no mention of cotton in them, and should be dated to 3500-3000 B.C. By this reckoning the Sutra literature is said to be contemporary with the mature phase of the Harappan culture on account of the appearance of cotton in both.

Of the other textiles the Rgveda mentions wool, but there has been no corroborating evidence from Harappan sites. Sethna is of the view that the skeletal remains of goats found at several of these sites appear to belong to the same species as those of present day Kashmir from whose wool the Kashmir shawls are made. This shows a continuity in the use of wool from the Vedic to the Harappan period.

'Kapazum' which appears in Mesopotamian trade-lists is said to be closely linked to *Karpasa*, an Austric word but an inalienable part of Sanskrit in post-Rgvedic literature. This similarity is taken to indicate the import of cotton into Ur. Another example cited is that of *arazum* which occurs as a term for rice in the Ur texts. A later manifestation of the word is the Greek *oryza* hitherto traced by scholars to the Tamil form *arici*. Sethna argues that *arici* may itself be a deviate form of the Sanskrit *vrihi* as rice cultivation is known from the Harappan sites of Lothal, Rangpur and Mohenjodaro. In the appendix an argument has been presented against Kramer's equation of Dilmun mentioned in Mesopotamian texts with the Harappan civilisation.

The book provides useful references from both Sanskrit texts and archaeological reports. However, a comparison between two cultures can only be made after they have been studied in their totality. Hence the author is not justified in isolating one strand from the culture-complex and building a chronological sequence based on the evidence of cotton alone. Unfortunately, the Aryan problem in Indian history has been coloured by emotional and nationalist overtones, but in the interest of historical research a clinical approach should be adopted.

Himanshu P. Ray teaches at the Centre for Historical Studies at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Our reviewers, knowledgeable and perceptive as they are, need

not be allowed to have the last word. It is for you to argue

with them. Our columns are as much open to you as to them.

Supplement

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MY FAVOURITE READING

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Once a year, in preparation for the Annual Number, we ask a large number of our readers and reviewers to write about the book that they have liked best in the course of the year. Whether they choose a contemporary book or an established classic is entirely up to them. The next few pages give what they had to say.

—Editor

Gone Are The Days

AMITABHA BHATTACHARYA

The days of innocence have long been over. So also the days of innocent writings. To capture an era, true historians attempt to be as objective as possible while some others try to sentimentalise events. And even the pure fiction writers at times desire to assume the role of historians. A common reader has thus often to choose either dry history or the variety which is neither fiction nor history. One, therefore, cannot resist the temptation to lay hands on a book written by two distinguished women, Harriet Ronken Iynton and Mohini Rajan, who have no axe to grind, no point to hammer and no philosophy to propagate. And this book, though based essentially on hearsay and which draws occasionally from other authentic sources of information, glows with the innocent radiance of love that these two authoresses bring to bear upon the work.

The Days of the Beloved by Harriet (University of California Press, Berkeley, pp 279, \$ 12.50) undertakes to recapture the spirit of the good old days in Hyderabad when Mahbub Ali Pasha was the Nizam. Having gone through the book, one would be inclined to think as if the days were really golden and that despite sufferings the people at large in Mahbub's Hyderabad were a satisfied lot. Satisfied with the life they led, satisfied with the

as any historian can prove without effort, a one-sided version of the whole story. But how does that matter? A reader like me would derive great pleasure and perhaps even some kind of vicarious delight from the sunny days of Mahbub Ali Pasha. And what one cannot possibly doubt is that in comparison to the days that followed of the last Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan, and the days of uncertainty that preceded Mahbub's regime, the period covered under this book was indeed more glorious.

Mahbub means beloved and, true to his name, he was possibly the most loved and respected among the seven Nizams who ruled this part of the country from the time Nizam-ul-Mulk founded the Asaf Jahi dynasty, way back in 1724. He had a short life of forty five years and he had been the Nizam for forty two years. And what a full life he led!

RING OF AUTHENTICITY

This book portrays the society in Hyderabad around the turn of this century when it was still characterized by an Arabian Nights atmosphere. The society though primarily feudal was indeed highly cultivated and came to be admired all over for graceful manners, mutual tolerance and respect and, above all, communal harmony of its people. Such a period should

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INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

normally be interesting. But the book derives its immense readability not only because of the candour and vividness with which the period and the people have been described but more because of its ring of authenticity. For, the narrative is based mostly on interviews with persons, maybe in their eighties or nineties, who still remember the bygone days. This is thus a tale told by people who lived that era. The stories, the legends and the anecdotes thus come to vibrant life.

After the flood of river Musi which devasted the city of Hyderabad in 1908, Mahbub became so concerned that, according to eye witnesses, "At the sight of the sufferings of his beloved people, he wept tears of blood. His sorrow, his sympathy, his eagerness to assist wherever he could were such as cannot be described in words." And Mahbub's catholicity would be clear from the incident that advised by the Brahmins, a golden tray was prepared for offering, to tame the fury of the river-goddess, which included a saree, pearls, yellow rice, condiments, the red kumkum powder used in worship, two coconuts encased in gold and silver, and a small oil lamp.

"And Mahbub Ali Pasha mounted his horse and rode once again into the city in the pouring rain, heedless of the rivulets which streamed from his sideburns or were detained by his long hair until his collar soaked them up. Donning the sacred thread and joining his palms in a namaste salute of reverence to the river, he stepped carefully into the swirling waters as far as the slippery footing would allow and performed arati, moving the tray in a circular pattern as before the image during the puja. Then he gently placed the tray upon the seething waters and immediately, so runs the story, the flood began to subside."

AS PATRON OF ART

Although at some point of time Nizam was considered to be the richest man in the world and indeed Mahbub Ali Pasha lived a life in the style which was considered suited to an "Oriental Potentate",

it is true that compared to many other great rulers of Indian history, Nizams were no great builders. While there are some magnificent palaces, one wonders if it was all that could be expected from a dynasty which was synonymous with oriental splendour in the eyes of the West. Besides, despite being such a seat of Muslim culture this dynasty is not particularly known to have inspired great works of art or architecture, music or poetry or philosophy, if viewed from a larger angle. But where Hyderabad remained unsurpassed was perhaps in her traditions of food. The fact that the flag of Hyderabad state had the inscription of a Kulcha set in a yellow background (there are umpteen versions of this legend) is a pointer to that. Here is the sample of a dinner menu in the palace of a distinguished noble, Fakhr-ul-Mulk.

MENU

Dinner, Wednesday, 27th Oct. 1910
Horsd' Oeuvres Royans a la
Bordelaise

SOUP

White Asparagus; Turtle Soup

FISH

Fillets of Fish fried, Prawn Sauce

SIDE DISHES

Chicken Cream cold with Cucumber
Wild Duck with green Peas
Mushrooms

ROAST

Roast Turkey
Roast Saddle of Venison
Wine Sauce

SECOND COURSE

Cheese Biscuits with Caviar Pilau
and Curries

PUDDING

Cabinet Pudding, Sauce Madeira
Badam Kheer

ICE

Strawberry Ice with Strawberries
in Syrup
Coffee and Liqueurs

When Mahbub was just three years old, the British Resident and the Dewan, Sir Salar Jung, together led the baby to the Musnud and, no doubt, much of the initial success and prosperity of Mahbub's regime is owing to the wise counsel and guidance of Sir Salar Jung. All care was taken to teach the child lessons in manners and etiquettes. A story goes that when Mahbub was ten years old, during the course of a lunch he seized a marrowbone and ignoring the spoon that came with it, pounded the bone with his palm to dislodge the marrow.

Visibly upset, Salar Jung, with his arms tightly folded in respect, quietly dispatched an attendant to his home for the five gold coins (ashrafis) which were his standard offering of respect and fealty—the nazar. After the lunch was over, Salar Jung placed the ashrafis on a handkerchief and presented them to His Highness. To the query of the young Nizam what this nazar was for, he replied, "No, Your Highness, this is not nazar; this is a penalty. I, who am your slave, failed to teach you the use of the marrow spoon and so it is my fault that you do not know how to use it. So this is a fine I am paying for my failure."

SHOCKING

In loving the good things of life, mahbub was no exception and according to a prudish Resident, His Highness was supporting a "shocking" ten thousand women! A tongue-in-cheek statement? Maybe. But generally speaking, Nizam used to get any woman he was interested in. His fancy was once caught by a poor girl, and accordingly, her mother was summoned and when he enquired whether her daughter could be given to him, the mother replied with dignity "Your Highness, my daughter and even I are ready to be sacrificed for you".

The book is full of such lively anecdotes not only about Mahbub Ali Pasha but about the major nobles, the Paigah nobility, his great Dewans like Sir Vicar ul Umra and Maharajah Kishen Pershad, and also about the life of the

middle class people, the poorer folks and even the so called "worldly ones, the Hijras! A good cross-section indeed.

The epilogue is in the form of contrasting the Hyderabad of today with that of yesteryears. It has a tone of nostalgia and perhaps a little sadness about how inevitable changes, brought in by industrialisation in a free democratic set up, have affected the values and life-styles of the people in Hyderabad.

There is no denying the fact that many of the Nizams were just tools or mere puppets in the hands of the British Government. Some of them were perhaps more known for their amorous activities than for their acts of courage and valour. Yet by and large they conducted themselves with grace and dignity

befitting a ruler. And quite justifiably they were great egotists. Here is an example: In Urdu language, which the British had to learn, the expression for requesting a royal audience, for instance, was, "—craves to see His Highness's feet." This phrase was once used as an instrument of revenge when Afzul ud Dowla, Mahbub's father, was angry with a pushy Resident. The Englishman arrived at the durbar hall, only to be greeted by the Nizam's feet stuck out from under a silken curtain. When they were withdrawn a few moments later, the audience was over!

Amitabha Bhattacharya, a member of the I.A.S., is currently Director of Technical Education in the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Recalling the Raj

ARUNA SINHA

"What is India? What does the name India really signify?" To these questions, most of the Victorian Englishmen had one answer: 'There is no such country' and so 'The fundamental fact then is that... there was no India and therefore, properly speaking, no foreigner.' These were some of the fond misconceptions which fostered '*The Illusion of Permanence—British Imperialism in India*' by Francis G. Hutchins, (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1967. £ 6.5)—an essential component in the consciousness of British nation and for the Englishmen in India it was everything. Rationalisations and theories might emanate from England, but it was in India that they took on a vivid reality. This is the outline of the long history of British rule in India.

I have preferred to put this book in the category of 'my favourite book', for the simple reason that it offers a fascinating study of British imperialism and its associated problems—particularly drawing atten-

tion to those facts which are generally not thought about. The book stands out for its profundity of thought, a meticulous use of variegated source material, clarity of perceptions, assumptions and interpretations.

Even the most experienced students of History would enjoy browsing through the text which unlike other studies—is based on contemporary accounts of travellers, diarists, civil servants, soldiers, retired officials. Various passages quoted from *Jane Eyre*, *Oakfield* and the like, lucidly depict the intellectual climate of British imperialism in India in the 19th century and explains much about the hardening attitudes of later years. The author has combined in his study the techniques of intellectual history and social psychology and has thereby afforded new perspectives on the issues and opened up new areas for enquiry.

PERMANENT SUBJECTION OF INDIA

Thematically, the book revolves

on a few questions like, 'Why and in what sense did the British anticipate that their Indian empire would endure indefinitely? Why did they desire to retain control of India, and how they justify this control? Basing his discussion on the very basic fact that Indian and English history are not two distinct topics, Hutchins concedes that since the earliest days of British contacts with India, the inter-relationship between domestic developments in Britain and India has been strong and significant, making thus necessary some understanding of both for an understanding of either.

In his chapters, he traces the origin and development of the idea of 'permanent subjection of India' and stressing the significance of specific events and ideas for later period. His division of chapters is topical and he likes to treat the different components of the ideology of permanence separately and corresponding to what he thinks is roughly their order of emergence.

A few of his conclusions are quite interesting. To give a capsule of the whole text is not possible here, I would however like to give a few examples. In his second chapter on 'India's attraction for Victorian Englishmen', for instance—the author quotes from W.D. Arnold's *Oakfield* (with a reference to Oakfield's programme of Indian reform): 'He shrinks from the idea of England's abandoning India, but only because it would be an act of moral irresponsibility, not because anything is to be gained or given by perpetuating the connection. India is Britain's painful cross-the hellish price she has to pay...Oakfield's death is almost Christ-like;...' At another place *Oakfield* remarks: "You know I never liked India, but one always takes a sort of stoical pleasure in doing a very unpleasant duty..."

How 'the cult of good conduct' which inspired Victorian Englishmen conduced to the idea of 'India's permanent subjection' is beautifully discussed. Curiously, "Christianity had become for Oakfield what distinguished Englishmen from Indians, not what would bring them together...Indians had become characters in a Christian morality play, the villains in a religious drama in

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which Englishmen played the central role'. Similarly, the author's interpretation that "It is one of the many ironies of the British connection with India that those who first argued for the justness of England's retention of an Indian Empire were opposed to its acquisition...The conviction that these conquests could also serve higher purposes found its origin in the writings of reformers Benthamite and Evangelical, men... who considered England's march toward supremacy in India the product of acts of criminal aggression', makes chapter one very interesting.

ARISTOCRATIC SECURITY

In his last chapters, while discussing British responses to the nationalist challenge in India, Hutchins observes that whereas before

the mutiny, reformers looked to India for the realisation of radical hopes frustrated at home, in later years it was the autocrat who sought here, a field to fulfill ambitions stymied in England. "India seemed to offer the prospect of aristocratic security at a time when England itself was falling prey to democratic vulgarity". Further—the fact that British classes made it possible for themselves to remain remote from Indians in the midst of India; the analogy between 'natives' of India and lower classes of England and Ireland (a favourite theme for British upper classes) explains incidentally much of the sympathy that grew up between the Indian national movement, Irish movement and labour movement in England. These issues open up new points of enquiry for the researcher in Indian history. Curiously, such social distinctions

maintained by the British Indian society, fostered by way of reaction—an awareness of specific Indian identity—proved crucial in the birth of Indian nationalism. Quite obviously, the limitation of time and space does not allow for any detailed analysis of this eminently readable work here. One would however agree with Hutchins that 'National identity, national pride, national exclusiveness, could fire England to great exploits, but was not a basis on which a permanent multinational empire could be built up. Theories might be devised denying Indian nationality as a logical impossibility, but theories could not dispose of Indian nationalism once it did in fact exist'.

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A New Area of Study

B.B. CHATTERJEE

Whenever, wherever, in whichever area, human behaviour is involved, psychology as a scientific discipline has tried to gain an entry and has usually made its impact felt, with varying degrees of success. Not that it is a one-way process : psychology has been constantly borrowing, and borrowing heavily, from a number of other disciplines. Whatever methodological and technological sophistication psychology has acquired over the last 6-7 decades, or rather, a century, can be directly traced to the heavy borrowings from all well-developed sciences—physical, biological, as well as social.

Interfacial contact and then deeper inter-penetration between psychology on one hand, and military affairs on the other, using the term in their widest connotation, have been going on for some time. This arose from a mutually felt, symbiotic need, shared by both the disciplines. Certain things were expected from psychology by those who are concerned with the conduct of military action, and military affairs, and the present book by Raj Narain, *Military Psychology* (National Psychological Corporation, Agra, 1979, VII+252 pp, Rs. 50.00) amply and convincingly demonstrates that psychology as a discipline has not fallen short of the many expectations made from it.

The present book, written by Raj Narain, is going to be a pioneering contribution, having almost the qualities of a classic. This is certainly one of the few books on this topic available anywhere in the world, and certainly the only one of its kind, so far as India or the subcontinent is concerned. Raj Narain has done a superb job of assembling a very substantial quantity of material scattered at different places, bearing upon the interfacial contact between military operations as a science, and human behaviour. Military operations act

at a level that involves a drastic change of scale. A war or a battle, dimensionally as well as in its impact, is altogether a very different type of entity, compared to the immediate concerns of psychology, even when we are dealing with such branches as social psychology, or community psychology. The book is important, because here a conscious attempt has been made by the author to go beyond assembling, the information and facts, into shaping them into some sort of integrated corpus of knowledge, having the characteristics of a new discipline.

The chapter headings themselves will provide some idea of the enormous canvas attempted to be covered by Raj Narain : (1) Introduction; (2) Systems Approach; (3) Equipment Designs; (4) Senses as Instruments; (5) Selection and Classification; (6) Training; (7) Motivation and Morale; (8) Psychology of Nations; (9) Psychological Welfare; (10) Stress and Illness; (11) War and Peace.

POTENTIAL AUDIENCE

I have got a feeling that while writing this book, the completion of which took the author quite a long time, Raj Narain had to face some mild conflict with regard to the exact contours of the reading clientele, to whom the book should be addressed. Clearly, it was meant to be a text book for the college students, and also specialists in defense services. To hold the interest of both these two different types of clientele is not an easy task—which problem however, the author has solved rather deftly. But, there was a third type of reader-clientele also—the curious lay reader, with neither specialist knowledge of psychology, nor of defense and military practice or theory. And one signal achievement of the author is that he has been able to evolve a style which

will hold the interest of this third type of readers also, who will read it, gain valuable information from it, and at the same time, enjoy the reading of it. This, I hold, is no mean achievement for an author who, ostensibly set out to write a technical book.

In spite of its technical content, the book has a lot of general interest for the lay but serious reader. Raj Narain has not deliberately made things easy and simple, but he has adopted a lucid easy style, which make fairly technical things appear to be simple. Since this book is a pioneer in its line, it will stand as a model to future authors.

EVOLUTION OF MILITARY PSYCHOLOGY

Now, to some highlights of this treatise. The first chapter deals with the history of the evolution of modern military psychology. We wish, Raj Narain had allowed us to have a brief glimpse of the ancient schools of Warfare as developed by the two ancient civilizations viz, the Hindus and the Chinese, and what was the quantum of psychology in the state of the art at that time. Put differently, what was the role of psychology in the *rana-niti* of the Hindus? Did not the Chinese invent "Go"—the forerunner of many modern wargames, and strategic games? I raise this question, because Raj Narain is specially equipped to handle such topics.

The third and fourth chapters on Equipment Designs and Senses as Instruments are full of information, and the next four chapters on Training, Selection and Classification, Training and Motivation and Morale are equally good.

Review of a book, like literary criticism, or art criticism, can never be entirely objective. However, fair, impartial and balanced the critic may try to be, to be entirely objective may not only be impossible of achievement, but at times contra-indicated. If the reviewer cannot transmit his subjective enjoyment of reading a particular chapter to the readers of the review, then he has failed at one level, atleast. The same also applies to any sense of disappointment that the reviewer has experie-

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ned; he should not flinch from communicating that to his readers.

OMISSIONS

Lest the reader of this review goes away with the idea, that the book has no flaws, the other side of the coin has also to be held up before the readers. The book is by no means faultless. The chapter on Psychological Welfare is not in the same class as the previous chapters. Why the author has left out such topics as spying, espionage, counter-espionage, insurgency, counter-insurgency, and sabotage, is rather puzzling to me. Do they not belong to (para) military operations or do they eschew psychology?

The last chapter, on War and Peace, in my view, is the weakest chapter in this treatise. The portion on Peace, to put it mildly, is perfunctory. To write about Richardson processes (on arms build-up) but to ignore, Anatol Rapoport, who

veritably "rescued" Richardson from obscurity; not to mention Kenneth Boulding (his "Conflict and Defences" is a classic; almost compulsory reading material for all behavioural students), or Johan Galtung, whose global perspective on peace as an alternative to war; and to forget to mention Andrei Sakharov the father of the hydrogen bomb converted into a lone crusader for a saner world order, introduces an imbalance in the chapter which one does not expect from an author of erudition, which Raj Narain undoubtedly is. But perhaps this high tone of disappointment represents the bias of the present reviewer.

All said and done, Raj Narain deserves congratulation for writing a book which will continue to be a lone model of its kind, atleast for the next decade in this country,

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found it difficult to agree with his economic prescriptions, but books like *Ambassador's Journal* are in a category in which clear observation, deep perception and scintillating wit hold the reader's interest from start to finis. It is in this category that I would place his new memoirs, *A Life in Our Times* (Boston, 1981), one of the books I enjoyed reading most in recent months.

TEACHERS & COLLEAGUES

As an economist, I found it very interesting to read his account of the days of his early education, his first teaching experiences and his impressions of Harvard and Cambridge. An important fact that stands out is that there was little difference in the course contents and methods of teaching in the American and Indian universities in the twenties and early thirties. The economics of Alfred Marshall "was taught with great diligence and precision" at Berkeley and the Indian counterpart can easily identify himself with the American student. The surprising point is that neither the teachers nor the students saw the contradiction between the world of Marshall and the real world for which economic policies had to be framed. The American student read in Marshall that competition was the rule and monopoly an exception, while he was seeing around him the growth of combinations and the failure of the anti-trust laws. In India, the same Jehangir Coyajee went through a fervent exegesis of Marshall in his economic theory classes and defended the policy of tariff protection in his lectures on Indian problems.

There are many other things in Galbraith that the Indian teacher of economics will recognise. For example, he must have seen some one like Harold Burbank, who was chairman of the Harvard department of economics. "It had been some years since Burbank had read a book", but he had an opinion to offer on every book mentioned to him, including non-existent books by imaginary authors. His research consisted of description of the finances of town governments, one after another. In contrast, there were men like Taussig, "the acknowledged centre of the economics

Professor At Large

Bhabatosh Datta

Sometime in 1947 or 1948, I came across a paper entitled "The Disequilibrium System" in the *American Economic Review*, written by one John K. Galbraith. The name was unfamiliar, but the contents of the essay attracted all who were in those days working on the problems of economic growth. Galbraith wrote mainly about the American war-time controls, but the analysis centred on the result over time of the deliberate creation of an imbalance in the components of the national output. The name, disequilibrium system, stuck, as did his later contribution, the concept of 'countervailing power'. He won reputation, however, as a best-selling writer on intriguing economic problems—with his famous books like *The Affluent Society*, *The Great Crash of 1929*, *The New Industrial*

State and many others. His positive contributions to economics were limited, but his lucid and persuasive exposition carried economics to a wide unorganised open university.

Berkeley, Harvard and Cambridge (U.K.) shaped him and he soon moved from his novitiate in agricultural economics to the wider field opened up by Keynes. During the War, he was in charge of the American price-control organisation and later he alternated between teaching and holding political and diplomatic assignments. And once he was free of his bureaucratic responsibilities, he did a prodigious amount of writing, on economics and on his experiences in China and in India. Indians in particular read his *Ambassador's Journal* (1969) with avid interest. I have often

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"constellation" and Schumpeter, who "articulated the case for capitalism", but did not think that capitalism would survive.

Then, at the other Cambridge, Galbraith became "one of the acknowledged oracles" of Keynesian economics. This and his later debate with Hansen on war-time inflation prepared him for the "price czar novitiate", an experience which brought him in close touch with the real world of shortages, manipulations and controls. There was a spell in Germany and another as a journalist, before he returned to Harvard in 1948 and started writing his famous books. There are a number of chapters on his return to academic life and his entry into the whirlwind politics of Presidential election. I may pass over all this and come straight to the account of his Indian experience as ambassador.

The experience has already been described in detail in his earlier book, but the new volume adds sharp observations and delightful snippets of wit. Every one may not agree with the statement that Nehru "did not like economics" and that "he had been taught that given a sufficient depth of socialist faith, economic success would result". But no one can fail to admire his description of the dilatory management of public sector enterprises in India as "post office socialism". His account of the India-China war will be read critically by all students of recent history, but the star piece is President Radhakrishnan's remark when there was a rumour that General Kaul had been captured by the Chinese, "It is, unfortunately, untrue".

RICH IN ANECDOTES

The book is rich in anecdotes of this sort—about Nicholas Kaldor, who was going to China from Calcutta, planning to return to India sometime later, but who returned within two hours because he had forgotten the passports; about the prospect of getting Milton Friedman as India's planning adviser, which would have been "like asking the Holy Father to counsel on the operation of a birth control clinic"; about Mrs Galbraith's speech in Hindi which had to be translated

into English only for T.T. Krishnamachari; or about Nehru's expression of relief when he was told that in addition to the "undue number of Oxford men" in positions of power in the United States, there were some Cambridge men also.

It should be emphasised that the book deals with serious matters—of value to academicians, economic policy-makers, diplomats and historians. There are many other books of the same *genre*, but there are very few which combine history and information with a delightful style of writing, a style which makes it difficult for the reader to put the book down before he has gone through all the 537 pages. Galbraith's experience as a staff member in the

Fortune-Life-Time group must have helped in developing the style of writing, but it has to be noted that he was conscious all along that "the difference between what was believed and what was written, re-written and published was the great psychological hurdle at the Time Inc. publications". There were no such hurdles when he wrote on the Wall Street crash of 1929 and there has not been any hurdle in the writing of his other books, including the latest. It does not matter whether one agrees with the author or not, when the enjoyment from reading his book is unstinted.

Bhabatosh Datta is one of the leading economists of the country.

What About Land Reforms ?

DALIP S. SWAMY

The question of land reform is important for Indian Politics, Sociology and Economics. Any redistribution of land is expected to alter the existing power structure in rural India where 80 per cent of India's population lives. To the rural poor and the landless, it means redistribution of riches and to the rural rich it means redistribution of poverty. Therefore, the rich landowners, who possess economic and political power in rural areas will not like any redistribution of land which adversely affects their existing position.

During the 1950s, however, Gandhians, socialists and liberal economists, vociferously espoused the cause of landless labourers and advocated land reforms, despite the stiff opposition of the rural rich, to serve certain objectives which appeared important to them. The Gandhians wanted to harmonise the class conflict in rural areas, the socialists wished to honour the promises they made to the poor peasants during the national struggle and liberal economists, obsessed

with the process of rapid growth based on heavy industrialisation, were interested in removing feudal obstacles to agricultural production.

AVOIDING LAND REFORMS

At that time the national bourgeoisie, who received the political power from the British, realized its weakness with respect to dominating the peasantry as well as initiating a vigorous process of industrialization. In the interest of marking time they allowed (and supported) the Gandhians to get absorbed in Bhoojan movement, the socialists to indulge in popular rhetoric and the liberal economists to write position papers on land reforms as well as industrialisation for the Planning Commission. In their wisdom the national bourgeoisie thought that it was necessary only to eliminate Zamindars, Jagirdars and similar intermediaries in rural areas to buy time, domestically and to compromise with the United States and the Soviet Union, internationally. By the time the peasants become

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restive, despite pacifying attempts of the Bhoodan workers, the bourgeoisie hoped to gain requisite economic strength to deal with the peasants or the landlords. Hence thorough land reforms were avoided in the 1950s, despite the Telangana rebellion, the Socialists' cries and the economists' arguments.

Thirty years of capital accumulation and compromises with the world imperialist forces and population growth with gradual changes in domestic socio-economic conditions have somewhat altered the agrarian relations. Having acquired some financial muscle Indian capital is now willing to fight the feudal remnants. The peasants have also shed a great many of illusions foisted on them by the Gandhians and the Socialists. The division and sub-division of rural families have reduced the acreage owned by the upper as well as the lower echelons or rural families with the result that even a faithful implementation of the ceilings on agricultural land would benefit now a much smaller fraction of the rural poor peasants than it would have done thirty years ago. A moderately rich peasant after one family division, has entered into the category of the middle farmers with no surplus land. And a middle farmer has fallen into the category of marginal and landless peasants. What should be the focus of land reforms under these altered conditions?

CHANGING SITUATION

In this respect an All India Seminar on Sociological Perspectives of Land Reforms, organised by the Department of Sociology, the University of Jodhpur in 1980 was a welcome step. In this Seminar, 56 Sociologists participated and made distinctive contribution. S.K. Lal has edited the 16 papers including the Inaugural Address by Shri S.C. Dube. (S. K. Lal, Editor. *Sociological Perspectives of Land Reforms*, Agricole Publishing Academy, New Delhi, 1982, Rs. 125/-) Three main aspects were discussed in the seminar: (1) Agrarian structure highlighting the relevance of existing structures for measures of land reforms, (2) Land reform measures in different states, and (3) Peasant unrest,

M.N. Karna and Nripen Bandyopadhyaya have reflected on the agrarian structure in Bihar and Bengal. They have traced historically the developments of agrarian relations and emphasized that the existing inequitable system would continue unless the rural poor organise themselves. This is a general theme running through the entire volume. But the question is how to organise the rural poor? Even a rudimentary protest for securing minimum wages provokes extreme police repression as well as direct attack from the feudal forces. K.C. Alexander's study of agrarian organisations in Kerala and Tamil Nadu reveals the difficulties of organising the rural poor.

The effects of the recent land reforms registration have not been favourable to the rural poor. Reviewing the impact of tenancy legislations in India P.T. George observes that the tenancy has become concealed as a result of legislations. Padki or Mulla have found that the tenancy reforms have had only marginal effects in Maharashtra. K.L. Sharma has arrived at the same conclusion in the case of Rajasthan. And so on. In Punjab, K.L. Sharma suggests, land reforms may not be the solution of rural poverty. He wants that self-employment schemes and entrepreneurship should be encouraged.

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ORGANIZING THE POOR

Thus, the running theme of the seminar was that the State legislations have not been implemented, that rural poor should get organised, that there are insurmountable hurdles in organising the poor. These are well known generalisations, which have been re-emphasized in the current volume. But sociologists should also realise that to understand the present state of functioning of the society is only one-half of the task; the other half and perhaps an equally important one is to reflect on how to change the system, which runs contrary to the requirements of the masses. Despite P.C. Joshi's belief that sociologists usually take a wider view of land reforms than economists (p IX), there is no indication in the present volume about strategies of change in the present set-up. For this vital task, neither economists, nor political scientists, nor sociologists have started even addressing themselves.

The present volume is likely to prove useful to students of sociology, who are interested in getting a general overview of land reforms in India. It is well produced but priced rather high.

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A Jacobean Tragedy for Our Times

DARSHAN SINGH MAINI

As I sit down to do this annual exercise for the IBC, I find that several books out of the lot I happened to read during the year are clamouring for attention and honours. Of these, three are novels, one a memoir and one an anthology of verse. The three novels, *The Custom of the Country* (1913) by Edith Wharton, *Water With Berries* (1971) by George Lamming and *Midnight's Children* (1981) by Salman Rushdie are so far removed from each other

in locale, technique and spirit as to yield no clue to the question of literary taste. And yet, each book has its own unquestionable charm, and each compels in its own way. As for the memoir, *A Captive of Time*, (1978) by Olga Ivinskaya, Boris Pasternak's mistress and confidante who became Lara in *Doctor Zhivago*, its appeal is basically human rather than aesthetic. And *Eleven British Poets* (1980) edited by Michael Schmidt rules itself out for consi-

deration here since it's too vast an enterprise for the kind of piece I intend doing. That leaves me, then, with the novels.

Easily, the top honours go to Edith Wharton's classic evocation of the New York and Parisian society of her day when the irresistible symbiosis of money, sex and power had already begun to undermine the fragile fabric of the so-called American aristocracy, and to turn the American sensibility, in general, to 'commodity'. However, since both the American Novel and the American sensibility have registered radical changes since then, and the novel in question has, in any case, received enough insightful criticism, it too can be left out of our reckoning. Ordinarily, I should have at once plumped for Rushdie's adorable extravaganza in view of its relevance and topicality, but this big bully of a book demands coercively a long and major effort, and it 'll have to wait till I come to terms with it. So that leaves me inevitably with Lamming's moving novel to which I come not in a spirit of indulgence, but of sheer admiration.

THE IMAGINATION OF WRATH

To begin with, it may be made clear that George Lamming who almost rivals V.S. Naipaul in his presentation of the mixed and unstable West Indies society is a black writer of tremendous force and imagination. While Naipaul's cold, clinical vision is structured in interweaving and interlocking frames of lethal irony—Lamming in a memorable phrase once described it as "a castrated satire"—his vision stems principally from the deeps of a bruised, poetic sensibility in clash with history, circumstance and fate. At least, there is more warmth, more pity in his imagination; the sirens of satire and irony have not decoyed him into a corrosive and self-abusive aesthetic. No doubt, the imagination of wrath endures, but the purity of its power lends it not only authenticity, but also an air of dignity.

And this brings me to *Water with Berries* which is something of a Jacobean tragedy in its range and reach. For basically, the tragedy of Teeton and of his compatriots, Roger and Derek, is an ethnic tragedy whose roots are as much entangled in history as in the condition of man. As the

story opens, we find these three self-exiled settlers—a painter, a composer and an actor—working off their separate fevers as well as their corporate distemper to come to terms with their 'complex fate'. For a black artist in London—that great courtesan city all colonials go whoring after—is not merely a down-and-out bum struggling for a place in the sun, he's, more gallingly, a freak, an anachronism, almost an impertinence. His misery is not that he doesn't make enough dough, that he's obliged to remain 'invisable', but that he simply fails 'to connect', that he's continually on the run, existentially speaking. Such a life forces him to close with all those metaphysical monsters that have been plaguing his existence on this planet. Since, he is an artist and has, therefore, a larger imagination than his kind, his agony is compounded and heightened beyond measure. His triple alienation—from his native life and moorings, from his vocation and from his own deeper self—seems to reduce him to a walking parody, a chattering absurdity. He stumbles from situation to situation in his search for meaning and authenticity. To use Erikson's fashionable phrase, he is facing a massive 'identity crisis', and all the wrestlings in that *cul-de-sac* land him nowhere.

WEB OF RELATIONSHIPS

The first part called "The Fall" traces neatly and economically the ambiguous web of relationships between Teeton and his English landlady, "the Old Dowager" on the one hand, between Teeton, Roger and Derek, on the other. Both Teeton and the old lady have evolved an unstated code of manners and morals which basically rests upon the respect for life's silences, reservations, indirections and intimacies. A beautiful and tender relationship has silently matured over the years—a kind of vintage wine brought to the bubble by seasons of wind, rain and sun. As Lamming puts it, both landlady and tenant had begun to savour "the disciplined gifts of secrecy". And now suddenly, this life, this relationship, this haven is imperilled, for Teeton must go back home to his island, to his roots where the life was despite its heat and tawdriness, despite its daily shames and multiple treacheries.

He had, seven years ago, deserted his wife and the 'Cause' to seek a personal statement and a personal fate, but that huge Babylonian city whose 'green pastures' had beckoned him from a far now mocked his dreams and his putative self. An inner revulsion had brought him to the threshold of a new awareness. He had accepted the call of the militant radical group called "the Gathering". But the trouble was, how should he make "the Old Dowager" understand the misery of his second 'desertion', how should he snap that silken thread which now tied him to her. A great moral problem is born. What indeed, he muses, are the limits of love given so beautifully, so naturally? In the words of Jeremy, a minor character, the question of all questions was : "how to be responsible to others without any servile abdication of interest in oneself. "For, as he saw", self-sacrifice was the most fatal narcotic of the soul." Lamming is no James or Conrad to be able to draw out the full misery and complexity of the situation in psychological terms, though his neat touches and twists are adequate enough to orchestrate the muted poetry and agony of this relationship.

The other story—Roger's wilful and perhaps even willed suspicion of his white wife's fidelity when she's carrying his child, and his friend, Derek's agonizing efforts to bring him to face the courage and force of Nicole's love—soon enough gets mixed up with the story of Teeton. And as though his plate is not already too full with slaughtered dreams and desertions, the shattering discovery of Nicole's corpse in his room changes ineluctably the entire structure of Teeton's inner life. The body is buried quietly under the garden tree, and the hushed monosyllabic dialogue between Teeton and "the Old Dowager" suggests something of the Macbeth-Lady Macbeth colloquy, though it will take some time before the absurd and the demonic converge. But before this happens, Teeton and a stranger white woman have been suddenly thrown together in the dark on the heath as though to queer the pitch of the absurd. Their weird exchanges open up a whole territory of psychic wounds and

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LAMMING'S PROSE

However, in the end, I must turn to Lamming's prose which sustains

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The sun started a web of light in the corner of his window. There was a tremor of water on the pane. The morning was turning on. He saw a pair of hands divide the curtains in the house across the street. The fog had begun to crumble; its subtle carpentry of air and smoke was coming apart...

Here, the effect is that of 'plate-glass' prose. Examples of nervous, taut prose—a prose of fact and observation and subtle psychology abound.

A squirrel was investigating the black scab of bark which opened like an old wound over the root of the cherry tree. Its body was a shiver from nose tip to the tail. Roger saw its eyes dart everywhere, two flaming beads that set the gaze on fire. Roger watched the squirrel leap forward and as quickly land again. The lean neck stretched, a cord of elastic that could bend and swing to meet any warning of sound. There was an air of meekness and terror in its vigilance. It had detected signals of danger everywhere. It nibbled at the air; the eyes blinked reading the rustle of leaves, reporting on every rumour of the wind....

And finally, there's a passage in which Derek is seized by atavistic impulses and assaults the white girl on the stage. He has just emptied a souvenir bottle of gin into his burning mouth.

There was an ocean of laughter in his souvenir measure. He saw the summer walk up from the

voids. The woman, raped at a tender age by her father's black servant and his black cronies and the dogs trained for sex in Teeton's own island of San Christobal is now an emotional wreck and a spiritual waif, anybody's "port" of call, anybody's "cunt" for the taking. Teeton's inner defences crumble in the face of this monstrous invasion of his privacy. He becomes a compulsive accomplice in that terrible crime his kind had perpetrated. Human suffering knows no division; a crime is a crime.

Meanwhile, both Roger and Derek go to pieces as a result of the Nicole episode. In the pub where they conduct a good part of their 'theatre' of self-torture amidst pitiful boozings and brawls, one sees the full horror of the white-black tragedy. Roger's 'Desdemona' is gone, and gone is the 'vocation' of Derek, 'the Moor' of a season or two at Stratford-on-Avon. We have simply two human ruins on our hands. If it's the Caliban-Miranda motif in one case, it's the Othello-Desdemona in the other. The Shakespearian echoes reach out across the centuries.

THE IMAGINATION OF DISASTER

In the second part called "Under the Veil", events move swiftly and melodramatically toward a terrible and terrifying climax. Teeton and the old lady and her 'mad' brother-in-law now constitute one fragile triangle of crime, concealment and nemesis. The island resort to which the two fugitives have come is no Prospero's retreat, but a place where three lonelinesses meet in headlong collision to end up in murder and fire and escape. The stranger woman on the heath, we discover, was "the Old Dowager's" daughter spirited away to San Christobal at the age of three by a devilish father who wasn't, after all, her real father. To complete the show, this ghost from the past, this 'mad' Prospero who had fathered that child and then killed his brother years later is shot dead by the old lady to save Teeton from a descending knife, and in turn is destroyed by that black abomination she had been sheltering under her roof. The ghastly wheel has come "full circle".

It seems to me, Lamming's inventive imagination here has taken the

bit in its mouth and sheered off in the direction of fantasy, myth and melodrama. I find the events too crowded, too wilfully conjoined, too hastily engineered to make a really great tragedy. To be sure, at times, melodrama does serve as an aesthetic device as in Graham Greene, and the melodramatic imagination would be quite legitimate in the context of the confused and violent lives of the blacks in exile, but in the present case, somehow the murderous 'turns of the screw' do not always add up to the terror of tragedy. Apparently, Lamming's mastery over his material begins to crack up under the terrific pressure of what Henry James calls "the imagination of disaster". Even blankets of powerful prose cannot hide the weakening of the aesthetic impulse.

However, in one manner, this horrendous tale is nothing but a part of the shadowy combat with the ghost of British Imperialism. A savage and soul-searing indictment of that ignominy is appropriately put into the mouth of that 'mad' Prospero, Fernando when he is training his knife upon Teeton's neck : "...That experiment in ruling over your kind. It was a curse. That's why my brother found it to his liking. He knew it could deform whatever nature it touched. A curse I tell you. A curse ! And it will come back to plague us until one of us dies..."

The other half of the story too is swiftly done. Roger and Derek are arrested for the incendiary game they were supposed to have been playing on the heath and around, and that "little actor man", Derek, playing the corpse on the stage produces a real melodrama when to the horror and savage indignation of a paralysed audience, he rips open the pants of the white girl playing the role of the heroine in that play, and is dragged off the stage. Perhaps Pirandello was after all right to believe that our life is essentially a *theatre*, and that we all, black or white, man or woman, are play-acting all the time. There's no escape ever from this fate. Here, of course, the theatrical role and the role in theatre have gruesomely come together to complete God's *scenario* !

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neck of the bottle : the entire backdrop of scenery that would soon deliver the girl emerging from a haven of swans. Like his first summer in London ; his first discovery of these birds on the river, watching them assemble like a parliament suspicious of strangers. The wind made dimples in their feathers, the long necks curling up and scribbling their perfect whiteness on the air, their wings unfolding in the wind, capsizing the children's boats, carving up the tide. And his sunday

morning in the heart of the city, surprised by the magic of park and woodland drifting over acres of grass and lake away from the smell of the city.

After this, it may not be out of place to record Anthony Burgess's eloquent comment : Lamming, he affirms, is "among the most solid writers of imaginative prose in the Anglo-American commonwealth."

Darshan Singh Maini, recently retired as Professor of English Punjabi University, Patiala, and now lives in Chandigarh.

rock" and the old folk-tale of the princess turned into a flowering magnolia by an evil charm—all these numerous facets of Orissa—"this earth of the forbidding myth—are invoked and form part of the thematic pattern of the poem.

Relationship contains many passages of evocative description and meaningful reflection; in fact, while the reflective strain invests the descriptive passages with a significance which no mere landscape painting in words can offer, the description gives body to the reflection by providing it with the appropriate ambience. Consider the opening lines of the poem : 'Once again one must sit back and bury the face/In this earth of the forbidding myth,/The phallus of the enormous stone,/When the lengthened shadow of a restless vulture/Caresses the strong and silent deodars in the valley.' Equipped with picturesque detail, the description is also imbued with strong thematic overtones. The mystery of the age-old Orissan myth is matched by the continuing mystery of life ('the phallus of the enormous stone') and the equally ubiquitous mystery of death ('a restless vulture') while the stable continuity of Nature ('the strong and silent deodars') has its own tale of mystery to add.

IMAGERY

The Indian English poet can hold his head high only if he has his feet solidly planted on his native soil. Jayanta Mahapatra's *Relationship*, which won the Sahitya Akademi award recently, is a copy-book example of this. It is a fine illustration of the authenticity achieved when the utterance of an Indian poet in English springs from a strong awareness of his Indian heritage.

The long poem has an epigraph from Whitman's *Song of Myself*: "I am large/I contain multitudes/I exist as I am, that is enough." These lines indicate the twofold preoccupation of Mahapatra in *Relationship*—viz., personal memory and Orissa myth and the two themes are linked together by several common motifs such as suffering, the depredations of time, vicissitudes of life, and patience and resignation as the most viable strategies for both men and nations.

The evocation of familial memories takes the speaker 'across the white terraces of childhood'—a road 'vague with the distance/of loneliness and hurt', recalling 'the tears/of wounded pools of our living'. The 'quiet faces' of this sorrow include watching through the window the mother's grave; the aware-

THE ORISSA SCENE

The Orissa scene steeped in history, legend and myth is an even stronger presence in the poem, for the poet believes that 'we are delivered by the myth/which exhorts our sleep and our losses'. The 'virtuous water' of the Mahanadi, Orissa's main river; the 'sailing ships of those maritime ancestors' who traded with Indonesia and the Philippines, and 'the ocean's strange and bitter deeps'; 'the strong and silent deodars in the valley'; the 'tensed muscles of rock'; the 'tapestry of the year's first rain' and the rice harvests in December; the Jagannath temple of Puri with its 'misshapen and limbless' main idol; the 'cry of the wounded sun silenced among the ruins of Konarka, the sea-shore temple dedicated to the sun' and the numerous Shiva temples that dot the land; the Asokan invasion of Orissa in the third century B.C., recalled as 'the cruelties/of ruthless emperors who carved peaceful edicts/on blood-red

Mahapatra's imagery in *Relationship* is also strongly redolent of thematic overtones. Thus, tigers' eyes are "glowing red/Like virulent boils of pox on dead women and children"; the speaker's memories are "rats scampering in the dark/gnawing at rotting paper", and the clock stabs in 'a cobra's tongue across the air'. His mastery of phrase and control of rhythm are apparent everywhere as in 'prophets/Laden with silent fulfilment of tomorrow'; 'tensed muscles of rock' and 'where the hollow horn blows every morning', though there is an occasional tongue-twister like: 'sands'/blind solitude'.

It is possible to argue that one major limitation of *Relationship* is the lack of a firm, organizing superstructure which is a definite asset to a long reflective poem, as Eliot's *Four Quartets* has shown. A superstructure of this nature would

perhaps have enabled the poet to focus his vision even more sharply and to work out the relationship between his two major themes—viz., personal memory and Orissa myth in more complex and meaningful terms. In spite of this, *Relationship* certainly remains a memorable

exploration into the past, indicating that one of the most rewarding strategies for the Indian English poet is, 'only connect'.

M. K. Naik is Professor of English at Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Upnyaser Samajtattva

MEENAKSHI MUKHERJEE

European critical tradition recognizes that an overlapping is possible between at least the intentions of some literary critics and of some sociologists, and that out of this fruitful conjunction significant insights can sometimes emerge. In Anglo-American criticism this realization has been slow to evolve, and we know that critics like Lukacs, Goldmann and Adorno were not translated into English till quite late. Since English language is our link with the world, serious criticism in this field has so far been quite rare also in India.

Of the books that I have read in 1982, undoubtedly the most outstanding is a Bengali critical work by Parthapratim Bandopadhyay *Upnyaser Samajtattva* (Maushumi Prakashani, Calcutta, 1981, pp. 176 Rs. 15), which reevaluates three major Bengali novelists—Bankimchandra Chatterjee, Rabindranath Tagore and Sarat Chandra Chatterjee placing them against the economic and ideological background of the colonial society of which they were products. Bandopadhyay does this with a great deal of critical sophistication without ever reducing literature to mere sociological data. The author, whose basic discipline is history, combines in this book sound literary insights with a clear understanding of the historical basis of the Bengali middle class in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

Bandopadhyay begins by admitting the basic problem of the sociological approach to fiction : it is far more obviously useful in analysing popular literature (also commercial films) than it is in the interpretation of major works of art. He carefully guards against the fallacy of equating the subject matter of literature with literature,—a fallacy "which tends to overlook the fact that a particular novel is a specific structure created by the author... Reality in its unsifted original form does not exist in a novel—it is to be perceived only through its structure which is unique and unalterable."

CONTRADICTIONS

In the introductory chapter Bandopadhyay alerts us to the possible contradictions that can co-exist beneath the smooth surface of a novel—for example, between the form and the theme, between overt social attitudes and the undercurrents revealed through tone and imagery, between the writer's individual aesthetic viewpoint and the history of his class. The specific structure of a novel, according to him, gets defined through these creative tensions.

After the densely packed first chapter the book is divided into three major sections, each section analysing two novels of Bankim, Rabindranath and Sarat in detail. Bandopadhyay refers to a report by

James Long submitted in 1854 which stated that the 2 lakhs of Bengali books printed in the previous decade had sold only in Calcutta and within its twenty mile radius. The urban colonial culture was thus the producer as well as the consumer of literature, and Bandopadhyay attempts to show the correlation between Bankim's development as a novelist with the evolution of the values of this urban middle class. According to the author the structure and point of view of Bankim's novels reflect the paradoxes that mark his social class as a whole—admiration for British rationalism alternating with Hindu revivalist nostalgia, or aspiration of the newly emerging individual coming to terms with the colonial system of values. The analysis of two of Bankim's novels, *Kapalkundala* and *Visha Vriksha*—one depicting a situation within the structured social order and the other dealing with a girl who grew up outside society—substantiate some of his points.

TWO TAGORE NOVELS

The two Tagore novels analysed in this book are *Ghare Baire* (The Home and the world) and *Chaturanga*. These novels are complex in their balancing of psychological, political and social nuances and combining of the realistic mode with evocative resonance of imagery. He looks at the evolution of Tagore's novels through multiple perspectives—through Rabindranath's attitude towards Hinduism (he was a Brahmo, son of a rich land-owning family, and by virtue of his birth cut off, like Gora, from the mainstream culture) towards the Swadeshi and the terrorist movements, the rationalist and the revivalist strands that were the contradictory heritage of the Bengal renaissance and the tension between the individual's romantic yearning and the pull of the social institutions. But Bandopadhyay discusses these thematic concerns only through the specific aesthetic structure of language and form that each novel creates.

A similar dexterity at weaving an

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intricate critical fabric by simultaneously working different strands can be seen in his analysis of Sarat Chandra's novels also (*Bamuner Meye* and *Grihadaha*). Sarat Chandra is a perpetual challenge to the critic who is at a loss to explain his continued popularity (not so much in Bengal today but in the rest of India) for more than five decades. In the appendix Bandopadhyay offers three very perceptive sociological reasons for this popularity, which are too complicated to be summed up neatly in a brief space. But they are indicative of the author's awareness that the multivalent relationship between literature and society cannot be reduced to linear causation.

Bandopadhyay forges connections between the so called 'literary' qualities of a novel (style, form, imagery, symbols) and its non-literary infra-

structure with subtlety and without polemics. Since the novelists discussed in this book are not limited to Bengal only—but are part of the Indian literary heritage through translation—if this book becomes available in English it can serve as a useful model for applying Marxist aesthetic principles to Indian texts fruitfully.

A book as significant as this deserved a better appearance and documentation. Not only does the book lack a bibliography and an index, it has no prefatory matter and worst of all—not even a table of contents. The footnotes are either non-existent or badly documented. Such shoddiness seems inexplicable in a book of this quality.

Meenakshi Mukherjee is Reader in English at the University of Hyderabad.

into both the volumes which I borrowed from libraries, but it was only in 1981 that I acquired a copy of my own of the abridged version of the English translation.

LEARNING SANSKRIT

To those whose Sanskrit is inadequate, I would warmly recommend the Ingalls volume. Most Indians are driven to a life-long dislike of Sanskrit because of the way it is taught at school. Sanskrit grammar puts its worst foot forward and its terror are magnified manifold by Sanskrit pundits at schools who mechanically ram down the throats of unwilling pupils the infinite varieties of declensions and conjugations in the language. These pundits never read aloud the lilting lyrics such as those contained in this volume, partly, one suspects, because of the fear that they may put ideas into young heads! Whatever the reason, this has denied generations of pupils a glimpse of the beauties that await anyone who masters the essential grammar (which is much less than what the grammarians believe) of the language.

Another difficulty before an aspiring learner of Sanskrit is that, like German, Sanskrit has long (but structurally tight) agglutinative compound nouns and adjectives which require some skill in disaggregation. But an imaginative teacher can easily initiate a student into the art of such disaggregation, provided he first persuades the student that it is worthwhile to do so.

Such being one's experience with Sanskrit at school, it is not surprising that one leaves it alone in adult life. But stray contacts with books like those of Ingalls and John Brough (*Poems from the Sanskrit; Translated by John Brough, Penguin Books, 1968*) makes one realise what one has lost by not having learnt Sanskrit properly at school.

ENTHRALLING HOURS

These two books which I have read and re-read during the year have provided me with many enthralling hours. Anthologies of "well turned" (Subhashita) verses have a long tradition in Sanskrit, dating back to the first millennium AD. The most famous of such anthologists are Bhartrahari and Amaru, both of whom are believed to be the sole

Enthralling Hours

N. S. JAGANNATHAN

J.B. Priestley once warned aspiring creative writers against the plausible notion that a career in journalism would help them in their vocation. The wrong assumption was that a stint in an allied art that also uses words as raw material, helped one in acquiring skills that will serve one in creative writing. The discipline of deadline and economy of words that journalism forces on its practitioners is also considered useful to a creative writer, who would otherwise laze and dissipate his hours. All this is a deadly error, as Priestley rightly saw. The truth is, routine demands of journalism leave little time for the slow parturition of the imagination which alone could produce great works of creative art.

At a much lower level, a similar warning needs to be given against the notion that professional journalism will ensure keeping one's reading habit in good repair. A journalist does indeed read a great

deal, but most of it unfortunately is ephemera that meet his professional needs. Reading for pleasure and elevation of the spirit is a fugitive joy for a journalist as for any other professional. With every passing year, one is oppressed by the thought of the unread books and the great classics, old and new, that pass one like ships in the night.

Among the books that I was able to snatch time for from the professional grind last year was an anthology of occasional verse in Sanskrit translated by Daniel Ingalls. (*Sanskrit Poetry*, Harvard University Press third printing, 1979). The fact of its being an anthology helped as one could spread the reading over a period. The volume is not a new book, being an abridged version of an earlier work in the well known Harvard Oriental Series, itself a translation of the original *Subhashitaratnakosa* edited by Kosambi and Gokhale, also published in the same series. I have in the past dipped

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authors of the poems in anthologies bearing their names. Later Subhashita collections are frankly "other men's flowers", including those of Bhartrahari and Amaru. There was a spate of such anthologies from the 11th century onwards.

The *Subhashitaratnakosa* was a recent discovery by Kosambi and Gokhale. (In Kosambi's introduction to the Harvard edition, there is a moving account of the difficulties that both faced and had to overcome in obtaining an authentic manuscript of the work) It is an eleventh century work, lovingly compiled by a member of a Buddhist monastery, located in what is now Bangladesh. It consists of 50 sections, classified subjectwise. Such an apparently mechanical approach is not surprising to anyone acquainted with the methodology of intellectual discourse in Sanskrit. A passion for classification—64 arts, six different types of heroes and heroines, 'x' number of ways of making love, 'y' different kinds of nail marks in ardent love making, etc. etc. is a notorious feature of Sanskrit cerebration.

EROTIC POETRY

The majority of the sections in this anthology is devoted to love and amorous predicaments of all kinds, ranging from nymphet longings to the courtesan's measured responses from pubescent stirrings to the Byronic disenchantment of a rove are there. Sanskrit erotic poetry has achieved some notoriety, because bad English translations of Kamasutra and Geeta Govinda have aroused the prurient interest of a number of people who would otherwise have left Sanskrit well alone. On the other hand, traditional apologists have tried to pretend that the unashamedly physical and sensuous descriptions of erotic passion in Sanskrit poetry are nothing but symbolic representation of metaphysical mingling of the *Jiwatma* with the *Paramatma*. The truth is that these poems can be read at several levels; and not the least important and rewarding way of reading them would be to treat them as descriptions of ordinary human experience.

These descriptions of physical love are far from squeamish. There is nothing euphemistic about them,

But what prevents them from degenerating into 'porn' is a certain de-personalisation of the situation, making the characters involved into types rather than individuals. This is in consonance with Sanskrit aesthetics, which saw poetry not as an expression of personal emotion, warts and all, but as a distillation of a *rasa* or mood. Poetry in Sanskrit is a civilized pleasure savoured by a cultural man and not a display of primitive passion or a form of personal catharsis. This is so much at variance with post-Romantic western aesthetics that many readers brought up on the latter tradition find Sanskrit erotic poetry, which is at once realistic and impersonal, both bizarre and coldblooded.

Two samples, not necessarily typical, are given below, as random personal preferences :

"You are fortunate, dear friends,
that you can tell
what happened with your lovers;
the jests and laughter, all the
words and joys.

After my sweetheart
put his hand to the knot of my
dress,
I swear that I remember
nothing."

* * *
"At first our bodies knew a per-
fect oneness,

but then grew two:
the lover, you,
and I, unhappy I, the loved.
Now you are husband, I the wife,
what else should come of this my
life,

a tree too hard to break,
if not such bitter fruit?"

* * *
The most striking part of the anthology is not the erotic poems which one can easily find anywhere in classical Sanskrit poetry. To the modern reader, the more interesting part of the book is those starkly realistic poems depicting village life and poverty and vivid description of nature.

In many ways this is alien to classical Sanskrit tradition. Some of

the descriptions are like Moghu miniatures and others read like the works of "Dalit" poets. Four examples should whet the appetite of the reader:

"The deer flees, casting ever an
again his gland
with graceful curving of his nec
at the pursuing chario
his terror of the arrow's flight s
great
his hindpart seems to penetrat
his breas
He drops upon the way the hal
chewed gras
from his mouth that pants wit
wearines
See, as he leaps he seems to fly
more in the air than on th
ground!

* * * *
"The hawk on high circles slowl
many tim
until he holds himself exactl
Then, sighting with his downca
ey
a joint of meat cooking in t
Candala's Yar
he cages the extended breadth o
his moving win
closely for the sharp descent,
and seizes the meat half cook
right from the household pot."

* * * *
"The same room serves for ki
chen and for husking she
for storehouse, children, and f
his bedroom to
The imporished father has end
red all th
but how describe his state whe
now in the same roo
his groaning wife will bear a chi
this day or next

* * * *
"When it comes to darning tatt
red cloth
I am world champion.
I am also expert at the art
of dealing out cheap food
modest quantiti
I am wife."

* * * *
N. S. Jagannathan is Chief Edi
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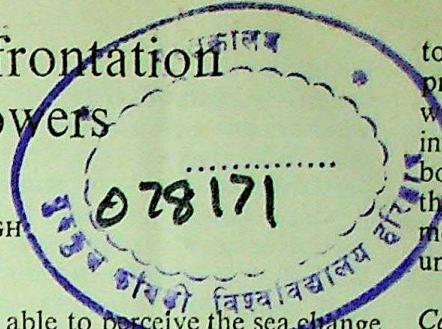
N E P A N A G A R

(MADHYA PRADESH)

FOR THE TERRITORY OF DELHI & PUNJAB

Capitalism, Confrontation & Super Powers

NARINDAR SINGH



Andreas Papandreou's *Paternalistic Capitalism* (Oxford University Press, London, 1972, pp. X+190, £ 2.75), is one of the more significant books that I have ever read and by which in fact my own perception of reality has been greatly influenced and informed. For by a lucky coincidence, it first came my way precisely at a time when I was already having another look at the world around me and happened in particular to confirm some of my own doubts concerning mainline economics. Only naturally, therefore, it has been a constant intellectual companion ever since. And so too has been its eminent author with whom one has maintained, though through his work only, an unbroken dialogical, that is to say debating, contact.

This explains why, my great admiration for *Paternalistic Capitalism* and its author notwithstanding, I find it perfectly legitimate to do a formal review of it in a somewhat negative key. But the points I have to make seem to be so exceedingly important to me that this would be the only sensible thing to do.

What I have in mind is an affirmation which Andreas Papandreou makes as emphatically as he possibly could, and which I am afraid could not but attenuate the power of his critique of economics and of the *status quo*. I am referring to the footnote on page 15 of *Paternalistic Capitalism*. Which reads as follows: 'In contrast to exchange, production is a technological process independent of the social context in which it takes place. Production takes place in every economy, whether it be feudal or tribal, capitalist or socialist. Exchange, on the other hand is characteristic only of certain types of economies'. (Emphasis mine).

Andreas Papandreou is one of the most formidable intellects that modern Greece has nurtured. Therefore, I am surprised or rather disappointed all the more that far from

being able to perceive the sea change in the nature and the role of production caused by the ascendancy of capitalism, he actually denies the very possibility of it.

But as I see it, this exclusive focus on production as a purely technological process is a basic and indeed a paralysing weakness of standard economics and of the standard critiques of it as well. I hope to be able to show that in order to undertake an in depth examination of the prevailing order, we cannot but be concerned with the precise nature of individual products and therefore with the exact composition of the total output. But it is in failing to be thus concerned that conventional economics condemns itself to trivialization.

Indeed, wedded as they are to such abstractions as commodities X, Y, or Z, what the standard economists can churn out is only a set of relations which could not be assigned any meaning except in the world of formal logic. Little wonder, to refer to the opening sentence of *Paternalistic Capitalism*, the growth of the social sciences and of economics in particular, no matter how spectacular it may appear to be to the practitioners themselves, 'has tended to obscure and distort rather than elucidate our vision, our understanding of the processes of the social system of which we were destined to be a part'.

But it would be a lot more important to look for a major reason why economics has been able, and not just tended, to obscure and distort our vision. To this end, I think, one would do well to focus on the precise nature of commodity X instead of continuing to treat it as an inviolable and sacred abstraction. Which, surprising though it may seem, it very much continues to be even in Karl Marx and in the more recent elucidations of his ideas. Only, it now becomes commodity C. But what I am trying to draw attention

to is a radical misformulation of the problem by the received radical wisdom. For it simply presumes that in moving from the situation symbolized by the expression C-M-C to the one symbolized by M-C-M, commodity C itself remains entirely unaffected.

This is what Marx affirmed in *Capital* and to my mind no one has ever found it necessary to examine the affirmation. Which has only been repeated ever since. A recent example is Paul Sweezy who makes the same point in his *Four Lectures on Marxism* and designates C-M-C and M-C-M as 'formulas'. But to my mind, these are the most uncritical incantations the sheer naivety of which must remain unsurpassed even in the not very untender annals of what passes as radical political economy.

NATURE OF PRODUCTION

For commodities are not what Marx would call 'mere congections of human labour'. They are also congections of toxicity, of job destruction, of orgiastic celebrations, of resource depletion, of societal disruption. All this must have been rather nebular in Marx's own day; and therefore it is not altogether strange that he failed to take any note of it. But it has now assumed proportions so monstrous that it would be entirely inexcusable to ignore it. With the ascendancy of petrochemistry and of nuclear physics, the sheer toxicity of what is called output is already paralysing our habitat.

More so, because the production process has itself been relentlessly and unavoidably overwhelmed and distorted by artificial demand stimulation in the civilian and military sectors alike. At the same time, with electronics going solid state, the industry which brought irreversible job destruction to several other industries has come to suffer the same fate itself. As a result, to borrow a phrase from Gerard Piel, acres upon acres of work-benches have had to be abandoned forever. And finally, by now, the relationship between the precise composition of output and societal anomie is only too well emphasized to need any elaboration here.

What all this means is that the

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C which occurs at the extremities of the formula C-M-C is not and cannot be the same thing as the C which figures in the centre of the formula M-C-M. Between the two there is an absolutely unignorable difference and indeed an unbridgeable distance. In other words, in the very act of moving from one position to the other, C itself has undergone so drastic a transformation that the two formulas can no longer be used for purposes of comparing or even contrasting the two situations.

More so, because with the ascendancy of capitalism, and particularly of high capitalism, production ceases to have the kind of primacy it had before. For what matters now is not the production of products but the production of demand. In other words, it is Disposal which is capitalism's pursuit *sui generis*; and this in the sense that the primacy of production is destroyed. In fact, the destruction of the primacy of production can be said to define capitalism. True, the capitalist, as distinct from the pure financial manipulator, cannot dispose of anything without producing something. But in order to sell at all, he must seek to oversell. To which end he has no option but to try to generate demand, spurious if not genuine. Little else could explain the related phenomena of relentless multiplication and variation of products, and a frenzied promotion of sales: in sum, the American celebration, as C. Wright Mills called it.

FORCES OF DISPOSAL

This only means that what the bourgeoisie did was not so much to release the forces of production as to unleash the forces of disposal. It is the consequences of precisely this historical 'advance' that we are now suffering from. Paul Sweezy has made the point in his *Four Lectures* (page 23), that the essence of historical materialism is simply that every society has to produce what it consumes, and that it has to consume in order to reproduce itself, to survive, and to carry on the myriad activities that together define it as a recognizable historical entity. But in the light of what I have said, if

this is all that historical materialism has to say, it has nothing to say at all. For the never-ending plethora of bards which contemporary capitalism in any case manages to produce cannot possibly help it to survive and to reproduce itself. Rather, it is self-destruction which it is cultivating. In any case, its would-be grave-diggers having long been coopted into itself are hardly in sight anywhere.

But what has all this to do with *Paternalistic Capitalism*? A great deal, indeed. For once we take cognizance of the fact that disposal is the pursuit which defines capitalism; which is to say that once we realize that capitalism is not just another way of organizing production, and in fact may not even be designated as a mode of production properly understood; in other words, the moment we make a Kuhnian switch to a new paradigm and a new metaphor: it becomes obvious that the claim to market-induced economic efficiency is even more untenable than Andreas Papandreou has shown it is. Indeed, the question which has then to be asked is not whether the 'system' satisfies the criterion of efficiency or not, but whether it is good enough for our own safety or not. Besides, who is to articulate the precise criterion of efficiency? Surely, we cannot be too sure of the validity of a criterion which the servants of the *status quo*, as Andreas Papandreou would call them (page 35), have formulated? The late Paul Baran once dismissed the legitimacy of such a criterion in words which it is impossible not to reproduce:

Assuming, indeed, that the life of the cannibals fully conforms to the precepts of their society, that their headman gets exactly as many scalps a year as are called for by his wealth, his status, and his connections, and that all the other cannibals consume exactly the number of foreigners that corresponds to their marginal productivity and never in any other way but through a free purchase in a free market: do we then have a state of an optimum, can we then say that the cannibals' welfare is well looked after? It should be obvious

that nothing of the sort follows. All we have established is that the practice of the cannibalistic society corresponds more or less fully to the principles evolved by that society. We have said nothing at all about the validity or rationality of these principles themselves or about their relation to human welfare.

MARKET CAPITALISM

The trouble with the proponents of market capitalism however is that they continue to imagine that the way it functions does in reality conform broadly at least to the principles they have evolved on its behalf. Thus, while the very existence of individual monopolies and therefore of the monopoly system is contingent upon a dissemination of misinformation through frenzied sales promotion, Dorfman continues to insist that the market is a stupendously efficient method for conveying information among the decentralized units'. But this is only a claim which there is no reason for us to take seriously. In fact there is every reason for us to reject it. To Andreas Papandreou, the claim is untenable because the basic assumptions of the model are not satisfied historically. For, what happens historically is the relentless growth of monopoly and the consequent conversion of the economic process into a mechanism for the production of waste and hence for the destruction of efficiency.

GRAVE SITUATION

This is perfectly acceptable. Only, it does not give us even a remote idea of how grave the prevailing situation is. In order to have this idea, one would do well to make a sharp distinction between production organized around consumption and production organised around accumulation, a distinction which Andreas Papandreou unfortunately does not make. But the moment we make it, we come to appreciate the nightmarish potential of an unprecedentedly accelerating but ultimately self-arresting economic process. In fact the true significance of the kind of flux which Andreas Papandreou has himself written

about becomes evident if and only if we focus on the ascendancy over the last few decades in particular of what may be called the Disposal Complex of capitalism: 'Everything is in flux. The individuals that make up society, their tastes, the known resources, the shopping lists of products, the technology to be employed, the supporting institutions, all are in a state of flux. Although this evolutionary process is enormously difficult to comprehend, let alone formalize, one (would be) quite irresponsible to ignore it or to push it out of the social scientist's field of vision. But this is exactly what economists do by restricting their attention to problems of resource management in a nonrevolutionary context' (pages 36-37).

But in focusing instead on the shopping lists of today and on the never-ending additions to their noxious contents, the economists would only be focusing on the irredeemable irrationality of the *status quo*. For the lists include some of the most dangerous contrivances ever designed by the mind of man or may even have been:

By Beelzebub's malicious art
designed,

To ruin all the race of humankind!

These include an endless array of petrochemical biocides which in polite company are known only as insecticides and pesticides. But what matters in the present context is the fact that the damage that they do is not just a negative externality merely incidental to their manufacture and use, something moreover that may appear as relatively marginal which may sooner or later be brought under control. Rather, the damage is an increasingly important consequence of an addictive obsession with them and can in no way be rectified or even attenuated by any measures that the economists or others may devise.

NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS

And then the nuclear power plants. To the economist, they would seem to produce only the negative externalities of radioactive wastes and waste heat. But the

externalities are nevertheless intensifying and entirely intractable curses. Besides, there is no way in which even a 'planned' economy may 'compensate' the victims of a nuclear explosion involving dumps of radioactive waste. One such, with the possible force of 100 tons of TNT as compared to the Hiroshima blast of 13 tons of TNT, is now known to have occurred in the Urals in 1957. Also, when nuclear waste released into the sea at Windscale in England converts the Irish Sea into the most intensely radioactive body of water in the world or when it reaches as far as the Baltic Sea, there is no way in which the victims may even be identified, let alone compensated. But even if we confine our attention to a single country, the kind of problems which nuclear power generation is likely to pose could never be covered by the externalities argument: heightened risks of terrorism, destruction of civil liberties, a diseased and a docile population, genetic damage.

But the shopping list, even if incomplete, must also include nuclear warheads of a breath-taking variety and increasing sophistication and their matching missiles. In their actual use, of course, they carry the Ultimate Externality of complete annihilation. But even short of that, they have already had consequences which are by no means inconsiderable. One of these is the proliferation of what are imagined to be nuclear shelters but which in fact will become ovens with the Actual Thing taking place. Nevertheless, we already have a new kind of creative activity which, after E.J. Mishan's imaginary 'pistol architecture' to which Andreas Papandreou refers, may be designated as nuclear architecture.

The point of the preceding few paragraphs is this: The moment we take a closer look at what Andreas Papandreou calls a 'flux' and at some of the specific contents of what he refers to as 'the shopping lists of products', we see a kind of system which is entirely beyond the comprehension of orthodoxy, conservative or radical. Besides what it suffers from is not 'directional indeterminacy' as Andreas Papandreou designates it, but 'doom-directedness'. It follows that something considerably more robust than

even neo-Marxism to which he devotes a full chapter in *Paternalistic Capitalism* would be needed to comprehend the true gravity of the situation.

NEO-MARXISM

The trouble with neo-Marxism is that it cannot by definition be neo enough. For if it were, it would not be Marxism. But in view of its evident failure to grasp some of the significant dimensions of contemporary reality, I would prefer it to be a lot more neo than it is even if, in the process, it had to cease to be Marxism. For only then will it become radical in the true sense of going to the very roots of the situation.

As evidence of its basic inadequacy at the conceptual level, one may refer to the definition of 'surplus' which the two Pauls, Baran and Sweezy, gave in the *Monopoly Capital*, and which Andreas Papandreou cites: 'The economic surplus, in the briefest possible definition, is the difference between what society produces and the cost of producing it.' What is missing here is a comprehensive view of cost. Which if taken, would indicate not a surplus, which in any case is excluded by physics, but a massive and a mounting deficit. This is particularly easy to see in terms of energy. Modern agriculture, for instance, uses five calories worth of inputs to produce no more than one calorie worth of output; and the deficit would increase still further if one took into account processes related with pre-cooked food. No less important, the petrochemical inputs once used persist in the environment. In fact, pesticide residues have been discovered in organic matter throughout the globe: from the flesh of penguins on the South Pole to the milk of nursing mothers in the United States. Besides the thermodynamic overkill, as Barry Commoner has shown, is shockingly egregious in respect of nuclear power generation. For all that is needed is steam to drive the generator. If this task is to be performed with thermodynamic efficiency, temperatures in the range of 1000-2000°F would be enough. But temperatures in the range of one million degrees F occur in a

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neuclear reactor. What do we do with all the extra heat? Nothing. But having attacked a fly with a cannon, we should at least not congratulate ourselves on having produced a 'surplus'.

THERMODYNAMIC DEFICIT

Quantification of the thermodynamic deficit would of course remain in the realm of the impossible. But the *fact* of it is evident enough for it to be taken into account as a major component of social waste; and the kind and the extent of this waste must remain exclusive to a given social set-up. Therefore, the kind of experiment, even if hypothetical, which Andreas Papandreou suggests (page 45) for 'getting at' the 'elusive' concept of social waste cannot be conducted even on paper. This is easy to see. Starting from the social product of a given society, he says, we may consider *how the social cost of that social product varies with alternative forms of social organization*. But the difficulty with this suggestion is that the irrationality of a prodigal social system like the high capitalism of today, is manifested in the very composition of its product. This means that the rationality of a *rational* social system will also be manifested in the composition of its own product. It will therefore be impossible to compare the social costs incurred under different social arrangements for the simple reason that the social products will themselves be different. One reason why, say, the Soviet Union is only a spuriously socialist society is that it has sought only to replicate the output patterns of the United States.

What the foregoing suggests is that radical political economy would do well to shift the focus from the imaginary economic surplus to the mounting thermodynamic deficit generated by the *status quo* and offer this as evidence of its unsustainability. Besides, the continued generation of the deficit argues the existence of entrenched interests which have the power to generate it. Besies, the very masses of the deficit being generated suggest the existence of enormous blocs of concentrated power.

COLLISION OR COLLUSION?

This brings us to the most vital issue of our time or of all time as also to the concluding part of this note: the existence in the world today of two superpowers each one of which could annihilate the other and indeed the whole world many, many times over. But since neither can use this kind of power to manipulate the other, it uses it only to manipulate its own 'natives'. Andreas Papandreou argues (pages 122, 134) that the two superpowers play the deadly chess game with relatively well-observed rules and without falling for their own propaganda. Rather, each takes care to *sanction* tacitly in any case the other's interventions and excesses in its own domains. Thus Stalin and his successors consistently allowed Greece to be 'handled' by Britain and later by the United States. And who knows if all the verbiage the Americans expend so leishly on Poland and Afghanistan is meant only to impress people at home?

A recent Penguin by Noam Chomsky and others is entitled *Superpowers in Collision*. Would it not be in order to write also on *Superpowers in Collusion*? Indeed,

as Andreas Popandreou says, 'The last twenty-five years have taught the two giants how to control their competition and how to transform it into an effective instrument for the extension of their control over the geosphere' (page 136). Putting it graphically, the SS-20's may be pointed at Bonn and Rome, but they are aimed at Moscow and Warsaw. Similarly, the cruise missile and the Pershings could well be pointed at Moscow and Warsaw, but they would be aimed at London and Washington.

It is in this macabre sense more than in any other that the two 'different' social systems can been seen to have completely converged already. Costs of their convergence for the common people must necessarily be considerable. This makes both malevolent capitalism and spurious socialism to be paternalistic in Andreas Papandreou's sense of being big brotherish. But what matters also is to emphasize that in their mounting social costs alone lie the seeds of their self-destruction.

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Fitting and Timely

S.D. DEVASIA

Those who are familiar with Professor Pylee's acknowledged works in the field of India's Constitution will undoubtedly find his recent work, *Crisis Conscience and the Constitution* (Asia 1982, pp. 175, Rs. 50.00) analysing the constitutional aspects of the political crisis leading to the dissolution of the Sixth Lok Sabha, a highly relevant and mature contribution. In view of the constitutional implications of the 1979 crisis caused by the disintegration of the Janata majority and the fall of the Desai government the book is a fitting and timely venture, at least on three counts.

First, it blends theory with practice, establishing a correlation of the working of the Constitution with an unprecedented empirical context in our constitutional history. Secondly, in view of the renewed discussion since 1976 regarding the prospects of a possible presidential form of government to the country, the analysis and interpretations of the book, though not directly related to the subject, seems to be of a great actuality. Third, the book voices the concern and the commitment of an acknowledged expert of the Constitution, with admirable boldness and forthrightness, in upholding the sanity and the sanctity of the country's constitutional process in pursuit of the very ideals the Constitution stands for. That is, the unity and the oneness of the Union.

Obviously one cannot see this book as one of those mushroom growths capitalising on political sensationalism. It is a serious scholarly work; an exercise in scientific objectivity and detachment.

CONSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS

Ours is a *written* constitution. But no such document can ever remain static and final, least of all in India, the scene of a gigantic civilizational transformation, symbolising the re-birth of a traditional, mythological,

agrarian social order into a democratic, secular and egalitarian nation. As the Nation grows, the Constitution must, and will have to grow with it. And this ought to happen in a pattern of interaction that is fruitful and reproductive, and not rupturous and antagonistic. Luckily, the country's constitutional process was indeed fortunate in this respect, during its formative phase, owing to the stability and predominance of the Congress party and due to the virtue of the venerable and towering personalities occupying the offices of Presidency and the Prime Ministership. Such lucky constellations have now come to pass, or may be that they are passing by.

There are signs of rising frustrations and growing restlessness. Challenges, crises and dangers lurk round the corner. Gandhis and Nehrus are not yet in sight. So, it is to the Constitution that we have to look, for guidance, stability and order. The 1979 crisis—the disintegration of the Janata party and the dissolution of Lok Sabha—offered a foretaste of things to come. It was in fact a rare opportunity for us to learn practical lessons, provided that we are prepared to undertake a bold, objective and critical examination of the constitutional implications of it for the future. I for one see the book under review as a valuable contribution in this respect. It asks: whether the Presidential action during this crisis set enlightened precedents, strengthening the constitutional process of the country.

The book throws up serious questions which the guardians of the Constitution and the enlightened public opinion will have to engage for a long time to come. The virtual political monopoly of a single party is bound to collapse again as demonstrated by the disintegration of the Janata party which led to the dissolution of the Sixth Lok Sabha. What would happen to the constitutional process, which has so far been functioning in a monopolistic party

structure, if a situation forces a coalition government at the Centre? What would happen if the President and the Prime Minister happen to belong to different parties? Is the President always bound to act according to the advice of the Prime Minister? What would happen if a sizeable number of the Council of Ministers are against the Prime Minister? Is the President bound to dismiss the Ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister? What, if the leader of the dissenting Ministers claims majority in the Parliament? Is the President bound by one or the other? What would happen if the Prime Minister and the Speaker do not see eye to eye? The 1979 crisis has shown that these questions cannot be dismissed as fictitious and that sustained and concerted reflection of the country upon them is called for. These, then, are some of the questions posed by the book under review, and it analyses and interprets the constitutional implications of the presidential actions in the 1979 political crisis in their light.

It was the freedom of defection, permitted by the Constitution, that was the root cause of the crisis, emphasises the book. The kind of defections prevailed then makes the office of the Prime Minister virtually impotent and brings about a major shift of power to the presidency. The weak constitutional safeguards on powers thus accrued upon the Presidency can be of great consequences. "The Constitution of India permits an inordinately ambitious and unscrupulous President to turn into a dictator under certain circumstances without violating any of the provisions of the Constitution;" the author recapitulates the views of Alan Gledhill, adding a long quotation from the latter's *The Republic of India*. The story of Pakistan, governed under the Government of India Act of 1935 at its formative stage, shows that this is not an altogether theoretical possibility. As political leadership drops in morale and becomes ineffectual, as happened in Pakistan after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, no matter with or without will, automatically becomes the hub of power in the political system. This is nothing but a natural

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operation of the constitutional dynamics.

DIALECTICS OF DEMOCRATIC POWER

It is the innate tendency of power to localise itself around the strongest pole. In political systems, left to themselves, this leads the State to become absolute so long as the rights and freedom of individual, of the society as a whole, are not protected through constitutional means. It took centuries of struggle to achieve the proper balance between the Crown and the Parliament in Britain, the oldest of modern democracies. In the United States, the greatest landmark of democratic system, the pendulum perpetually swings between Capitol Hill and White House, depending upon the composition of Congress and the gravity of the occupant of White House. India, by far the largest and the most highly vibrant democracy, cannot be an exception to this principle of dynamic operation of political power. The Constitution confers upon the Presidency "formidable" executive, legislative, and emergency powers. The latter are as valid as the Prime Minister's. Yet it has been assumed, in actual practice, that the Presidency is but the "rubber stamp". That this was so until 1979 was due to the fact that the country was fortunate in having strong occupants in the office of the Prime Minister.

It may have been due mainly to this favour of history that the Presidency was perceived by the popular imagination in India as being identical with the Crown in Britain—a fact that is fully supported by constitutional and juristical conventions. Yet it cannot be forgotten that there are fundamental differences between the two offices: The Crown is sovereign, it is the source of all powers, and is not only above politics, but the monarch's devotion to the dynasty and the history of the people substantiates the dictum, "The King does no wrong." Indian Presidency, on the contrary, derives its power from the Constitution, and is an elective and political office. Thus, the Presidency has a basically different relationship to power. Until sound precedents and conventions are established across

generations of constitutional process, there seems to be no validity to the dictum "The President does no wrong."

Thus, unlike the Crown, there are varying conceptions of the Presidency. On the one hand there is the assumption that the presidential power is purely SYMBOLIC. On the other it is held that it is REAL enough to bring about a presidential despotism in a certain set of circumstances. In between is the position that imputes that the Indian Presidency is three quarters British Crown and one quarter US Presidency.

The underlying truth, however, is the fact that the Indian Constitution envisages a dynamic Presi-

dency, but strictly within the limits of the assumptions and conventions of the parliamentary democracy of Britain. Its unseen spirit and ethos embody in the Presidency virtually the ideal of a "Father of the Nation" who has all powers, but who is so benevolent and trusting, that he delegates it completely, remaining himself above it all. The first President eminently exemplified this symbolic character of the Presidency. The highest office of the nation is intended to be a synthesis as in India everything is. It transcends the dialectics of power.

SYMBOLIC VS. REAL

Are the presidential powers real? or are they symbolic? The presi-

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dential action leading to the dissolution of the sixth Lok Sabha showed that it can *ALSO* be Real. "There is no doubt that the President has powers that he could exercise in his own discretion", notes Pylee "and this was demonstrated by President Reddy during the crucial days of the constitutional crisis in 1979...So long as the President is advised in all his functions by a Ministry in which the parliament has confidence, there is no serious problem. But the moment the Ministry has lost the confidence of Parliament or becomes a hotbed of warring groups, the President's role undergoes a change and he will be called upon to act in his discretion. Matters of momentous importance to the future of the country may come up during such time. It may not be wise or safe to leave such matters in the hands of one individual."

The precedents set by the President here, the author argues, were of lasting consequences to the country's constitutional process. "At a crucial moment when the stability of the Government of India was at stake and the nation appeared to lose its ability to sustain the parliamentary system, the President of India could play a decisive role in strengthening that system. In those fateful days of July 1979 he could have made it abundantly clear that he was totally opposed to defections among the members of Parliament. We have sufficient evidence, as was pointed out earlier that the members of Parliament belonging to different political parties had free access to the President and had discussed with him on a day-to-day basis the political developments of those days. But there is no evidence of any positive contribution on his part to avert the crisis. It is in this context that we have to consider once again the role of the President with a view to suggesting appropriate constitutional amendments."

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Considering the complexity of the issues, the conception and execution of the book is indeed compact and austere. It has three parts : the first, which has seven chapters,

documents the empirical data as reported in the press, and provides a day by day narration of the course of events from July 9 to August 22, the day of the dissolution of Lok Sabha. The first chapter summarises the various responses and reactions in the country upon this momentous presidential order. Chapters 2 to 7 deal with the collapse of Janata party, the fall of Desai, the emergence of Charan Singh, the evolution of a hoth-potch government, the end of the political drama, and the mid-term poll. Brevity and reliance on press sources are the strength of the chapters.

The four chapters of Part II deal with the office of President, Impeachment and Powers of the President. The fundamental question raised here is, "Is the President bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers?" The answer, according to Pylee is affirmative "YES *NORMALLY*". It is the abnormal situation that should draw our attention when "a particular action on the part of the President at a crucial moment may swing the pendulum to either side and hence he can, if he chooses so, decisively influence the situation. If the President happens to be a man of political ambition, he could with impunity take advantage of a crucial situation and indulge in the game of political patronage in the formation and dissolution of Ministries." Concluding the section the book sums up, "When discipline in the ruling party degenerates, when groups and factions undermine party cohesion through defection and floor-crossing, when adventurous and unscrupulous group-bosses try to capture office through questionable means and, finally, when corrupt practices tarnish the reputation and goodwill of the ruling party, there will be an opportunity for the President to play a decisive role in the machinery of the government. In the ultimate analysis, it is the political climate that will dictate the use of his power."

QUESTIONS OF CONSCIENCE

Part III has also four chapters, 2 dealing with Presidential Actions, and the last 2 summing up the conclusions. The President is free to

justify his actions emerging out of his discretionary powers on the basis of conscience or the constitution. While the former seemed to be normative in the crisis under reference the question remains "whether it was right and proper on the part of the President to encourage Charan Singh in this manner. Charan Singh was a defector. A few hours earlier he had been the Deputy Prime Minister under Desai. A few hours later, he was claiming to be the leader of a new political party." Even more, the adjourning of Lok Sabha *sine die* in the middle of the crisis; the invitation to Chavan to explore the possibilities of "forming a cohesive and stable government," with the explicit directive of "associating in some manner or other colleagues with a national perspective and objective relevant to our national welfare and wellbeing of our people;" the simultaneous invitation to Desai and Charan Singh to form government, which by equating the claims of Morarji and Charan Singh for Prime Ministership "seemed to be an open invitation for defection;" the presidential directive to the Prime Minister-designate "that in accordance with the highest democratic traditions and in the interest of establishing healthy conventions, you would seek a vote of confidence in the Lok Sabha at the earliest possibility;"...these may well have been actions of conscience, but they, however, the book comes to the conclusion, do not inspire and enlighten the country's constitutional process by establishing precedents and conventions that would stand the test of time.

PRESIDENTIAL OPTIONS

The President under the circumstances, the author reminds, had the following options : 1. Ask the Leader of the opposition to form a new Government. 2. Place the matter before the Lok Sabha so that he could get feed back from the House. 3. Ask some one in whom he had confidence and who was likely to carry the House with him because of his non-partisan position to form a new government irrespective of whether he was a member of Parliament or not. 4. Order the dissolution of the Lok Sabha as an

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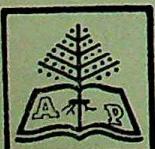
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unavoidable last resort." While the last was the option that was to be made, the book argues with considerable force that the third, which is not unknown in parliamentary traditions in India states, would perhaps have enhanced the inherent prestige and authority of the presidential office by inaugurating a salutary and succeeding convention; and that the third would have conferred upon the presidential action the necessary parliamentary legitimization needed for the consensus for taking whatever course of action.

And ignoring the first, in spite of the fact "that the leader of the opposition and the President of his party had repeatedly (affirmed) that their party had majority support in the Lok Sabha, and that the majority of members in the House was opposed to dissolution," the book takes considerable pains to stress, was ignoring "time-honoured and well-established norms and conventions. "When he invited Chavan," notes the author, "he knew that Chavan had the support of only seventy-five members in a House of 544. Yet he invited him because Chavan was the officially recognised Leader of the Opposition. How he could then refuse to apply the same rule to Jagjivan Ram, who was the Leader of the opposition with over 200 members in his party to support him, is a mystery. If in the circumstances, the President is accused of partisanship, or of being whimsical in his conduct, it is difficult to defend him." This, then, is the ultimate conclusion of the book.

CONCLUSION

Our Constitution is the sublime synthesis of the finest heritages of East and West. The India the reviewer's generation witnessed was free, but poor and backward, unable to provide him and the millions the opportunities of growth and development. And, it is the Constitution that makes him proud, for it is what provides Hope for OUR future. Let us remember that in some 55 of the new nations of the Third World one form of totalitarianism or the other prevails today, let alone the countries of the communist world. I for one can never value enough

the legacy and liberties the Indian Constitution has bestowed upon me. The transcendental values of liberties and tolerance which our Constitution upholds may delay our development and economic progress. But we are FREE in this world, where freedom is but so precious.

Certainly there are weaknesses ingrained in our Constitution, which may be as glaring as those of the Weimer Republic. Pylee's book impresses upon us the need of electoral and constitutional reforms. If our political process should become decent, dignified and productive, chances of defection must be curbed. An electoral reform that offers some form of proportional representation of the parties on the basis of votes gained and the provision for some form of "List System"

through which a certain percentage of talented men can reach the parliament through party caucuses, for which the West German system is a good example can go a long way in India. Since this provides for the representation of experienced and gifted men in Parliament, this introduces a valid point in the discussions wanting to switch over to presidential system. As regards the need of safeguards on presidential power, Pylee draws the attention of the readers to the Constitution Assembly Debates and to other constitutions which have, or have considered, such provisions.

S.D. Devasia is a Research Associate at the Krezberg Centre, Bonn.

On the Midnight's Children

SHAMA FUTEHALLY

I am certain that I am like many other readers of *Midnight's Children* in having lost my peace of mind with the reading of the novel, in my case around September this year. One is greatly exercised, almost troubled, by the question of what makes it so good. The sheer scale of the work, and its ability to find the point at which ordinary lives merge into magic, is one thing. But, so far, the 'Indo-Anglian novel' has appeared to have certain congenital limitations. One was sympathetic to those limitations, but that didn't improve the novels. Rushdie comes along and without further ado uses the limitations like advantages. Could it possibly be, then that we have had no excuse for our poor fiction all along?

Let me attempt to explain what I mean by the usual Indo-Anglian limitations, and present my own notions about how Rushdie has turned them upside down.

USE OF ENGLISH

The whole trouble, of course, was the use of English. Almost as soon as an Indian novelist began his

first sentence in English he discovered that it was much easier for him to describe the external reality in that language than to enter a character's mind. That is why even second-rate stories and novels have a relatively high standard of visual description. (This is also, I think, the reason why our poetry is of a much higher standard than our novels.)

At any rate, the easiest sort of character for a novelist to 'enter' was the English-educated character. Now if a character is so English-educated that the novelist can handle him with ease, the likelihood is that he will have to belong to a social strata where his agonies and anguishes easily seem ridiculous compared to the struggles of those around him. If he is sort of half-educated in English, like most of us, it is more likely that the novelist will be able to relate him to the social environment in the manner that the novel demands. But the problem of entering his mind remains. The hero in question may be a B.A. in English, as so often with R.K. Narayan, but at any point of time at least half his mind

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will be taken up with the morning's exchange with the servant (in Hindi) the temerity of the telephone company (expressed in Hindi) and the heated scene in the bus (very likely in Punjabi). Any attempt to enter his consciousness is bound to be inadequate. It would contain indications of mood and thought, but it would hardly consist of the real thing.

At least one novelist—R. Prawer Jhabvala—has dealt with the problem by presenting her English-speaking characters only as they appear from the outside—in the externals of their speech and action—and only as they would appear to a viewer very definitely steeped in a different culture, i.e. the Western. Which is one way of doing it, but her fiction cannot be called understanding or warm.

As for worthy attempts to enter the minds of harijans and coolies, like those of Mulk Raj Anand—they are doomed to become near-caricature. What, after all, is the use of saying about a coolie, 'He thought he would show the manager a thing or two' when the process taking place in the character's mind is *Saale ko aane do?*

SHOWING THE WAY

So then, if you see events, actions, emotional gains and losses, shaping themselves around you in the usual manner of a novelist, but if it is happening in several languages at once and the tool in your hands is only English, what do you do? I think Rushdie has shown us one way, or rather several ways at once. Here are a few paragraphs from *Midnight's Children* which will help us to see what he does. The passage is extracted from the point at which the narrator, Saleem Sinai, still a boy, begins to have an inkling that his mother Amina might be in close touch with a man other than his father Ahmed:

In the afternoons of that summer, afternoons hot as towels, the telephone would ring. When Ahmed Sinai was asleep in his room, with his keys under his pillow ... telephonic shrilling penetrated the buzzing of the heat insects; and my mother, verucca-hobbled, came into the hall to answer. And now, what expression is this, staining her face the colour of drying blood?...

Not knowing that she's being observed, what fish-like flutterings of lips are these, what strangulated mouthings?...And why, after listening for a full five minutes, does my mother say, in a voice like broken glass, "Sorry; wrong number"? Why are diamonds glistening on her eyelid?...The Brass Monkey (The nick-name of Saleem's sister. The giving of animal pet-names to his characters, like Nussie-the-duck, is one of Rushdie's techniques for giving a fantastical quality to the novel,) whispered to me, "Next time it rings, let's find out."

Five days later. Once more it is afternoon; but today Amina is away, visiting Nussie-the-duck, when the telephone demands attention. "Quick! Quick! or it'll wake him!". The Monkey, agile as her name, picks up the receiver before Ahmed Sinai has even changed the pattern of his snoring. ..."Hullo? Yaas? This is seven zero five six one; hullo?" We listen, every nerve on edge; but for a moment there is nothing at all. Then, when we're about to give up, the voice comes. "...Oh...yes...hullo..." And the Monkey, shouting almost, "Hullo? Who is it, please?" Silence again; the voice, which has not been able to prevent itself from speaking, considers its answer; and then, "...Hullo...This is Shanti Prasad Truck Hire Company, Please?..." And the Monkey, quick as a flash: "Yes, what d'you want?" Another pause; the voice, sounding embarrassed, apologetic almost, says, "I want to rent a truck."

O feeble excuse of telephonic voice! O transparent flummery of ghosts! The voice on the telephone was no truck-renter's voice; it was soft, a little fleshy, the voice of a poet...but after that the telephone rang regularly; sometimes my mother answered it, listened in silence while her mouth made fish-motions, and finally, much too late, said, "Sorry, wrong number"; at other times the Monkey and I clustered around it, two ears to ear-piece, while the Monkey took orders

for trucks. I wondered: "Hey, Monkey, what d'you think? Doesn't the guy ever wonder why the trucks don't arrive?" And she, wide-eyed, flutter-voiced. "Man, do you suppose...maybe they do!"

But I couldn't see how; and a tiny seed of suspicion was planted in me, a tiny glimmering of a notion that our mother might have a secret—our Amma! who always said, "Keep secrets and they'll go bad inside you! don't tell things and they'll give you stomach-ache!"

...And now at last, it is time for dirty laundry. Mary Pereira was fond of telling me, "If you want to be a big man, Baba, you must be very clean. Change clothes," She advised, "take regular baths. Go, Baba, or I'll send you to the washerman and he'll wallop you on his stone." (p. 188-9)

It is worth counting the number of 'voices' which this little episode contains. There is, first the voice of Amina Sinai, good Indian wife and mother—"Don't tell things and they'll give you stomach-ache!" There is the voice of Mary Pereira, archetypal—Goan ayah 'If you want to be a big man, Babá...' There is the voice of the caller, speaking the Indian English of the business dealer—'This is Shanti Prasad Truck Hire Company, please?' Finally, there is the semi-American picked up by the children at school—"Hey, Monkey, what d'you think?" conjointly with another kind of child's voice—"Our Amma!"

KHICHDI BECOMES A PULAO

This is how it is nearly every passage of the book, and in the absence of more than one language to write in, it is a good way of indicating that all experiences (even those within one mind, but certainly those which involve others) take place in a sort of *khichdi* of languages.

The fact that many of the speakers use what is technically 'incorrect' English points up another difference between Rushdie and other Indian novelists. The latter have usually done one of two things. They have either made their characters use an English of artificial fluency and correctness like Anita Desai; or they have satirically made them

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use incorrect English, like Jhabvala. The first approach reduces the credibility of a character; the second reduces his appeal. Rushdie uses their English exactly as they use it themselves—totally wrong, completely acceptable, capable of transmitting extremes of human experience.

And as far as the author's own voice goes, it recognises instinctively that (in these bi-cultural circumstances) idiom, if any, must be self-created. At the moment it cannot

come from the traditional stock of either English or Indian idiom—it can only be, at the moment, highly individual and created to suit the context, as in poetry—hence 'fish-mouthing', 'hot as towels', and 'colour of drying blood' to describe an Indian blush. And so the *khichdi* becomes a pulao.

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A Biographical Essay

SUJIT MUKHERJEE

It may not be widely known that the "Rabindra Purashkar" awards of each year by the Government of West Bengal take note of outstanding works in English by Indians, so long as the work relates to the life and culture of Bengal. I do not know of any other state government in modern India (other than perhaps in those states in the north-east that have declared English as their state language) which gives such recognition to books written in English. As in much else (the recent school syllabus in history, for example), Bengal continues to stand apart from the rest of the country.

In selecting Krishna Kripalani's latest biographical essay for a Rabindra Purashkar of 1982, (*Dwarkanath Tagore : A Forgotten Pioneer—A Life*. National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1981.) the West Bengal government has, I think, honoured more than an outstanding work of biography. It has also honoured the memory of one of the most illustrious sons of Bengal who has quite unaccountably, perhaps even deliberately, been forgotten for a long time. This book ought to remind us durably that Dwarkanath Tagore was not only the grandfather of Rabindranath but also a grand Indian in his own right.

Born in 1796, 'Prince' Dwarkanath was a younger contemporary and staunch supporter of Raja Rammohun Roy; and Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, who was twenty-six when Dwarkanath died (in 1846;

like Rammohun, in England) admired the latter enough to want to write his biography. There could not have been many more remarkable Indians in the early 19th century than this 'forgotten pioneer'. To quote Kripalani from an earlier book: "Handsome, versatile and enterprising, he was a romantic figure who in an earlier age would probably have carved out a kingdom for himself and become a prince. Prince, however, he came to be called because of his magnificent way of living and his large public charities. His extensive business covered many fields, indigo factories, saltpetre, sugar, tea, coalmines etc. He owned large agricultural estates in Bengal and Orissa, a fleet of cargo boats that plied to the British coast, and founded the first modern bank with Indian capital, known as the Union Bank. All these multifarious concerns he controlled through his firm, Carr, Tagore and Co." (*Rabindranath Tagore*, pp. 3-4).

Business activities apart, "He helped in the founding of the National Library in Calcutta as also the first centre of modern education in India, the Hindu College, in 1816, which later grew into what is now known as the Presidency College of Calcutta. He was actively associated with the establishment in 1835 of the first medical college and hospital in Calcutta... He gave free scholarships to encourage students to take up the study of medicine... He was the first Indian member and patron of the Asiatic Society of Bengal..."

He stood up bravely, in the teeth of popular opposition, for every social reform and progressive movement of his day, religious, social and political... He was one of the first to organise public opinion and bring the influence of new rising interests to bear on the good government of the country" (op. cit., p. 4, p. 5). That such a man should have had so little written about him after he died seems surprising. Until last year, only five biographical works were in existence, two of which are translations or edited reproductions of earlier works.

Whereas in his two earlier biographical undertakings—on Rabindranath (pub. 1961; revised edn. 1971), the best biography of the poet in English upto now; on Gandhi (pub. 1969), the best introduction to the Mahatma for any English reader)—Krishna Kripalani's task was to compress within his chosen frame vast amounts of material, here his task was quite the reverse, namely, that of filling out and correcting a legendary outline with sparsely available facts. As he tells us in the foreword, he got interested in the subject more than two decades ago while he was writing the book on Rabindranath and delved into the latter's ancestry: "Thus I stumbled against Dwarkanath about whom hardly any mention was made in the family or at Santiniketan where I spent many years. Raja Rammohun Roy was talked of, admired and idolised, but his main collaborator and comrade, Dwarkanath who had stood by India's first great modern rebel till the end and not only till the end but long after, when many a religious disciple deserted his new faith, he, Dwarkanath, was almost totally ignored, as though his memory was a blot on the family escutcheon. This only whetted my curiosity about a man who was so admired in his lifetime and so ignored after his death" (p. vi).

The book does not quite answer why this should have happened, but will have, in the fuller portrait that now emerges from careful research and judicious delineation, whetted the curiosity of Dwarkanath's next biographer.

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On Dying

T.N. MADAN

Sometimes I wish there were fewer authors writing books—many of us write *invita Minerva*, under professional pressure or in response to institutional demands, without having anything really worthwhile to say. I also wish there were fewer publishers—many of them care little for the craft of making books and look upon them with just the same eye as any other marketplace profit-seeker in business. In short, I wish there were fewer books to read—not because I hate books but because I love the good book dearly, and the hours spent on reading bad or mediocre books are stolen from the good ones.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TO DEATH

During the year now drawing to close it has been my good fortune to read a number of very good books. Among them I would like to give the place of pride to Philippe Aries's *The Hour of Our Death* (tr. from the French by Helen Weaver, New York, Alfred Knopf, 1981, pp. 651 photographs, hardcover, \$ 20). Aries is, of course, well-known for his earlier classic work *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (1962). An interest leading from childhood to old age, from birth to death, seems quite appropriate, particularly in an author who has the total freedom to proceed in directions which his spontaneously felt intellectual and emotional inclinations impel him to do. Aries does not write to make a living: he lives in Maisons-Lafitte, where he heads the Information Centre of the Institute of Applied Research for Tropical and Subtropical Fruits. But the professional scholars respect him for his erudition and perspective and style. He is seen to be at the very centre of the intellectual movement in France called the history of *mentalités*. Among the scholars of this 'school' there are important differences of approach ranging from say, Michel Vovelle's precise statistical analysis to Philippe Aries's

broad impressionism; but they are all concerned with history as the study of the structure of human consciousness. What more fundamental subject could there be in such a genre than the changing attitudes to death?

Aries's book is, to quote from the cover page itself, a 'history of Western Man's changing attitudes toward death—and thus his perceptions of life itself—over the last one thousand years'. 'The historian of death', our author writes, 'must not be afraid to embrace centuries until they run into a millennium.' He must also not be afraid to invest a sizeable portion of his own allotted life-span to write a book on the subject. This one took 15 years to compose and involved reading books of many kinds; examining documents of many sorts including clerical documents, private wills and archival materials; visiting churches, museums and tombs; speaking with kindred souls and (I am sure) with himself.

DEATH HELD NO TERROR

Beginning with the Greco-Roman world, Aries believes that death then held no terrors and the early Christians inherited this attitude. Death was collective destiny and therefore not fearful; moreover, Christians could look forward to their Christ's return and to their own awakening in paradise. Aries calls this the 'tame death'. It would seem that over a period of 100 to 150 years, mainly during the 11th century, a major shift in consciousness occurred with the emergence of the individual and the simultaneous retreat of the collectivity. This led to an intense concern with one's sense of self and the death of the self. It is not, therefore, at the moment of death or in the presence of death that one must think about death; it is throughout one's life.' This Aries calls the 'turning of the tide'—and the tide sought many shores including 'the beautiful and edifying death'.

By the modern times (19th century) death had become a separation, a sorrow, and a catastrophe. Death became bereavement; it was romanticized. Remember the deaths in Emily Bronte's *Wuthering Heights*? Many themes became interwoven with death including the macabre and the erotic. Death also became remembrance through the visit to the cemetery.

The beginning of the present century did not herald any new attitudes to death but by the time it had run half its course another major shift had occurred in Western Man's consciousness of death—in fact a revolutionary change: death had come to be denied! 'The beginning of the lie' has coincided with 'the beginning of medicalization' and the 'transfer to hospital'. Though 'the last moments remain traditional', mourning has come to be regarded as being rather indecent. In fact, death is sought to be excluded from human consciousness.

EXERCISE IN SELF DECEPTION

But this is merely an exercise in self-deception: 'this attitude has not annihilated death or the fear of death. On the contrary, it has allowed the old savagery to creep back under the mask of medical technology. The death of the patient in the hospital, covered with tubes, is becoming a popular image, more terrifying than the *transi* or skeleton of macabre rhetoric.' On this Aries comments: 'Death must simply become the discrete but dignified exit of a peaceful person from a helpful society that is not torn, not even overly upset by the idea of a biological transition without significance, without pain or suffering, and ultimately without fear.' This is also the message from one civilization to others where it will find echoes.

What does Aries's book have to do with the non-Western, non-Christian world? A great deal, for modernization is spreading the Western Man's newly acquired image of death. In the brutal words of the Mexican thinker Ivan Illich, author of the important work *Medical Nemesis*, Western cultural colonialism has spread a conception of death as a clinically

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determined point of time when 'the human organism refuses any further input of treatment'. How insidious this structure of consciousness has become is borne out by the undignified responses of many 'modern' Indians to the manner Vinoba chose the moment of his death on the eve of Deepavali this year. Some one would have him prosecuted for attempted suicide; the editorial writer of a national daily remarked enigmatically that the manner of Vinoba's death would not be 'countenanced in ordinary life'—whatever that means. The Buddhist and Hindu attitudes to dying await a Philippe Aries to reflect on and write about them.

I have not really attempted to summarize *The Hour of Death*: the summary is one of the many instances of the modern intellectual's inability to cope with time. Nor have I tried to pronounce a verdict on Aries's enterprise: that would be arrogance. One must, I suggest, read a *magnum opus* such as this one to learn from it, and not merely familiarize oneself with it to comment on it.

OTHER BOOKS

There are some other good books I have read this year and I would like to just list a few of them here. Diana Eck's *Benaras, the City of Light* (New York, Knopf, 1982) is a loving portrait of Varanasi based on Sanskrit texts, historical accounts, travellers' tales and sketches, and the author's own intimate study of the city, enriched by some excellent photographs taken by her. Jonathan Schell's *The Fate of the Earth* (New York, Knopf-- amazing how this publisher's name is cropping up for the third time!--, 1982) is a chilling scenario of how the earth may be laid waste and mankind destroyed by a nuclear holocaust which could occur by decision or by a computer fault. He draws pointed attention to the ethical responsibility that rests on our shoulders to save our earth for our children.

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's first book, *Essays in National Idealism*, published in 1909, has been re-issued for the first time in India (New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1981). It remains very relevant

in its fundamental insights—in its critique of Indian education, its characterization of swadeshi as a concern with the affirmation of the *intrinsically worthwhile*, its exhortation that the only valid attitude to the past is one of *responsibility*, its admonition that those whose teacher is the harmonium will have little music. Wendy O' Flaherty's *Sexual Metaphors and Animal Symbols in Indian Mythology* (Delhi, Motilal Banarsi Das, 1980) is at once very erudite, provocative, humorous, and crazy! V.S. Naipaul's old celebrated novel, *A House for Mr. Biswas* (1961), with which I caught up only this year, illuminated for me his *An Area of Darkness* (1964): his childhood experience appears to have been so miserable that he would have hardly any reason to care for the so-called 'roots'. His *Among the Believers: An Islamic Journey* (London, Andre Deutsch, 1981) has been a bit of a disappointment. Though there is some excellent

writing here, and the evocation the 'atmosphere' of the different countries, particularly Iran, is superb, the book is intellectually opaque and offers very little by way of an understanding of Islamic fundamentalism. 'Roots', 'fundamentals', and such like themes evoke a curious response from this great literary craftsman.

And as this review article comes off the typewriter, the news of the passing away of K.P.S. Menon has come in. He is an author to whom I owe gratitude for many hours of joyous reading over the years. This particular piece of writing that comes to my mind just now, however, is his very moving and serene and beautifully written piece on the death of his son-in-law ('The Horn Coming' in *Memories and Musing* 1979) which captures for us a glimpse of the Hindu attitude to death.

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The Faustian Quest in Modern Fiction

VASANT A. SHAHANE

In offering a reading of Anthony Burgess's latest novel *Earthly Powers* (Penguin, 1981), which has impressed me as a distinctive work of modern fiction, I wish to emphasise and comment upon two important aspects of this work.

The first aspect of *Earthly Powers* is that it encompasses within its fold an intense awareness of the centrality of European consciousness: the Faustian Quest which is the hallmark of post-Renaissance Europe. Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* is the first tragic man, part believer, part unbeliever, vacillating between defiance of God and reliance on God. He traverses the uneasy borderland between an uncertain faith and an unnerving scepticism. He is repentant as well as proud and self-conceited. He represents the main movement of mind of modern Europe, the

quest for knowledge and power, and *Earthly Powers* is Burgess's vision of that basic quest in contemporary society.

I have specially quoted Marlowe because Anthony Burgess had written his M.A. dissertation on Marlowe at the University of Manchester in 1940. In an interview with Samuel Coale, Burgess spoke about Marlowe:

"I discerned in Marlowe a kind of Catholic quality...He had a name called 'The Over-Reacher'. There's no limitation on his appetites. There's a strong desire for both damnation and a kind of sensuous-sybaritic salvation. It's total and most fascinating character of the Renaissance." (Samuel Coale, "An Interview with Anthony Burgess," *Modern Fiction Studies*, Anthony Burgess Special Number, Vol. 27

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No. 3, Autumn 1981, p. 432.)

CONFRONTATION WITH EVIL

Anthony Burgess's answers have great relevance to the composition of *Earthly Powers*. Geoffery Aggeler in his essay on this novel has said that the narrator-protagonist of this novel, Kenneth M. Toomey, is the embodiment of the Faustian spirit. Faust is a great legend which has gone deep into European consciousness, but in the context of *Earthly Powers* it also represents the European writer's quest for personal and religious certitude. It confirms Spengler's belief that the spirit of modern Europe is Faustian and that it is therefore exposed to the malevolent power of evil. The creative effort and the web of human relationships in which Toomey is deeply involved demonstrates his major confrontation with evil.

Another important connection of *Earthly Powers* with the centrality of European consciousness is demonstrated through Burgess's exploration of contemporary social and political history. Many scenes in the novel are placed around the Second World War (1939-1945), and specially against the setting of the inhumanities and oppressions of Hitler's Nazi Germany. Thus, the novel spans across nearly six decades of European social and political scene. Contemporary political events such as Great Britain recognizing the government of General Franco, Hitler annexing Bohemia, Italy seizing Albania—events casting their dark shadows in an uneasy world leading to the great catastrophe of the Second World War—provide the background of *Earthly Powers* since political power and military power form part of the explosive situation in the world of that time. The beastly acts of the Nazi rule are intended to shock the reader. All these, powers that are, and the powers that be, form part of the fictional complex of *Earthly Powers*.

CONVERSION

This is brought out with great force in the mode of the conversion of Liebeneiner, a convinced Nazi into a free human being and individual.

dual. Carlo, the priest, set upon himself the difficult task of converting this Nazi :

His task was more difficult than he would ever have thought possible. It seemed to him that Nazi Germany had succeeded in producing a new type of human being, one that had abdicated the rights and duties of freedom of moral choice, that was capable of putting the abstraction of a political system before the realities of human life, that could obey without question, that was able, under orders, to perpetrate the most ghastly enormities totally without remorse, whose satisfactions were referred or collective, whose creed was mystical and insusceptible of any rational reduction. And yet this man Liebeneiner, who had after all taught the English language and analysed poems by Shelley and speeches by Shakespeare, who loved music and had wept at the death of his dog Bruno, who had a wife and daughter whom he claimed to adore and miss sorely, had to be considered one of God's creatures and capable of Christian redemption. Carlo and he spoke English. (*Earthly Powers*, pp. 446-47.)

Carlo was up against the fanatically nurtured beliefs which had struck deep roots in the mind of Liebeneiner, and yet, he tried hard to save the Nazi's soul :

...what trickery was this of the bishop's?

'No trickery. I believe humanity is above political ideology. I wish you to join the rest of your human brothers. You have nothing to fear. The war will end soon. Germany will be ruined, but a new Germany will arise. You will be a citizen of a free polity unanimated by false doctrine. But your career as a Nazi functionary is at an end. The Nazis are finished. God, man, is the entire world wrong except for Hitler's Reich? It is not at least conceivable that a system built on the suppression of

free thought and free speech, on racialism and genocide and the worship of power, might be an untenable system? Can you at least accept that possibility?'

'You speak too fast but I think I understand. Can you accept that your Christian Church may be wrong?'

'Every day I face that possibility. Every day I pray for faith.'

'I have faith too. And I do not have to pray for it.'

'The faith I represent has endured longer than yours. It is also faith in a spiritual essence, not in a mortal leader.'

'Adolf Hitler is as immortal as you believe your Christus to be. When he dies in the flesh as your Christus died he will be alive in the spirit. If Germany is destroyed by your Christians it will be only as land and fields and cities and people. But Germany as the great truth of the world cannot die. The Aryan truth cannot die.' (*Earthly Powers* pp. 447-48.)

Thus, Liebeneiner is subjected to a full month of beneficent torture and then he reaches a stage of identifying himself with the victims of Nazi atrocities. Carlo continues his efforts to turn Liebeneiner into a true Christian. Liebeneiner cries, "May your God consign Adolf Hitler to a deep and eternal hell..."

Carlo tells him, "You can say that your philosophy of power and intolerance hasn't worked, it's been defeated. Therefore, it was wrong."

Thus, the stark military reality as well as the religious implications of that tyranny are very powerfully exposed by Burgess in *Earthly Powers*.

MODELLED ON MAUGHAM

The second aspect of *Earthly Powers* is rather more complex. The creative writer's attempt to assimilate as well as reconcile the contrary pulls in his own being and his psyche is depicted and the pressure of a sexual urge in conflict with the more inward craving for a religious faith of a Catholic conscience are depicted with great sensitivity.

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It is interesting to observe that the protagonist-narrator of *Earthly Powers*, Kenneth M. Toomey, is partly modelled on William Somerset Maugham, the popular English novelist and the great entertainer. The artist's confrontation with the abnormal aspects of his own being—his homosexuality is a major theme of *Earthly Powers*. It gives rise to many complications in Toomey's relationships with his friends, parents, relatives and these are perceptively portrayed in the novel's narrative content. Maugham himself was involved in these complex relationships, and parts of his autobiographical novel, *The Summing up* (1938), especially the three chapters 58, 59, 60, unfold the predicaments of the homosexual. Geoffrey, the homosexual companion of Toomey, appears to have been based on Gerald Haxton, the homosexual companion of Somerset Maugham. The contemporary discoveries of the homosexuality of several members of the Bloomsbury Group seem to suggest a wider background to this painful predicament of the artist in the twentieth century.

Kenneth M. Toomey is portrayed as a complex homosexual-artist. He writes... "there was a Great War going on, and here I had been trying to reconcile my sexual urges with my religious faith" (*Earthly Powers*, p. 58). However, his reputation as an author was made by a novel considered hetero-sexually assertive, *Once Departed*, and how ironic this was! It deals with a man suffering from an incurable disease and his sexual exploits with great-limbed and firm-breasted girls. His second novel, *Before the Hemlock* portrayed Socrates and Alcibiades and also showed naked males embracing each other off stage.

In real life, Ken Toomey is shown as involved in homosexual relationship with his male lovers, Geoffrey and Val Wrigley. He writes about Val :

Now, entering the apartment house on Baron's Court Road, climbing the stairs to my topfloor flat, I was free to think about another kind of faith or faithfulness. Val Wrigley was to spend the night with me, as he did atleast once a month. We were friends, we were lovers, but he was not

free to enter the homosexual equivalent of the married state. (*Earthly Powers* p. 60)

However, this homosexual relationship between Toomey and Val breaks down because the young man has found another male lover, who will finance the printing of his poems. It reminds him of Jack Ketteridge, "that pal of Ezra Pound's" who was given the gift of a hand press. The news shatters Toomey and the "world was making him (me) bleed." (*Earthly Powers*, p. 66).

A SPLIT PERSON

Kenneth Toomey is obviously a split person because he cannot overcome his sexual urges and he is constantly troubled by his Roman Catholic conscience. He is constantly vexed by the nightmarish vision of hell—it is like "having an infinitude of teeth drawn without cocaine. It was a live coal falling on my fingers...."

His main dilemma arises out of the conflicting vision of God. "But, since God had made me a homosexual, I had to believe that there was another God forbidding me to do so". (p. 60).

He becomes a victim of a dichotomous vision of the two gods, the God of the Church and the God of his glands. His whole process of 'becoming' is confronted with this painful dualism in him, and a kind of Manichaean exposing him to the monsters within his soul, the forces of evil.

It is in this context that Anthony Burgess has been described as a "lapsed" Catholic. When asked about this by Samuel Coale, Burgess spoke about James Joyce's *The Portrait of the Artist as a Young man* (1916) and how deeply it affected him. Burgess said:

"...I read the *Portrait* when I was about sixteen. I was horrified. The effect of the book was to put me in the position of Stephen Dedalus himself, who's horrified by the Sermon on hell...the book was a dynamite ..." (MFS., p. 432)

This confrontation with hell, the monsters within his soul, is the essence of *Earthly Powers*. This is equally true of Carlo, who is humiliated and induced to sign a sort of a

Faustian pact with the devil. Carlo professes love to Hortense, Toomey's sister, which introduces many complications in the novel's narrative.

Earthly Powers is also crammed with Burgess's comic spirit and his sense of fun. For instance, see the comic version of *Hamlet*:

There had been a good deal in the news about a trade agreement between Great Britain and Denmark, so Tom retold the story of *Hamlet* in terms of dairy exports. Hamlet, he said, was really christened Ham Omelette. Claudius, his wicked uncle, was a very bad Danish egg. (*Earthly Powers* p. 317)

The narrative of *Earthly Powers*, spread over six decades and combined with nerve-wracking events of contemporary European history, is pitchforked into a well-knit form. It is in some ways pedantic and boring, though it is also crammed with jokes and puns and literary anecdotes. It is essentially a story of an individual, of moving scenes of personal and social suffering, and the agony of the protagonist's soul attempting to reconcile itself with a hostile universe. It is a curious combination of real and personalized history of Europe in the twentieth century, and the earthly powers which dominate and control individuals and society. It achieves the aesthetic unity of form and vision by fusing the tale of an individual with the destiny of Europe.

Essentially, *Earthly Powers* depicts with great power the personal predicament and agony of a creative artist who is enmeshed in the trap of his own personality of a homosexual confronted with a Catholic conscience.

In his review of Dylan Thomas's *Collected Poems* (1954), William Empson writes about the Welsh poet's intense predicament when he observes that "the Cross of Jesus is also the male sexual organ" (*New Statesman and Nation*, 15 May 1954 p. 635). Kenneth Toomey's dilemma in *Earthly Powers* is not very different from Dylan Thomas's.

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National Book Trust, India

A-5 Green Park, New Delhi-110016

Publishing and the Libraries

A Symposium

Random Reflections

AMRIK SINGH

Of this there should be no doubt that publishing of English books in India has been in trouble during the last few years. It should not be necessary to provide details. Those have been referred to on more than one occasion in these columns. The ironical part of it is that library grants were cut more or less at a time when the publishing in India was poised for a kind of breakthrough. The preceding few years had been years of considerable activity and expanding horizons. More or less for the first time in India the phenomenon of the 'best seller' had made a tentative appearance. Some titles caught the fancy of readers and were sold in very large numbers. Otherwise also, there was brisk activity all around.

Everything received a rude jolt however when those grants were cut. As a result, publishing programmes were slowed down. It is only for a year or so that things have started picking up. As could have been predicted, it is all linked up with the release of grants by the UGC. One thing should be clear therefore. The health of publishing of English books in India depends upon library grants. Almost three-fourths of what is published goes to libraries. If their budgets are cut, it is always going to be difficult. The experience of the last half a decade has demonstrated it beyond

any doubt. One only hopes that there would be no repetition of something so shortsighted and so damaging in terms of academic consequences.

Another way of saying the same thing would be that no meaningful policy in regard to publishing can be worked out without at the same time working out a policy of support to the libraries. A decade ago when the UGC first appointed a Library Development Committee, it consisted only of University Librarians. When it was pointed out that the college sector was a very important sector and it had remained neglected so far, a separate committee dealing with the development of college libraries was set up. During the few years that it has functioned, it has not been able to make much of an impact. This happened largely because by the time it got going the grants were cut down and it is only now that a normal kind of situation is beginning to be restored.

ROLE OF STATE GOVERNMENTS

So far only the UGC has been referred to. This was important for obvious reasons. But surely all funds for purchase of library books cannot come from the UGC alone. Other sources of funding have also to be taken into account. This refers

in particular to the grants made by the various State Governments. Except for 7 Central Universities and 5 IITs, all other universities and 'deemed to be universities' have to depend upon the respective State Governments for their maintenance. Even agricultural universities which are more than 20 in number, are State-supported universities and funding for them comes from the Exchequer of each State. The real role of the State Governments therefore is very crucial.

In terms of total effort, it is even more crucial because it is the State Governments which provide funds to State universities as also to 99% of the colleges in the country and except for less than hundreds all others are supported by the respective States. In this situation therefore to talk of the UGC alone is helpful beyond a point. The State Governments must also be brought into the picture and in a meaningful and substantial way.

Then there is a very large sector of public libraries. They too are supported by the various States. Their number is quite large though it is only a hundred or so of them which can be described well as being stocked and competently managed. Consciousness about books is so minimal in the country that if we do not have a properly organised library system nobody seems to feel any the worse for it. The moment one talks of public libraries, the sector of English books at one stroke gets reduced in importance. A large number of these libraries have substantial collections of books published in the local language. In a few States books belonging to other languages are also put in the library but this does not happen on a large enough scale so as to make it necessary to generalise on the subject.

Some of the State Governments are quite active in this behalf. A few of them, notably in the South, have a State wide library system and try to do their bit in respect of books and book culture. The remarkable effort made in this respect by Kerala is not in such a flourishing condition today as it was some years ago. The whole thing has got politicised to an extraordinary degree with consequences that one

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can only lament. In a few other States, efforts are being made to promote publishing in the local language. All of these are gratifying. The only comment that one can make is that these efforts are not as extensive and as systematic as one would like them to be.

THE PRICE FACTOR

When one talks of books published in India, and so far it has been mainly with reference to them that the above remarks have been made, the price factor is not something that one finds it difficult to adjust to. Prices of books have been rising as have been other prices. To the extent that one's resources get overstretched in buying the daily necessities of life and one cannot have any funds to spare for purchase of books, the situation is certainly unfavourable. But all this is in the relative sense and that is why quite some people can and do come to terms with the situation.

What has thrown things out of gear lately is the extraordinary rise in the price of imported books. It would be no exaggeration to say that during the last 10-15 years the prices of imported books have gone up 8-10 times. With sinking budgets and escalating costs the situation cannot be other than what it is. As statistics quoted by various contributors in this journal show, approximately two-thirds of the budget spent by libraries which have any kind of an academic standing is spent on purchase of imported books. That being so, the price factor cannot but be the overriding factors in all calculations.

Apart from that, as more than one contributor has shown, the funds so spent are not always spent wisely. There is a lot of disorganised and aimless buying. In consequence, the funds do get used up but the returns are out of proportion with the investment made.

What applies to books applies to journals as well. Some of the important university libraries are spending as much as between half a million and a million rupees per year in order to import journals. The number of such

libraries may not be very large but it is not insignificant either. To suggest any cut in the number and variety of journals would be an exceedingly shortsighted move. In order to remain abreast of advances being made in different disciplines journals are more useful than books. They therefore have to be imported and must continue to be imported. As a matter of fact we in India rely largely upon journals published in English and neglect those in several other languages. Properly speaking, we should import journals published in other languages as well. Quite a few of them are vehicles of first-rate research and the country must be abreast of everything in every field of study. This is almost a precondition for any kind of intellectual growth.

RATIONALISATION

A certain degree of rationalisation is very much called for therefore. The UGC recently worked out a plan and asked the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, to act as the mother library in respect of journals in science. This is a move in the right direction and should be welcomed. Two cautions however are called for at this stage. One is to ensure that in actual practice the job is done to everyone's satisfaction. Not many years ago, Egypt did something similar and more or less for the same reasons. The execution of that project however led to all kinds of unforeseen difficulties and the situation there is still somewhat chaotic. This makes it necessary therefore that the execution of the project is monitored closely as well as constructively.

This is the second caution that has to be kept in mind. Not to do so would be to draw up a first-rate plan and then see it being executed in an indifferent and unsatisfactory way. Such a development usually gives rise to a feeling of frustration and paralyses further activity. This caution is all the more necessary because during the quarter century or so that the UGC has been active as an institution it has hardly done any monitoring of what gets done in the universities. At one time it did not believe in it. Even after this omission was referred to pointedly by the UGC Review Committee in

1977, nothing has been done to repair that omission so far.

BOOK TRADE

Yet another fact vividly brought out by these various contributions is the failure of the book trade to meet the demands made upon it. This is not surprising. During the last couple of decades the book trade has not developed along scientific lines. The library system can never be in a healthy and wholesome condition unless the book trade too is in a healthy and wholesome condition. This is an aspect of the problem that has not been understood nor given the care and resources that ought to have been given to it.

Import of books has become a hit and miss affair. Prices have gone up so steeply that the bookseller does not feel interested in placing an order unless there is an order for at least half a dozen copies. If each copy is going to cost Rs. 400-500, half a dozen copies come to quite a sizeable amount. He therefore hesitates to invest that much. This is not the occasion to go into details as to what are the steps that are required to be taken. It is a real problem however and must be attended to without any further delay.

The importers as well as booksellers have their problems. Finance is only one of them. Here the State can help and should help. The fact however remains that the State alone cannot put the book trade on the right lines. There have to be efforts from within the trade also to operate in a manner which does not bring discredit to it.

What these few contributions have done is to bring into the open what is known either vaguely or not at all. An average reader is not interested in the mechanics of the trade or how books are imported and libraries are funded and discounts are offered or not offered and so on. He is interested only in the book. The situation however has become so messy that the average reader must to some extent try to understand what goes on behind the scenes. These few articles are an attempt to educate him in this regard.

Vis-a-vis Book Trade

D.N. BANERJEE
K.S. RAWAT

It would be appropriate starting with two graphs (p. 41) showing (1) the budgetary allocation, over the years since 1970-71, providing for the necessary sinews to build up (2) a rich growth of mostly the best materials in the areas of science and technology that the I.I.T., Kanpur's academic programmes are directly or indirectly concerned with. Then, there are collections to reckon with in the allied areas as well as in areas of humanities and social sciences.

The steady increase in the progressive budgets displayed in the bars, with the solitary exception of 1971-72, bears out the claim we have advanced, and represented in the line.

The immediate conclusion one can easily draw from these facts and claims is, that to build up a very good and up to-date collection of documents in a sci-tech library the precondition is, good budget.

However, given fat budgets the collection may not necessarily be the best and upto-date. This aspect will depend on a library's 1) goals, 2) acquisition policies, and 3) strategies it develops to acquire the relevant best books, journals, reports and the like. Incidentally, one very important factor in building a really upto-date collection of reading materials at IIT Kanpur, has been its highly conscious and discriminating readership.

Before the above three topics are discussed, it would not be out of place to incorporate the following very important elements which make all the difference between a small library acquisitions and those of one as big as the I.I.T. Kanpur, and the much greater problems of management between a non-sci-tech and a sci-tech Library.

PROBLEMS

In a basically sci-tech library of the size of IIT, Kanpur these elements make the job of collection development practically a nightmare.

They are (1) number of units to be acquired, and (2) their sheer variety. The number may not be so large as in a non-sci-tech library, but the varieties of subject matters, specialities, forms, and sources from where they originate and are available, are too numerous to be easily coped with. This aspect is generally the prime factor in any library. But the nature of a sci-tech library of this kind with such resources to maintain, and such diverse clients to serve, makes the activities of collection development very complex and very difficult.

It is here that the necessity of resourcefulness of the allied areas generally known as book-trade is particularly felt. But before we come to our experience with this trade, let us talk in brief about the three topics we have listed above.

ACQUISITION POLICIES

The policy governing collection development at I.I.T. Kanpur, Central Library has been 1) initially to build up, within constraints, a balanced basic collection of the classics and as far as possible the best and next best materials available in concerned and allied fields belonging to both undergraduate and research level requirements of this institute. And to update these collections. 2) To acquire to the maximum extent possible all the immediate document requirements of the academics for teaching, research/and various other projects. And 3) to achieve both within a strict time limit, so that the academic time-table does not get stuck or postponed.

SELECTIONS

Another important policy that has been religiously maintained all these years and which has contributed to the present strength of the holdings at I.I.T. Kanpur Central Library is the one (in their respective

areas) that the selections of documents to be added to the collections are the exclusive business of the reading academics themselves. The library selects and updates only documents of general and broad reference nature.

How the selected lists of documents received from library convenors from various departments are acquired and reported back to the original requesters is strictly the business of the library system.

BOOK COLLECTION

The Central Library of the Institute plays a leading role in teaching and research by way of providing suitable reading materials to its clientele. In doing so, the library has been following a well tested systematic procedure for acquiring of reading materials. This procedure is formulated in terms of a set pattern with modifications to suit the local conditions based on experiences. The operational procedure is this :

As already mentioned, requests for book acquisition are mainly received from the members of the faculty after they have been monitored by the respective departmental library conveners. The ideas of routing requests through the conveners is basically to build a collection of the right and relevant books in different subjects and disciplines in equal proportions. A separate fund is allocated for the use of the librarian to build reference and other general nature of publications. Thus books which are purchased throughout the year cover all subjects as per needs of the academic activities of the Institute. Next comes processing of the requests which need careful attention on the part of the library staff. After checking the availability or whether the publication is already on order, or in the process, various book trade literatures are consulted for verification of the author, title, publishers, price etc. Following this a decision is taken regarding the choice of a vendor a possible source of supply. Normally orders are placed with the stockists, local vendors or directly with the publishers depending on the nature of publication.

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PROBLEMS AT KANPUR

Kanpur is the biggest industrial town of Uttar Pradesh. But the book trade of this area is confined to wayside book stalls. They deal mostly with paperback novels and second hand books. The book trade of materials such as this library wants is carried out by only one or two book dealers whose stock position and business turnover are comparatively satisfactory. There are a few who scout about for orders, so that they may procure supply from outside. These retailers depend mostly on book dealers operating from the main metropolitan cities of India.

The outstation book dealers mainly concentrate on local markets. They usually supply books to Kanpur book traders only when surplus volumes are available with them, which is borne out by the fact that sometimes it takes 6 to 8 months time for a book to reach Kanpur from Delhi. Therefore, it is evident that non-development of full-fledged book trade in Kanpur is the main reason why this library looks to outside dealers to supply the bulk of its demands.

BOOK TRADERS

It is assumed that book business is a noble and honourable business. But, the way the book trade is being carried out now needs much improvement. Properly speaking the book traders should feel responsible for helping to build good collection in libraries. They however are mostly profit oriented in their vocation. For example, if orders for books published by government agencies, learned bodies and/or less known publishers are placed with the traders, they do not respond quickly, obviously due to marginal profits and/or complications in procurement. Regarding such publications, they simply acknowledge orders in a routine fashion, and forget about them.

DIRECT ORDERING

In view of the above stated problems, as an alternative, orders are also placed directly with the national or foreign publishers, and

also to wholesalers. But this recourse has also some inherent disadvantages. In case of foreign publications advance payments are made through banks which take their own time to prepare cheques. Otherwise also, direct ordering requires sustained correspondence. Thus the whole process gets delayed and the publications are received much later than the academic deadlines. Sometimes courses are even postponed for want of books.

SUPPLY STATUS

It has been observed that the supply rate of books on engineering and technology is about 60%. Specifically in case of aeronautical or nuclear engineering the rate of supply is even below 50%. Books on pure science and humanities are in a better position where the supply rate is about 70% of the total orders.

Book acquisition in a sci-tech library would certainly improve if the service rendered by book traders were to improve. They should be service oriented. The tendency to supply out of stock books at their own convenience should be stopped. Moreover, there should be a government or semi-government agency to regulate and control the book trade. Merely fixation of money exchange rate by an agency like "Good Offices Committee" is not enough. The committee should formulate policies for fair trade practices and should take action against defaulting book traders and suggest ways and means for better and quick procurement of books. The government should also see that sufficient funds are granted to the university and other similar libraries so that the book traders feel secure and keep better stocks and become motivated to serve the libraries in a better way.

JOURNAL COLLECTION

This library subscribes to about 1900 journals at present. Out of this number, 1600 are foreign and the remaining are Indian journals. About 1500 belong to science and technology and the rest to humanities and the social sciences.

The total number of back volumes of journals is 63,262 which

fill to capacity 166 full-size double-sided steel shelves.

SUBSCRIPTION POLICIES

Of all the subscription policies, the one which has brought this library face to face with book-trade is this situation. There has been a gradual shift on the part of the library from getting the bulk of journals through foreign subscription agencies to Indian agencies. The main reasons for this changeover have been the following:

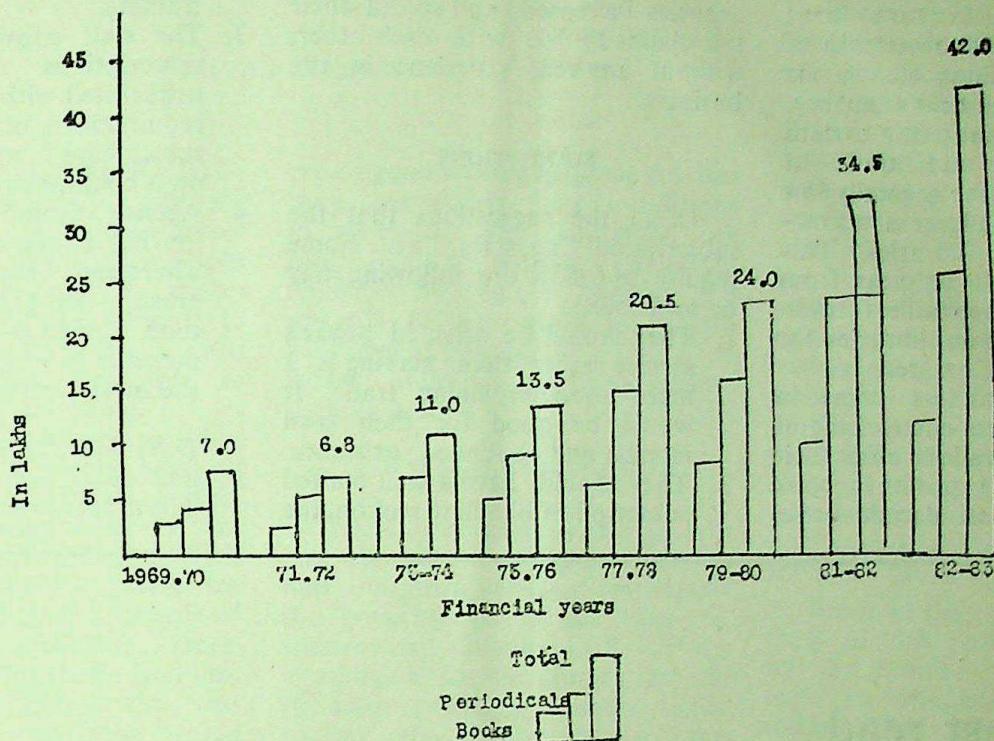
1. Non-flexible handling policies of foreign agencies, incompatible with our usually take-easy, and slow attitude toward subscription activities.
2. A feeling of abject dependence on foreign agencies, for a business which, it was felt, agencies at home could as well do with equal efficiency.
3. Foreign agencies' levying of handling and other charges that accounted for loss of substantial amount of usually tight subscription budgets. Part of this saving, however, is offset by 5% raised exchange rates by the agencies. Therefore, the saving on this score is only of foreign exchange and little else.
4. Subscription to journals through Indian agencies was considered to be a step which would encourage an emerging profession at home, and at the same time save some foreign exchange. An other helpful factor was a few additional facilities that agencies at home extend to their potential customers.

However, this changeover has not necessarily resulted in the quality of service initially expected. Instances of mishandling of subscriptions by the newly emerged agencies at home are, unfortunately, too many. The main reasons are the following:

1. Except one or two, no other subscription agency at home is service-oriented.
2. The mushrooming of a large number of subscription agencies in India is rather a direct result of a general decline in book publishing and trade than an

(1)

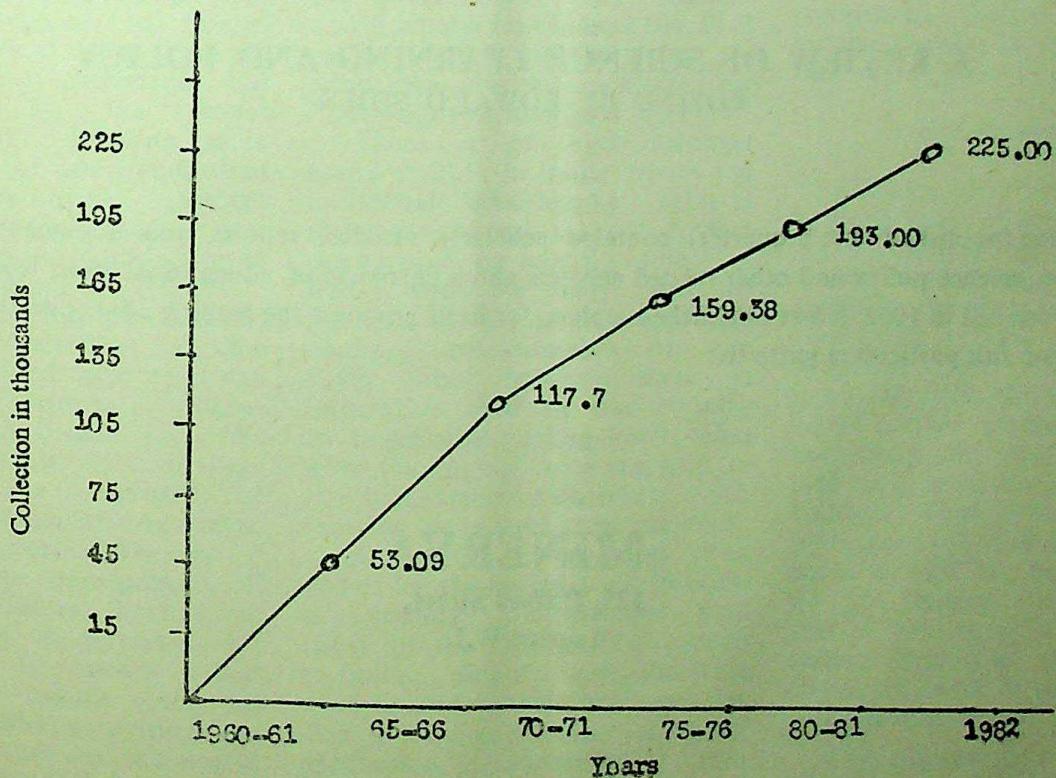
BUDGETARY ALLOCATIONS



(2)

GROWTH OF COLLECTION

(Excluding : reports, standards, all other pamphlet literature, etc. and non-book materials)



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indication of the development of a new profession in the country. The decline in book publishing and trade has in turn been caused by 1) State-ownership of textbook publishing etc. along with the government's apathy, and sometime antipathy toward book industry and trade at home. And 2) the generally low level of book budgets in university and other libraries. This latter point will be clear from the fact that booksellers traditionally depend on libraries for 70% sales of their wares.

Subscription business came in handy to the more enterprising of those in the book-trade to offset their losses or dwindling profits in book trade, during the last decade or so.

They thought that there was absolutely no investment required here. Hence, the number of these agencies increased, and so did their tall claims to vie with each other, without any real experience in the business.

SUGGESTIONS

Of all the suggestions that the subscription agencies at home require to follow the following may be mentioned.

1. They should be oriented toward service rather than making it a mere money-spinning trade. It would be good for their own interest and continued existence.
2. They should have a well staffed subscription handling section, the

operatives having, at the same time, minimum academic qualifications plus some preliminary training.

3. The staff engaged in handling subscriptions should be acquainted with particularly the requirements of sci-tech libraries subscribing to numerous journals on a continuing basis.
4. Agencies should know that every journal is important in a library. There can be no such thing as greater percentage of supply in time. In fact it is the remaining percentage that gives libraries the most trouble.

D.N. Banerjee is Deputy Librarian and K.S. Rawat is Assistant Librarian at the I.I.T. Kanpur.

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Public Lending Right

D. R. MANKEKAR

PUBLIC LENDING RIGHT--
PLR, for short--is a device whereby authors are monetarily recompensed for the public use of their books in lending libraries. It means the right of a book's creator to receive recompense payment when that book is made available in public libraries for lending.

The Public Lending Right "is not a charity, it is not a handout, it is not a gratuity, it is a right," asserts Lord Willis, one of the crusaders for PLR in Britain. "It's a remuneration and a payment for the service that you give libraries."

Victor Bonham-Carter, Secretary, Society of Authors, London, has argued that due to the vast increase in the scale and scope of lending, an author is not fairly reimbursed for library use by the royalty he receives on the sale of his works to libraries. As this is so, he should receive, as a matter of justice and as of right, additional remuneration. This remuneration should be treated not as a subsidy or some kind of grant aid under patronage, but as payment for use under copyright. Public Lending is in effect a form of use equivalent to all the others already protected by copyright, e.g. performance on stage or screen, reproduction in print or on gramophone records.

Gough Whitlam, the Socialist Premier of Australia in the seventies, summed up what the State's attitude towards art, literature and culture should be. "We don't see the PLR as a privilege or a benefit for authors," he declared, addressing the Australian Society of authors. "We see it as an overdue recognition of service you (authors) have given the community, a payment for your work. It means that Australia as a nation recognises the value of creative writing, the place of literature and the arts in a robust and civilised society." He added, "Government cannot

create good writing or great art. But they can create the conditions in which art and literature are most likely to flourish." Whitlam described making the benefits and rewards of civilisation as widely available as possible as a "duty of social democratic governments such as mine."

OBLIGATION TO AUTHORS

It is this concept of the society and the state's obligation to art and literature that has prompted the governments in the west to sponsor and finance PLR. Thus, in addition to the library grants, the state provides separate funds to pay the royalty due to the authors under the PLR in all the countries where the scheme is in operation.

PLR was first introduced in Denmark as far back as 1946. Since then Sweden, West Germany the Netherlands, New Zealand and Australia have joined the PLR ranks. Britain is the latest to adopt the measure, where the PLR will come into force in 1984.

There is an even stronger case for PLR in India, where the individual book-buying habit is insignificant, and is now further discouraged by soaring prices of books, with the result that the purchase of books is increasingly confined to libraries. At the same time however there is imperative need in our country to foster the reading habit what with the high priority we give to the banishment of illiteracy which remains at the level of 62 per cent.

At no time were the print orders in the Indian book publishing industry comparable with those in the West. The returns to Indian authors were therefore always, and inevitably, meagre. The current exorbitant costs of production, stemming from exorbitant prices of paper and printing, have given rise to a new

phenomenon in the Indian book industry.

The crisis has led to a severe shrinkage of print orders, on the one hand, and prohibitively high sale prices of books, on the other. Indeed, today, more than ever before, Indian publishers publish books almost exclusively to cater for the needs of libraries and other institutions. Their high prices put the books beyond the pocket of individual buyers that makes book writing uneconomic for authors and drives them out of this vocation.

This situation makes it doubly incumbent upon the government to step in and take measures to give incentives to authors to write books and make it worth while for them to do it.

Since, in the present conditions, most of the book buying is done by the libraries, the central and state governments that maintain and subsidise, owe a duty to authors too. For authors are thereby denied income which in the normal course should have accrued to them through individuals buying books which they now borrow from the libraries. It is therefore logical that the state should compensate authors who lose income because of libraries lending their works free to readers.

THE CASE FOR PLR

The case for PLR was well put by Lord Willis of Britain. Addressing a meeting at the Authors Guild, New York, Lord Willis argued : the practice of a library purchasing a book--paying for it once--and then lending it out repeatedly, with the author receiving no further payment, is unjust. Everybody in the library gets paid on a continuing basis except authors. Thus, while the author isn't receiving any more income, book is still in use. In effect, we are telling the government that if you want a free library system then you pay everybody connected with it, and above all, you pay authors.

The argument that the author is sufficiently reimbursed through the sale of his book to the library

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is rebutted with the counter-argument that a library copy can usually survive 50 or more loans, be rebound and survive another 50. But for this repeated use the author receives only a single royalty. Indeed, writers have thus been subsidising the public library system.

In a poor country like India, where the individual's capacity to buy books is negligible and where there is a heavy backlog of illiteracy to make up, it is logical and inevitable that the state's education-cum-literacy policy should concentrate on fostering the reading habit among the people through the cheapest available methods. This aim is best achieved by investing in a vigorous library movement.

Such a policy would however be fatal to authorship and book development as a whole where the book reading as well as book buying habit is poor. In pushing forward the library movement which we expect our government to do the state owes a concurrent obligation and duty to writers to make authorship economically viable. For such a situation would drive away writers from book writing and adversely affect the adult education campaign.

Even in the West, as we have seen, where the print orders, library purchases and individual buying are on a scale large enough to avert beggaring of authors, the governments have deemed it just and fair that authors should be compensated through the device of PLR.

VARIATIONS IN SCHEME

In the West, the PLR scheme varies from country to country. But in every instance, may it be noted by the critics of the PLR, the funds are provided directly by the government treasury, and are not a charge on the governmental grants to the public libraries. Indeed, the library grants far from being affected by the PLR should be enhanced to enable the libraries to buy more books and thus make a success of the PLR.

Under PLR, in Australia every

author whose book is on the shelf of a state-grant library—provided the libraries in the country have a minimum of 50 copies of it on their shelves is entitled to PLR dues. And publishers are also covered by the scheme. The author is paid at the rate of 50 cents per year for each copy of his book on the library shelf, while its publisher gets 12.5 cents per book. The PLR collections are distributed through the Australian Authors' Fund, even though paid directly by the Treasury.

An eligible author has to be one who is of Australian nationality or who is normally resident in Australia.

Joint authors divide the PLR fee provided there are no more than three of them.

In the case of anthologies, editors may qualify equally with authors by their selection of writings and by their own written contributions to books, provided they are named as editors on the title page.

A book is eligible for PLR provided it was first published not more than 50 years ago or within the life time of a still-living author, whichever is the longer period.

Entitlement to PLR expires on death of an author or on expiration of a period of 50 years after a book's first publication, whichever is the later date.

Authors who have sold, or will sell, their copyright in books are still eligible to receive the PLR entitlement, for this entitlement rests on authorship rather than on copyright.

Artists and photographers may be deemed eligible to share the author's PLR payment if their names appear on the title page and if their work makes a substantial contribution to the book.

Translation : an eligible person who, with full authority, translates a non-Australian author's writings which are published as a book, is entitled to an author's normal payment.

In Sweden as in New Zealand, only the author gets paid under the PLR (the publisher is kept out) at the rate of 18 ore (100 ores make 1

skri) per loan. Of this sum (the basic multiple, 10 ore goes to the author whose book had been borrowed, up to a maximum of 100,000 ores, in the form of the so called 'author's coin'. Any author whose books were borrowed more than 100,000 times would therefore receive only 1 ore per loan. The scheme is based on the number of times a book is loaned.

That part of the library compensation (as PLR is called in Sweden) which is not paid out in authors coins goes to a solidarity fund, out of which pensions, scholarship grants, assistance, etc., are paid to authors.

The administration of these library moneys is entrusted to the Swedish Authors' Fund, three members of whose board are appointed by the Government while each of the three authors' associations existing at that time, appointed two members.

FURTHER DETAILS

In Britain, the PLR scheme operates on the basis of a sample of borrowing from 16 of Britain's 6000 libraries, the majority of which are 'public' libraries funded by district authorities. The British Treasury has given an initial grant of £ 2,000,000 a year to fund the scheme.

Through Public Lending Right, an author will receive on every occasion a book is borrowed from a library in Britain, and they will benefit to the tune of between £ 5 and £ 5,000 a year.

In order to prevent bestselling authors scooping the pool, an upper limit of £ 5,000 has been decreed. It is thought that this will affect the earnings of approximately 100 writers, mainly popular novelists. Earned sums less than £ 5 will not be paid.

Writers will receive earnings only if they register themselves and their books with the PLR office. It is estimated that in U.K. some 50,000 writers will register about 175,000 books for PLR purposes.

The London Times commented : "The principle has been won that writers should be compensated for the tendency of readers to

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to borrow their books from libraries instead of buying them."

Is PLR fair to authors? Yes. All copyright books on library shelves can qualify. Payment will be directly related to the use the public chooses to make of lending volumes and to the availability and persistence in stock reference volumes.

Is it fair to the public? Yes. Borrowing will continue to be free. The funds for PLR will not be affected by local fluctuations in public spending.

Is it fair to the libraries? Yes. The labour for recording loans and labelling book stocks, together with the cost of the equipment and expense of housing it, will be paid for by the PLR fund. There will be no extra burden on staff, book funds, local authority expenditure or rate support grants. Indeed,

the new data generated by the PLR system will assist library authorities in running their services and in presenting their estimates.

PLR will not encroach upon the governmental grants extended to libraries, and will be funded directly from a special fund created for the purpose. This is true of the PLR schemes functioning in all western countries.

In view of its simplicity in operation (which is simply based on the number of books from each author found on the library shelf and not on the number of times a book is loaned as in UK and Sweden) the Australian scheme would appear to be the most suitable to Indian conditions.

D.R. Manekkar is general Secretary of the Author's Guild of India.

pating actors like librarians and booksellers are well defined. Success in the proper collection development by academic institutions in India shall lie in the cultivation of the art of book selection, coupled with comprehension of the principles of its science. Sad to say, there has been neglect of both in recent years with results that are reflected in falling academic standards and poor academic achievements.

CASE STUDIES

An example or two may do before we analyse the prevailing situation in respect of collection development in India. Not so long ago, the art of book selection was cultivated by booksellers and librarians alike. Like the game of cricket, both buying and selling of books was the exclusive prerogative of a "gentleman" as personified by librarians and booksellers. There was another category of gentlemen, personified by individual buyers of book.

It was only a few days ago when Mr. Vachani of Oxford Book and Stationery Co, Scindia House, New Delhi, in his reminiscent mood at his best, talked about parcels of imported books arriving on the dot every Saturday in the early fifties and before long being gobled up by the Librarian of the Central Secretariat Library and others. Booksellers were literate

Collection Development in University Libraries

GIRJA KUMAR

Collection development is both an art and a science. It is an art that has to be cultivated by the participating actors. Taking academic institutions as a case study, the *dramatis personae* are librarians, faculty members and students on one side and booksellers, jobbers and wholesale book dealers on the other. Collection development is an art because, as in medicine, it has to be cultivated. Certain traditions have to be built for a proper selection of books. All great collections have been built with equal participation of the *dramatis personae* as mentioned above. The crisis rapidly builds when one or more of the participants begins to loom larger than life at the cost of the others. To maintain a balance between them is itself an art, besides the very act of recommending collection development being one of the finer arts to be cultiva-

Besides being an art, it is a science with certain rules of the game. Book selection is a science with considerable mass of literature to its credit. The roles for particip-

While remitting Subscription through money order, readers are requested

to ensure that their subscription number, name and address are legibly

written on the space provided for messages. Payments received without

these details cannot be connected and run the risk of being not credited.

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in those days. So were the librarians. To take another example, *Minerva Bookshop* and *Ramakrishna* located at the corner of the Mall in Lahore were cultural landmarks visited alike by the *literati* and local librarians.

To take another example, it was a matter of great satisfaction to hear from a visiting British University librarian (representing a "red-brick") that collection development in his institution was his major concern, with subordinate role for the faculty of the institution. The librarian, who was assisted by subject specialists on the rolls of the library, assigned collection development to librarians almost exclusively. He firmly believed that the librarians alone had the total perspective about proper collection development. This is a far cry from the position in academic institutions in India with librarians being assigned the role of "hewers of wood" and "drawers of waters".

YANG AND YIN

The whole issue of collection building can be placed in a proper perspective by explaining the routines involved in book selection in academic institutions. While practices may vary, there are many common features applicable to almost all the institutions. This can be best described in terms of the Chinese philosophy of Yang and Yin. The value system is best described in terms of the opposites. While Yang divides problems into parts and examines those microscopically through analysis, Yin emphasizes the system view of interdependence and interrelatedness, which, in other words, opts for the synthesis.

Presently the concept of Yin dominates for purposes of collection building. Each for himself or herself is the apt motto. Book selection in most academic institutions is decentralized by departments. In practice, it depends upon the initiative of the head of department or the teacher nominated for the purpose. Since there may be more than 30 to 40 departments or more in a typical

Indian University, the anarchical situation in which book selection is actually practised can be well imagined.

In practice, the faculty member responsible for collection building for his department may be a narrow specialist (additionally not attuned to discipline implied in taking a world-view of developments), thus taking a marginal interest in collection building. The result can be well imagined over a number of years.

The collection in the library may have no relation with information needs of the faculty and students. Present-day collections in academic institution have less and less relation with the actual needs of its users. A time may come, within a decade, when librarians shall become highly irrelevant for purposes of research and scholarship and, in any case, research and scholarship have begun to give diminishing returns to the country.

UNEQUAL PARTNERS

Since the librarian is no longer an equal partner in the enterprise, he conveniently comes to believe that collection development is beyond his province. What should be his major responsibility amounts to a good riddance for him. The faculty also comes to believe at this point of time that the librarian had at the most only a subordinate role in book selection. They may even come to resent initiative on the part of the librarian. Once librarian begins to feel inferior in ideological terms, he comes to be reconciled to his inferior status. What should have been an equal relationship turns into an unequal one.

Such being the case, the librarian becomes reconciled to playing the role of an accountant, merely keeping record of the expenditure side. The weakest link in the chain is said to be the strongest. The librarian being the weakest link in the chain of collection development, he happens to be in the strongest position, in a position to make or mar the academic institution.

Besides librarians, we have already mentioned faculty members, students, booksellers, jobbers and wholesale dealers as members of the club which shall collectively assure the success of the enterprise implied in collection development. Since librarians alone have easy access to members of the remaining five groups, it is not understood how institution building in academic institutions is possible without his willing co-operation.

BOOK SELECTION ROUTINES

Before describing the role of each group in collection development, it may be useful to describe the routine involved in the process of book selection in academic institutions. Medieval is the term that appropriately sums up the routines practically in all academic institutions. There are hardly any guidelines for book selection. No one gives a damn to balanced development of collection as between latest monographs, retrospective literature, books prescribed for courses, periodical literature and serials.

The selections are not strictly related to the requirements of say, undergraduate, post-graduate, M.Phil. and Ph.D. students or research programmes of the faculty. Any effort in this direction shall involve communication, nay constant dialogue, between the faculty, the librarian. Who will bell the cat? An easy but irrational way out is to be least bothered about the above considerations. Instead resort is taken to cutting the Gordian knot of essential procedures by overstepping them. The librarian does not figure anywhere except like the side actor making his appearance at the fag end of the show.

ROLE OF JOBBER

It is the jobber who takes over from the bookseller and the librarian. The easy way out is found by the jobber literally dumping the books on the table of the faculty member co-ordinating book selection on behalf of his colleagues in the department.

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Book selection by the faculty member gets naturally circumscribed by the kind of books brought to him by the jobber.

A jobber by definition is not a direct importer of books. He by the nature of his vocation is not an independent factor in the situation. He is totally dependent on the wholesaler for his livelihood. The wholesaler imports books by his volition and, through the instrumentality of the jobber brings them to the attention of the faculty. At this stage, the librarian is yet to come into picture. To some extent, the libraries in India have begun to stock books imported by wholesalers. Thus there is a big gap between the acquisition of books by libraries and the actual needs of students and research scholars.

BOOKS "ON APPROVAL"

There is a slight variant of this practice in the best of the institutions in the country. Books are received "on approval" from booksellers and jobbers for selection purpose. Since the final selection is the prerogative of the faculty, lists are compiled periodically and sent for approval by the faculty. There may be another stage involving the sanction of expenditure by the authorities. Very few librarians are likely to retain much interest in book selection after subjected to so many exhausting routines.

To obtain approval from about 40 to 50 departments for ordering new books is beyond the capacity of any librarian worth his salt. The faculty thus begins to perform the role of mahants, in other words, exclusive arbiters of collection development policies. Book-selection being a pleasure becomes torture for librarians. Since they have a marginal role in the process, librarians rapidly lose interest in collection development. The wholesaler thus becomes the final arbiter because through the jobber he spreads his tentacles to the faculty over the head of the librarian. Properly speaking, collection development is nobody's baby today. The present situation

is thus a matter of great concern to the future of academic institutions in the country.

BOOKSELLER

While the faculty, students and librarians form one leg in collection development, booksellers, jobbers and wholesalers form the other leg. We have also given some indication of the factors leading towards destabilization. The dialectical relationship between the members of the latter group needs to be studied in greater depth. Traditionally, the bookseller has been the kingpin in supplying books to libraries. The relationship works satisfactorily, so long as the requirement of libraries are for general books. It is no longer the case due to the specific and specialized nature of demands on their resources by the libraries.

The information needs are varied such as society publications, government documents, publications of international organizations, books from countries other than the Anglo-Saxon world and literature released from countries other than metropolitan cities in India. The percentage of books that the booksellers are in a position to supply to libraries has been falling rapidly in recent years. It is no more than twenty-five per cent at its best.

Apart from the specialized nature of books, there are also other contributory factors like bank rates and postal charges. The margin of profit is also being cut by delayed payments by libraries; 10 per cent special discount was offered to libraries till recently. Above all, booksellers no longer find it profitable to order less than five copies of any publication from abroad and in many cases from other metropolis centres in India. Since most of the titles ordered by libraries in India are in single copies, invariably hardly any book ordered in single copy and not readily available in the local market gets to be supplied.

STRAINED RELATIONS

The relation between the librarians and the faculty and to some extent the students are getting strained and are nearly reaching the breaking point through no fault of academic librarians. They are hard put to explaining the real situation. We may be reaching a stage when the libraries will have to content themselves by strengthening their resources on the basis of literature available in the local market. A collections development policy resting on such shaky foundations would create imbalances in collections to the extent those will become irrelevant for all practical purposes.

Such a situation is a matter of great concern, all the more so because of another imbalance developing due to excessive expenditure on periodical subscriptions. The percentage of expenditure on periodical subscriptions is constantly going up. To the extent the percentage of expenditure on periodical subscriptions involving advanced payment goes up, the share of the cake falling in the lap of bookseller goes down. There is thus a paradoxical situation developing in which the share of the bookseller is declining when his overheads are shooting up every year. Such an environment is enough reason for powerful disincentives for the man behind the counter in the bookshop.

WHOLESALERS

The position of the bookseller has been substantially eroded by the jobber on the one side and the wholesaler on the other. Instead of the bookseller, the jobber and the wholesaler working in unison, they are working at cross purposes for all practical purposes. The wholesaler has an important role to play because he is in a position to import books on a large scale, besides being able to distribute books on the national scale through his extensive distribution channel. He logically comes into conflict with the bookdealer and thereby upsets

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SPORTS

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his normal functioning. There is a considerable element of implied as well as overt rivalry between the wholesaler and the bookseller.

The wholesaler is unfortunately not in direct and intimate touch with librarians and information needs of libraries. His is an impersonal relationship. The replacement of indirect relationship with direct relationship has undone the libraries and destabilised the booksellers considerably. The emergence of the jobber has come about because he is an effective instrument of the wholesaler. The jobber depends for his supplies on the wholesaler and thus comes in direct competition with the bookseller. He operates on very small capital and is in a position to take care of the requirements in the library to the extent these are in stock with the wholesale dealer.

Horror of horror, book selection is dispensed with by libraries, because they come to be addicted to the evil of "books on approval". Jobbers may perform a useful function in certain circumstances, but on the whole he expands into the "territorial waters" of the bookseller. For all practical purposes, the jobber performs the role of the agent provocateur.

BASIS OF CONSENSUS

So long as the jobber, the wholesaler and the bookseller take conflicting positions, in which the wholesaler plays the jobber against the bookseller, there is no hope for libraries. Increasingly the libraries are being pushed into the corner in which they come to be at the entire mercy of the wholesaler. There is now an increasing realisation that the causes of conflict need to be eliminated, so that each one of the group plays a well-defined role. Recognizing this fact, the Good Offices Committee appointed by the Central Ministry of Education has appointed a committee consisting of representatives of librarians and booksellers to go

into the whole question of supply of books to Indian libraries. It is now high time for libraries to begin to order books and for booksellers to meet at least 75 to 80 per cent of the needs of the libraries within a specified period of time. The jobber should concentrate on making available "book on approval" from ready stock with the wholesaler. The percentage of the same should in no case be more than 15 to 20 per cent of the total expenditure on books. It is thus in the interest of libraries, that the three conflicting groups perform their defined roles by subserving the interest of the libraries through consensus between the conflicting groups.

ACADEMIC WORLD

The other side of the coin consisting of librarians, faculty members and students who also are in a state of conflict. Consensus rather than conflict has to be the foundation of the new relationship. It applies in equal measure to collection development in academic institutions. The erosion in the authority of librarians in academic institutions has already been described at length in the context of collection development. The erosion has been loaded in favour of the faculty. It has, however, ironic results. Not only the librarians, the libraries also have been emasculated.

This situation has affected the interest of the faculty. Any erosion of the authority of the librarians is in fact a direct assault on the vital interests of the world of academia. The sooner this is realized, the better it would be for all concerned. The initiative ought to be taken by the faculty to restore the authority of the librarians in their own interest and for entirely practical reasons. Collection development at its best ought to be a joint enterprise in which librarians, teachers and students ought to be equal partners. It should no longer be left to the whims of an individual teacher to be responsible for book

selection on behalf of the department.

As we stated in the initial paragraph, collection development is both an art and a science. While a teacher may be a specialist in a particular field, he may not necessarily knowledgeable about the whole range of areas encompassing a subject discipline. Take a traditional subject like history encompassing within its range modern, medieval and ancient periods, besides several geographical areas and inter-disciplinary areas like economic and cultural history. Very few persons can lay claim to competence over the whole range of subjects covering a vast discipline like history. When we multiply the coverage so as to encompass the whole field of knowledge the range of disciplines is truly stupefying.

SUBJECT LIBRARIANS

Proper collection is possible when the person possesses not only a comprehensive knowledge of the subject, but is also trained both in the art and science of collection development. Such a person has to be the librarian. He alone can perform the role adequately. The general-purpose librarian can no longer be adequate for the task. The German tradition of subject librarians needs to be emulated for the good of academic institutions in this country.

The librarian is also indispensable for another reason. While the teacher has a vision of what concerns & interests him and he has thus a programmatic approach based on analysis, the librarian alone has a total perspective about collection development. In other words, in terms of Yang and Yin the teacher represents Yang (analysis) and the librarian responds to the ethos of Yin (synthesis). The balance has to be shifted from Yang to Yin in academic institutions for balanced development of library collections. The task is to balance Yang with Yin and not to tilt the balance in favour of one or the other. Librarians and teachers ought to function in un-

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son, as booksellers, wholesalers and jobber should act together not merely between themselves but also with the former. The task of reconstruction brooks no

further delay.

Girja Kumar is Librarian of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

The Vicious Circle

H.K. KAUL

India ranks among the first ten countries in the field of book production. According to the books received by the National Library under the Delivery of Books Act, India produced 11562 titles in 1981. This figure could be easily doubled as many publishers do not obey the Delivery of Books Act or know nothing about it. As such the number of titles published in India in 1981 should be impressive if we look at the number alone.

But, if we look deep into the production and distribution of these titles, especially when this country with a population of 700 million has to shoulder greater literary and educational obligations towards its people, we will find that our publishing is neither as impressive as it should have been in a developing nation, nor is it serving wholly the basic interest of either publishers, authors, distributors, retailers, libraries or the country itself. Before I refer to the role of libraries in the procurement of books being published by our publishers or those imported from the other countries, it would be proper to have a look at the current publishing scene in the country.

EDITORIAL ASPECT NEGLECTED

The publishers in India mainly invest to earn profits without paying due attention to the editorial and educational aspect of book publishing. In most publishing houses editorial supervision does not exist

at all. Wherever it does, the editor is either given much more work than he can ordinarily handle or he is reduced to being a proof reader. When he does edit, if he is untrained, as generally most of them are, he may play with the subject matter to the horror of the author. Our publishers are not ignorant of these facts but they are mainly concerned with the financial gains from whatever little they publish. Moreover, not all of them are competent to evaluate MSS nor have they full-time, competent editors on their staff to assist them.

Another major problem with Indian publishing is that the publishers are mostly ignorant of the interests of readers. They know very little about the changing interests of the public and do nothing to arouse reading interests in them. Thus the institution of publishing in India is reduced to the printing of books, which of course is improving. This state of publishing may be illustrated by a recent trend : of late, illiterate booksellers and literate scholars have both taken to publishing.

These bookseller-publishers or scholar-publishers, besides a large number of the existing ones, take little notice of the factors which involve the interests of authors, publishers themselves, editors, distributors, booksellers, and above all, the nation. In a democratic system we cannot stop any one from undertaking any commercial venture but it would be in the fitness of things to suggest to them that there is a need to

change this unhealthy growth into a healthy one. As the problem would need special treatment elsewhere, here in this short article I would simply like to highlight a few more basic issues that are affecting the quality of our publications.

LOW QUALITY BOOKS

The first important issue is the non-availability of good research materials to our authors or scholars who are many a time at a loss to find proper references and proper published or unpublished materials. Improper research facilities notwithstanding Ph.D. degrees are awarded in copious numbers thereby producing substandard works. The Indian author or scholar thus gets accustomed to the absence of proper research facilities, this is over and above his economic or environmental problems. Whatever he produces and gets published, barring the best works, adds to this sick corpus of current literature.

In my opinion it is not always lack of funds in libraries or archives that is responsible for improper facilities to research scholars. The misuse of funds by selecting low quality publications, either Indian or foreign, for our libraries is equally to blame. Overarching all this is the overall indifferent attitude towards proper research. The selection of low quality books for our libraries is visible from the collections available in our libraries and the extent of their use. By selecting bad books for our libraries we are promoting bad literature besides wasting and misusing funds.

In this vicious circle the main parties that are responsible are the publishers who produce such works ; the distributors, who are not well organised; the booksellers who in order to earn their livelihood quickly flood the libraries with such titles without approaching the public who would be interested in reasonably priced worthwhile or topical works ; the librarians, academicians and educationists who select and procure bad books and misuse

national or institutional resources either to justify that they have spent the budget allotted to them or to satisfy the booksellers or themselves as a result of the precarious situation in book publishing and distribution. The role of the librarian and the educationist is dismal not because the librarian does the donkey's job in trying to process these books to be stored on the shelves or the educationist or academician selects such titles but because both are indifferent to the real problem. This dismal situation is promoted by several other factors.

The other important factor is the reduction in the budget of a library if the budget allotted is underspent. Our administrators or auditors should realize that if the budget allotted to a library is underspent due to reasonably unavoidable circumstances, the budget for the subsequent year does not have to be reduced. Once this is established, the threat of budgetary reductions will not haunt librarians or academicians. This will also relieve the librarians of the feeling that their libraries would not be looked down upon if they spent less. In fact their priorities will change. They will be more concerned about the quality of the books which they or their academic colleagues select. Also, the librarians should be given more powers in the selection of books. They should see that no trash gets piled up on the shelves of their libraries.

ROLE OF LIBRARIES

The role of the libraries in the popularisation of literature is generally neglected by the publishers. Publishers are pricing books which are beyond the reach of the common man. Publishers are also doing very little to inform the reader about the titles that they are producing. In the absence of publishers being unable to promote their books properly, libraries could help them and also the readers a great deal. But unfortunately, libraries are not available everywhere—either in the big colonies of larger cities or in most

of the towns or villages. Wherever they are, their service is so defective that they are not fit to be called libraries.

Generally public libraries impose books on the readers, especially when their selection is largely defective. The interests of the readers are hardly ascertained by them. In fact it is a one way service, and that too to a negligible portion of our population. Unfortunately again, our publishers are not alarmed by this situation. They do not know or do not want to know that a large network of good libraries in the country would activate reading interests and greater demand for more books. If they know that book reading can be popularised through libraries, what have they done in this regard?

Our publishers should not be happy with whatever little they publish or sell or whatever money they get from authors or institutions as subsidy towards the publication costs. I would not dwell on the problems of authors, in this article, but it would be important to consider the problem of yet another kind of our readers—students and professors—as a result of untimely releasing of funds to the libraries.

The UGC or State governments may have a valid reason for insisting that the recurring and non-recurring grants given to college and university libraries are properly or proportionately spent on books, salaries of staff, maintenance etc. and there may be administrative problems involved but the rigid attitude of withholding funds at times without exploring any proper ways of looking into the problems of book industry or students and scholars adds a new dimension to the crisis. On the one hand publishers are suffering as their investment gets blocked, on the other hand students, scholars and professors are suffering as they are unable to discover good recent titles.

The irregular method of releasing funds to the libraries is making the problem more complicated. We often see that funds are released at the close of the financial

session or at an unspecified time, thus making the librarians and professors spend large sums on books within a short span of time. In such circumstances no proper book selection is possible. Even if it is, the selected titles will not be readily available. All that remains unsold in the bookshops gets eventually transferred to the libraries in varied proportions. It seems that the officials who release funds are in league with the publishers, professors, academicians, librarians and booksellers in making a mockery of book purchases and in letting the government money be wasted.

MORE SOCIAL THAN COMMERCIAL

If nothing is done at this stage to check the present crisis which is more invisible, than visible, publishing in the country will degenerate further and so will our libraries. I wish that the publishers were to realise that they are conducting a business which is more social and educational in nature than commercial, and thus reorganise their priorities without sacrificing commercial interests.

I would also like to express my opinion on the imports of books which are being made by libraries and publishers. In 1980-81 book-imports amounted to 200 million rupees as compared to 100 million rupees worth of book-exports. Out of the 200 million rupees spent on book-imports, half the foreign exchange could be saved. 'Remainders' that are imported, besides the books based on haphazard selections, are pressed upon the libraries probably to uphold emphatically Dr. S.R. Ranganathan's fifth law that 'a library is a growing organism'. Books which could be imported by a national library or a regional library are being imported by a host of libraries without any defined use or coordination. Sometimes books are imported by an institution for the use of a single professor when they could be easily got from other institutional libraries or a national or a regional library. It all speaks

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f the lack of coordination and the absence of the network of libraries in the country.

Let me close with the hope that this complex problem is not allowed to get more complex. I still hope that publishers could take a leading

role along with the distributors booksellers, academicians, librarians and administrators in crushing this vicious circle.

H.K. Kaul is Librarian of the India International Centre, New Delhi.

reading as a way of existence is sought to be promoted by enlightened citizens, educationists and planners all over the world. 'Towards a reading society' was indeed, the subject of a World Congress on Books recently convened by Unesco.

Libraries are the most important roads to reading. One of the most magnificent things ever said about a library was perhaps uttered by Rabindranath Tagore. "If someone," he said, "could build a dam to contain the centuries-old roars of an ocean in such a fashion that they would lie dormant like a child fast asleep, it would then have been possible to compare this library with the great, silent sound. Language has been silenced here, the flow of the river rendered motionless; the immortal light of the human spirit chained in black letters, lies captured in the prison of paper. If suddenly all this could rise in revolt, break asunder its silence, and, burning to ashes the fence of letters, come out totally free! As the hard ice on the top of the Himalayas keeps imprisoned a multitude of floods, who, likewise, has kept the flood of the human heart enthralled in this library!"

The Flood of the Human Heart

LOKENATH BHATTACHARYA

Libraries have been the mainstay of Indian publishing. The link between the two is so obvious as not to need any special explanation. In the education and upliftment of the mind libraries have an important role to play anywhere as it is there that the achievements of humanity in knowledge and culture are stored. But in developing countries like ours the importance of their role is all the greater, for obvious reasons, again.

Books, libraries, publishing, these are the three points of a triangle, one leading to another in a perpetually creative motion. Which of these points is greater in importance than others or which point should take precedence over which others are questions that may have no more than a purely academic interest. In practice they are not only interrelated but, in the dynamics of any worthwhile planning for development, must continuously interact with one another so much so that any one of the three loses its significance and power without the support of the two others.

Inseparably connected with the question is, of course, the need for promoting the reading habit which, understandably, has been a major theme in book development programmes in many parts of the world, notably including those undertaken by international agencies like the Unesco.

WHY READ?

Why must people read? To satisfy which human needs, they must cultivate the habit of reading? Ralph C. Staiger, author of the Unesco booklet *Roads to Reading*, quotes the following list of purposes compiled by William S. Gray and Bernice Rogers in their joint publication entitled *Maturity in Reading*. One can read, we are told, as a ritual or from force of habit; or from a sense of duty; or merely to fill in or kill time.

Some may also read to know and understand current happenings; some for immediate personal satisfaction or value; and some to meet practical demands of daily living. Again, some read to further their avocational interests, or to carry on and promote their professional or vocational interests, or merely to meet demands of personal-social nature. Sociocivic needs and demands like those for good citizenship, for example, can also be met by cultivating the reading habit. Lastly, there are also needs like self-development or improvement, including the extension of one's own cultural background, or the satisfaction of strictly intellectual demands or of spiritual aspirations which may motivate people to read.

In recognition of the supreme role books can and must play in society as well as in individual life,

ACCESS TO BOOKS

Speaking in a more mundane vein Jorge Luis Borges, the celebrated writer of Spanish language from Argentina, once referred to the part played by libraries in the development of the child's mind and remarked: "I was lucky to have been educated not only in schools -- that was secondary -- but in my father's library ... When I remember my childhood, I think less of the neighbourhood than of my father's library, and I think of those books that revealed the world to me."

Having a private family library to browse through, where one may choose the type of education and enjoyment one may like to receive through reading, is, of course, a special privilege denied to most of us. Those of us who have been specially favoured -- since the context is India and its gigantic problems of communication and

education --, have had in their childhood a school or public library at their disposal. Even then, in spite of the powerful influence a school library can be in encouraging a child to read, how many of us can honestly claim that our lives have been marked, in any mentionable form, by memories of our association with libraries?

The painful truth is that in spite of the growing awareness of the importance of libraries and the supreme need to develop them at various levels, libraries remain one of the most woefully inadequate sectors in the totality of our educational system and planning. Libraries for higher education and research have been, happily, a known entity, which explains the existence of a good number of science and research libraries in various parts of the country. There are also quite a few developed libraries at our university and college levels. But can the same be said of our school and public libraries?

It must be admitted that the concept of a public library as an institution for lifelong and continuing education is yet to take any definite roots in India where such a public library, specially in the country's vast rural areas, can really achieve. Public libraries can also be organised as effective community centres where much can be planned, for the propagation and sustenance of reading habit among neo-literates and others, various kinds of cultural activities such as reading sessions, meetings, talks, staging of plays, screening of films, playing of recorded musical and other programmes, etc.

MOBILE LIBRARIES

Mobile and circulating library service, in the current Indian context, is another urgent need. It may develop in several forms such as book delivery stations or book deposit centres in villages using institutions like youth clubs or primary schools as focal points of functioning and with facilities for circulation of books from one delivery station to another. A bell cycle library service will be

another such useful mobile unit.

In all these spheres and activities the primary role of libraries will remain, as before, the collection, storage and diffusion of knowledge and information. It will

also certainly contain, and enshrine, what Tagore described as 'the flood of the human heart'.

Lokenath Bhattacharya is Director of the National Book Trust.

Voluntary and Involuntary Reading

NARENDRA KUMAR

In any country, the education of its citizens is one of the state's primary activities, on par with food and health. In India today, there are more than 100 million students at various stages of the educational process, an increase of approximately 30 to 40 times over 1947. By any reckoning, this is a tremendous accomplishment.

However, there is a related aspect of education to which much less attention has been paid, and certainly not commensurate with either need or demand. I am referring now to the habit of reading. Although the cultivation of this habit is a voluntary one, dependent entirely on individual inclination, its nurturing and development require inputs that move beyond individual initiative. They require, in short, that those circumstances and support facilities be created that will satisfy the need to read.

TWO FACILITIES

Towards this end, two facilities are essential: a healthy and active publishing industry that provides the basic input, books, and an equally strong and well-established network of libraries that will make these books accessible to potential readers. It is the link between the producer (authors and publishers) and the consumers (readers) that decides the extent to which reading becomes not only a habit, but a way of life, not merely

required (for educating oneself, in the narrow sense of the word) but pleasurable. This link is the library, and it can be said without fear of contradiction, that requisite attention has not been paid to the development of this crucial facility. More than 100 million students are certainly reading books—but when they cease to be students, they unhappily, cease to read as well.

This brings us to the question of how to ensure that. Once established, libraries are best used for the purpose intended. I have earlier advocated the setting up of a network of libraries, nationwide; I would like to refine this further by saying that, in my opinion, far more important than general libraries are libraries for children. "Catch them young" should be our watchword in this endeavour. In developed countries, for example, nearly 80 per cent of the books published for children go into school libraries; in our case, less than one per cent do so. The reasons and the results—are apparent: we seem not to care whether our children's appetite for knowledge and natural curiosity is satisfied, and consequently, almost by default, we are faced with generations of young adults and adults to whom reading is a low priority, undertaken under duress, and only when absolutely unavoidable.

I am reminded here of a Japanese experiment where two unorthodox projects to inculcate the book reading habit in children

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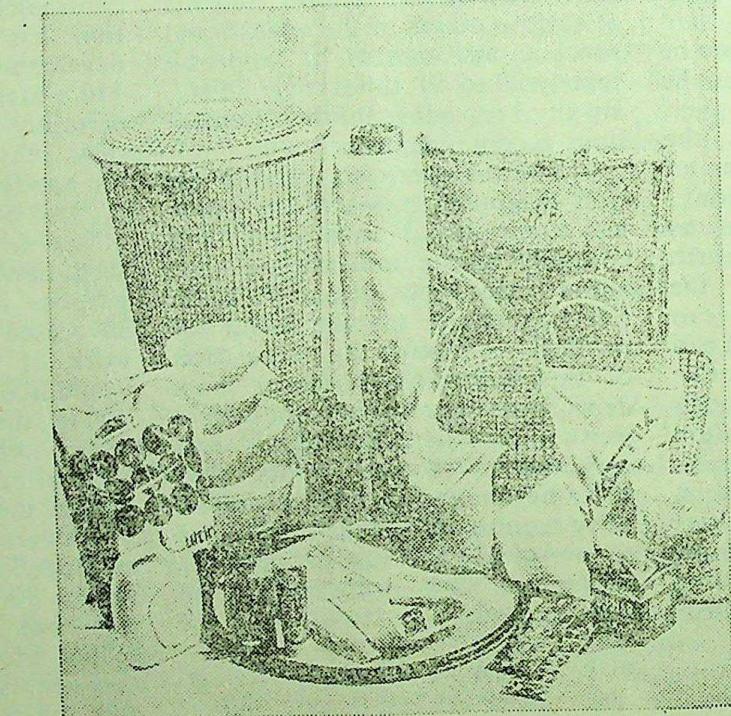
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have been highly successful. In one programme, housewives start modest libraries of 100-150 children's books catering to a particular age level. This "mini-library" is open to neighbourhood children once a week for a few hours. The other is a programme which incorporates the mother in the school curriculum. A certain quota of required reading has to be done by the child in the form of the mother reading aloud to the child. Mothers as well as children have found this beneficial, and in the bargain the mother is exposed to good literature.

THE QUESTION OF FUNDING

In enterprises of this kind, one comes up always against the sticky question of funding. I will be the first to acknowledge that there are no easy answers, but will again use the examples of two states, in India that have taken up the challenge. Kerala and Bengal have well-run, state-supported public library systems that are widely used, and it is no coincidence that these two States have high literary rates in the country as well. Although predominantly intended for use by adults, I have no doubt that the hitherto neglected area of children's libraries will receive attention as well. The point I wish to make here is that the setting up of such a facility is a subject of public policy—I might even say, of a socially committed State—and it is only when it is recognized as such that the necessary drive, imagination, and resources will be brought to bear upon it, transforming it from a basic facility to an essential service.

We are all familiar with the fact that one of the prerequisites for recognition being accorded to colleges is the maintenance of a good library. It is a condition that, like many others, more often than not remains on paper only. Poorly run and equipped as they are however, the situation when it comes to school facilities is even more dismal. I will not speak here of those primary schools whose building in which to house themselves. I will consider only those

secondary and high schools that are adequately funded, but have no obligation to stocking and replenishing books for their children. There is no reason why it should not be made obligatory for these schools to allocate a certain percentage of their budgets on the purchase of books. It is rare indeed to come across a school that accords equal importance to its library as it would to its laboratories. Yet both are essential to the full development of a child's faculties, and no teaching can be considered complete that acknowledges one but ignores the other.

A NATIONAL BOOK POLICY

Funding for school libraries leads one to the issue of government grants for university and general libraries, a situation that can only be described as unfortunate. Inadequate and depleted funds have thrown publishing and purchasing completely out of gear and into a tailspin. Language publishing is equally unsatisfactory in this respect, where although the grants position is reasonable, publishing is slack. In West Bengal, for instance, government funding for libraries was increased, but to no avail: publishers were unable to generate enough supply and the grants lapsed.

All this clearly indicates that in such matters, for any long-range activity, it is absolutely imperative for a country like India to have a National Book Policy. Certain priorities must be fixed, and a time

-frame, say, till the end of this century, be kept in mind. Such a policy would consider issues such as the availability of cheap paper, special facilities to publishers taking into account the escalation in the cost of essential raw materials, and a host of related items that would form part of it. Moreover, all the States would have to be brought into the picture so that regional and English language publishing is coordinated for maximum reach and benefit.

Publishing and library-service are intertwined activities: one cannot have an active library system without a steady supply of good books, and one cannot ensure such a supply without an ultimate consumer; publishing will improve in calibre and quality once this vital interaction between producer and purchaser is ensured, and authors and publishers, both, are secure in the knowledge that their works will find a responsive market.

It is time for State and educational authorities to independently and in concert engage in the task of reconstruction and ensure that the foundations laid by the first in beginning the learning process are built upon by the second. The flow from one to the other is continuous and dynamic, and it would be dangerous to lull ourselves into thinking that having fulfilled the primary obligation, we have been released from all others.

Narendra Kumar is Managing Director, Vikas Publishing House and currently President of the Federation of Indian Publishers.

National Library and the Book Trade

P. B. MANGLA

Arundell Esdaile of the British Museum was perhaps the first person to turn his attention as

early as 1934 to what he described as 'that comparatively modern product, the national library' and

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added that the idea of a national library has for over a century, and for longer still if we consider it rightly, been expanding'. His book *National Libraries of the World* (Grafton, London, 1934) for the first time described some of the well known national libraries of the Western World.

Since 1950's the vital role of a national library at the apex of a library and information system(s) in a country has been well recognized with the result that during the past three decades or so national libraries have been established in most of the countries : both developed and developing.

Various functions such a Library is expected to perform may be summarised as follows :

1. to function as chief depository of publications of the country : current and retrospective ;
2. to acquire all materials relating to the country and its nationals published anywhere and in any language outside the country ;
3. to acquire all reading and research materials published outside the country for which there is likely to be reasonable demand from the people in the country ;
4. to function as important information and bibliographic centre, including preparation of the national bibliography ;
5. to provide service to users directly and/or through inter-library loan ;
6. to serve as a centre or hub for the whole country's library and information services and thus coordinating and directing the various activities of different types of libraries, sectoral information systems, etc.
7. to formulate and implement a Library and Information Policy at the National level ; and
8. to serve as a link between the country and other countries for the exchange or loan of books and other materials.

ROLE OF THE BOOK TRADE

A well developed publishing activity combined with a well organized book distribution system are undoubtedly essential pre-requisites for developing well rounded document collections in libraries in a country. Both libraries and the book trade depend heavily upon each other : the former primarily because of their commercial interests to sell books, journals and other categories of documents to libraries, and the latter to discharge their social, educational and other academic responsibilities in an efficient manner by providing documents and information services to their users. The book trade brings information about documents : new publications, manuscripts, out of print, rare items, etc. to the notice of the libraries and thus helps librarians tremendously in their selection and acquisition programmes.

In certain developed countries such as USA and UK members of the book trade usually are highly educated and well informed persons and they consider book-selling not just a commercial activity but also a matter of social responsibility to keep the people and libraries informed through the print as well as non-print media. The situation in most of the developing countries including India is rather disappointing and the book trade gives top most priority to commercial interests only and all other considerations are either ignored or given a very low priority status.

NATIONAL LIBRARY VIS-A-VIS BOOK TRADE

In view of the functions listed earlier a National Library certainly has to depend heavily on an active and enlightened book trade so as to build up a comprehensive collection of the national imprints

as well as of the selected foreign publications. In addition, it has to collect items being now made available in non-print media in the forms of micrographs, cassettes, A.V. Materials, etc.

The National imprints are collected usually by designating the National Library as a legal depository in the Country. In case a country has large publishing activity (e.g. in countries such as USA, UK & even India), the National Library may even adopt a policy of selective acquisition of these national imprints and certain documents of ephemeral nature, propaganda materials, etc. may be excluded from the purview of the legislation. In this respect the National Library would have to depend heavily on active cooperation from the publishing trade. It would therefore be essential to emphasise that while the legislation would provide for penalties for not depositing their publications with the National Library, the publishing trade should interpret the implementation of such a legislation more as a matter of social responsibility rather than a legal necessity.

An important category of documents, many of which are of much research value, is those of government publications. Unfortunately however in most of the developing countries, including India, it is most difficult to identify and acquire these publications. These publications are usually not listed in regularly published bibliographical tools and governments at different levels should therefore take immediate steps for bibliographical control and distribution of their publications as enlightened and responsible publishers.

Besides the above, the book trade should take active interest in bringing to the notice of the National Library information about various other categories of documents such as : manuscripts, rare and out of print materials, technical reports and others which are of much value to the users.

PUBLISHING OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC AND REFERENCE TOOLS

Because of its rich and extensive collections the National Library usually has a responsibility to compile and publish various bibliographical tools such as (i) National bibliography, current as well as retrospective, (ii) Union list of Periodicals and Serials, (iii) Subject Bibliographies, (iv) Indexes to Journals, and so on. Since it functions as a depository library for the national imprints this provides it a proper base for compiling and publishing a national bibliography on current and regular basis,

In most of the developing countries there is a lack of well organized programmes for the preparation and publishing of reference tools such as encyclopaedias, subject dictionaries, directories, geographical tools, year books etc. The National Library in a country should play a positive role in this regard by sponsoring such compilation and publishing projects in cooperation with publishers and librarians.

NATIONAL LIBRARY SCENE IN INDIA

India's National Library at Calcutta, famous for its rich collection of books, manuscripts, maps, etc. had its beginning in 1836 as Calcutta Public Library and was designated as Imperial Library by Lord Curzon on January 30, 1903. Soon after independence the Government of India designated it as the National Library in 1948.

During the past three decades it has grown in its size and services. The Library has at present a collection of about 1.7 million items occupying a shelf space of about 30 miles, providing reading and borrowing facilities to about 26,000 members. Its collection contains about 5,00,000 official documents, both Indian and Foreign, 72,000 maps and 3,000 manuscripts. Its annual acquisition amounts to about 25,000 items including free receipt of books and periodicals under the Delivery of Books Act (1954) and amended in

1956) and the Library's own purchase of about 8,000 titles and 700 journals, mostly foreign.

By looking at the functions being performed by it, one finds that the National Library still does not have a well defined policy or objectives with regard to its acquisitions as well as services. It actually performs a conglomeration of functions : of a national library as well as of a local public library. For example, after the enactment of the Delivery of Books Act (1954) it started functioning as a depository of a copy of all the publications in the country. This provides a good base for the compilation of the Indian National Bibliography which was started in 1958 by the Central Reference Library located on the National Library Campus itself. As a public library it lends books to the local people, mostly students in colleges, and universities. Curiously enough, it houses a children's library, which is unheard of as a function of a national library in any part of the world.

Although under the Act it is obligatory on the part of every publisher to send one copy of every publication to the National Library, in fact the Library does not receive more than 60%-65% of the total printed output of the country. An immediate need for developing cooperation between publishers and the library in this regard needs hardly any further emphasis here.

Thirty years should have been sufficient for the National Library to grow into an institution of national importance and as a centre to meet the academic and research needs of the users in the country, comparable in its programmes and activities with such libraries as the Library of Congress, Lenin State Library or the British Library. If it has not grown in that direction, it is primarily because of the apathy of the Union Government towards this great institution. It has been a serious victim of shortage of funds, lack of administrative leadership, bureaucratic interference and various other maladies, human as well as political. The

Library has been without a librarian for more than a decade and the newly created post of Director has been vacant almost for three years already. Surprisingly, it is learnt that because of the shortage of shelving space about 30,000 newly acquired books have been dumped on the floors of some of the sections of the Library.

According to the original plans the Central Reference Library was to be shifted to New Delhi and even a site had been earmarked for this Library not very far from the National Archives but this decision continues to remain in cold storage.

It would be relevant to mention here that besides the National Library at Calcutta two other national libraries, viz. National Science Library and National Library of Medicine have already been established in New Delhi. The IARI Library in view of its vast collection can easily be called as the National Agricultural Library. These libraries have been established as specialized libraries by the respective ministries or departments or autonomous bodies and are being developed independently without any well coordinated plans or relationship between themselves and/or with other libraries in the country. Certain other libraries such as Khudabux Library, Parliament Library, etc. are also growing in an uncoordinated manner.

The need for formulating a national policy for developing library and information services systems has been emphasised and reiterated at various professional seminars and conferences in the country. The Raja Rammohun Roy Library Foundation has of course taken some initiative in this direction but it would be much better if the Union Government appoints a Commission for this purpose as early as possible which could go into various details in a rather comprehensive manner and thus suggest a plan for immediate action.

It would be relevant to mention here that the need for such commissions for promoting the development of library and infor-

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mation services in a well coordinated manner has always been recognized in various countries such as USA and UK. In USA the National Commission for Library and Information Services has actually been established on permanent basis for this purpose. Is it too late for this country to proceed on these lines?

SUGGESTIONS

Some of the suggestions which emerge from the preceding discussion may be summarised as following :—

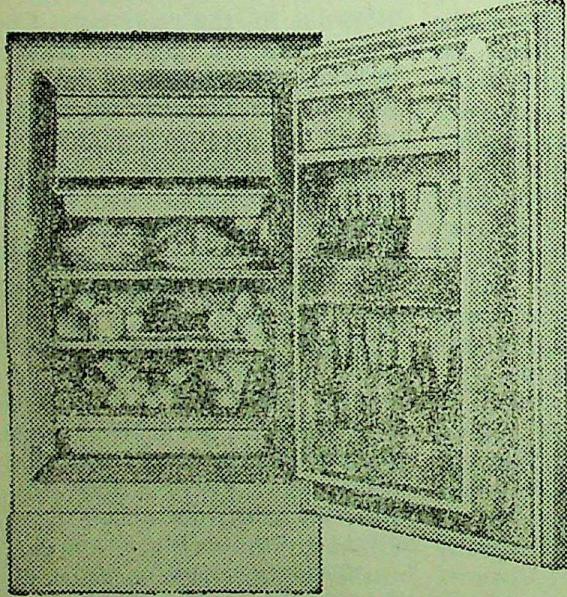
1. The publishing and book trade should be active and enlightened partners in programmes of document collections in libraries in the country;
2. The book trade should look

at their role not merely as an economic activity but also with a social objective in mind so as to educate and keep the society well informed;

3. The National Library because of its vast responsibility to serve as the national depository should be sent copies of various publications in the country without fail more as a social rather than as a legal obligation;
4. The National Library should compile and publish bibliographical tools on regular basis and sponsor joint projects for the preparation and production of different categories of reference tools in the country;

5. The National Library Calcutta requires immediate attention of the Union Government so that it may grow as an institution of national importance comparable with the Library of Congress, Lenin State Library or the British Library; and
6. The Union Government should formulate and implement a national policy for library and information services so that these services would develop in the country in a well planned and coordinated manner and also appoint a commission for this purpose at an early date.

P.B. Mangla is President of the Indian Library Association.



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The Libraries and the University Grants Commission

RAIS AHMED

There is a firm belief in the University Grants Commission that the library is the heart of a university. The library is the resource centre for books, documents, journals, and for other kinds of learning material and possibly a data-base. The basic activities of a university, namely, education, research and extension cannot be carried on without adequate support from a good library.

In our conditions, what to say of students even teachers are unable to buy books. They are so costly and so difficult to procure. Journals are even harder to get and the library could be the only source for seeing the latest publications in a field in the journals.

It was estimated that in the period before the University Grants Commission was founded, the expenditure per student on the library was about Rs. 10 per year. In the early sixties, soon after the UGC was established, the expenditure rose to Rs. 15 per student, in 1970-71 it was Rs. 34 per student. We do not know how these figures were arrived at, and in particular one is not sure if the library support provided to the colleges has been taken into account.

Again, in 1971 the average university library was estimated to have a stock of 150 thousand books, was subscribing to a thousand journals and had an average yearly acquisition of 10,000 books. Only six universities were subscribing to more than 2,000 journals; there were 14 who were subscribing to between 1,000 and 2,000 journals.

It is said that in the early seventies or at the end of the fourth plan perhaps due to a sudden spurt in the rate of subscriptions for journals, the condition of the university libraries became precarious and in some cases it continued to be so for some years. The subscription rates became so high that they consumed

the entire budget of the libraries, leaving very little for the purchase of books. Even central universities are known to have suffered from paucity of funds for the purchase of books to such an extent that textbooks too were hard to get.

CURRENT SITUATION

The current situation is not as dismal as that, and there has been an upswing. The Commission gives priority to the purchase of books in the libraries and to the subscription of journals. Leaving aside the university libraries which receive a good proportion of their plan grants in the form of grants for purchase of books, the basic grant to about 2,000 colleges is of the order of Rs. 45,000 each for the Plan period. The development grant to about 1200 colleges is in addition to this, and it is of the order of Rs. 1,00,000/- each. Therefore, the universities are today in a much better position than before.

Furthermore, there are proposals to build up some university libraries as regional centres for a group of subjects and there are proposals to strengthen inter-library services. There is also a proposal to build up at least in a few libraries substantial holdings in the form of modern material such as micro-films, tapes and records. Even provision of video cassettes is being contemplated. It is hoped that the enrolment and the attractiveness of such material in the libraries would greatly strengthen the attraction of libraries to students.

One important development which is under immediate consideration is to create a resource centre type of library in science subjects including mathematics. This can be done by facilitating the purchase of a number of basic journals by one of the well-developed university libraries. The same library

would have access to abstracting services, and international tapes in the given subjects. Thus, every researcher in the university system who enrolls with the UGC's resource library and makes his fields of interest known to the library, should receive periodic print-outs from the library, indicating important publications which have recently appeared in the given fields.

The individual subscriber would be able to indicate the papers or documents of which he would need full length reproductions. The library on receipt of such requests will send out material through its reprographic section. This will be a unique service in India, although such a service is available in a few developed countries. This is likely to increase the scope of literature which could be utilised by the research workers as it will also reduce the time-lag between the appearance of an article and its receipt by the research worker.

The University Grants Commission's support to these new schemes as also to the traditional material available in the libraries is likely to strengthen the library system so that it can make a contribution to the scholarship and enjoyment of reading.

Rais Ahmed is Vice Chairman of the University Grants Commission.

This is a combined issue of January 1 & 16. The next issue will therefore carry the date February 1, 1983.

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Need for Action

S. C. DUBE

The emerging ethos appears to be indifferent, if not inimical, to ideas, scholarship, and creativity in literature. The phenomenal growth of the entertainment media has resulted in shrinking of the book market. It has also contributed to re-shaping of aesthetic tastes. Even the four principal themes—religion, royalty, sex and mystery—on which the publishing industry relied and for profit churned out best sellers with unfailing regularity, no longer attract as wide a readership as they did a decade ago. The rising costs of production have so hiked the unit costs that the traditional book buying classes are cutting down on their purchase of books. The worst hit are works of an academic nature and serious scholarship.

Good creative literature is also in the same boat. There is evidence of a global recession in book publishing : the staple of the common reader continues to survive, although with difficulty; mature works of creative writing and of scholarly research and reflection appear to be fighting a losing battle. Some books in the latter class do appear from time to time, but because of the limited market they cannot enjoy the advantage of the economy of scale and have to be priced so high that they are beyond the reach of the average reader. Library grants have failed to keep pace with the escalating costs of books and, in consequence, the volume of their annual purchase is considerably restricted.

This is true of the affluent countries of North America and Western Europe and also of Japan and South Korea in Asia. Crisis in the Third World is deeper and more acute; the prospects of the publishing industry there are indeed bleak. In the long run the trend is likely to result in stunted endogenous creativity and a major lag in acquiring familiarity with and contributing to the growth points in the established disciplines and emerging frontiers of

human knowledge.

Because of a captive market text book publishing is believed to be a paying proposition. In point of fact it is not so. With the exception of school text books publication of advanced level text books, in the Third World, has become risky. First, because of low returns specialists are reluctant to write text books that require creative inputs. Even if such books are written, as indeed some are, they do not find enthusiastic publishers and promoters. The text book market has been monopolised by second to third rate writers and commercially minded publishers.

BLUNT TRUTH

The blunt truth is that the student today wants short-cuts and there is no encouragement to him to read serious works. Unauthentic notes and guide books outsell standard works. It is surprising that students diligently reading good books do only marginally better than those preparing for the examination with made-easy and at-a-glance potboilers. Unless we radically change our instructional methods and assessment procedures, the better books will languish and the get-rich-quick trash will thrive. What we need is an imaginative plan of production of indigenized textbooks and supplementary readings.

The UGC may consider the possibility of releasing its library grants both in cash and kind, ensuring that quality books do reach the academic institutions. It is shocking to find that many seminal works do not find a place in the libraries of even old and established universities. Study centres set up by colleges and universities do not hesitate to stock cheap notes and guides.

The situation in respect of higher literary works and popular writing in respect of established and emerging fields of knowledge is perplexing.

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Generally they fare badly in the Third World. In India there are significant inter-state variations. In a small state like Kerala good books of both these types appear to do reasonably well. But the situation in the north is bleak. A good Hindi book is brought out in an edition of 1000 copies; some novels of established writers of quality may have the exceptional luck of an edition of 3000 copies. Most of them take two to three years to sell. Even in a city like Delhi it should not be difficult to sell 3000 copies of good books in Hindi, Panjabi, or Urdu, but this does not happen.

There is something wrong with taste and something wrong with methods of promotion. A TV set is a status symbol, but books are not. Despite rising cost of living it is unbelievable that people should not be able to make room for one or two medium priced books a month in their budget. Can we reinvest prestige in books and generate a book consciousness in society at large ?

Some individual publishers have floated their own book clubs and alongside popular stuff made available, at reasonable cost, a selection of quality books also. But their reach is limited and the postal charges are a disincentive. It is essential that publishers learn to act as a collectivity in this important field. The Kerala example has to be examined with care for it can provide some valuable leads. To a limited extent, what has happened in Bengal, Maharashtra and Tamilnadu on the book scene also needs to be watched. The situation in these states is much better than that in the north, although they also lag behind Kerala.

STATE INTERVENTION

There is every indication that urgent state intervention is needed. For the past several decades bulk government purchase has been the principal prop of the publishing industry, but in most states the procedures adopted leave much to be desired. Bribery and corruption characterise the endeavour; nepotism and interference often governs the choice of books. In consequence, mostly worthless publications are acquired.

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and, as a sop, some good books also are bought in tens and twenties. These books eventually reach educational institutions and public libraries and adorn their shelves unhonoured and unread. This does not help the cause of books.

Madhya Pradesh government, with an active Department of Culture, appears to be an exception. For the last few years or so it has been discriminately selecting books of excellence and placing fair-sized orders for them. For these books the government makes it a precondition that the authors be paid a royalty of 20 per cent. This is a positive encouragement to quality writing, and enables authors to get more adequate rewards. The publishers can also realize their costs and make reasonable profits to continue investment in books that would otherwise have been risky or slow-moving. The Department of Culture takes imaginative but discreet steps to increase the visibility of books and to promote literary taste by organizing discussions on important books at major centres.

To a certain extent these endeavours promote book consciousness and make quality books available both through educational institutions and the organized network of libraries. Powerful interests have tried to sneak into these programmes, but so far they have had little success. So far the programme has had the necessary support and has had not to compromise on quality. It is natural that the principal figures behind these initiatives should come under attack. If the Madhya Pradesh example could be followed by other states it would be good both for writers and for the publishing industry. Better works will not lose out to mindless glossies. On the national level some such purposive action is indicated both for promotion of taste and for easy availability of quality books.

RURAL MARKET

The vast rural market remains practically untapped. A few publishing houses have specialised in producing books on mythology, religion, and crafts and industries for this market; they have sizeable

sales also. But the quality and authenticity of these books leaves much to be desired. There are many functional areas in which the rural reader would like to have dependable books at a price he can afford, but there is no organized effort to provide these. Cheap thrillers and romantic novels of little worth flood these markets and corrupt the taste of the people. It is realized that something has to be done but no one has a concrete plan of action.

Under the adult literacy programmes in different states some books have been produced, but their quantum is woefully inadequate and quality indifferent. The few good books that have been brought out have not reached the larger market and have thus had little impact. And, of course, many "authors" succeeded in getting assignments for writing books under these programmes by activating their influence network and naturally turn up with sub-standard products. Ritualism

and bureaucratization often kill the book production programme.

No plans exist to create a class of specialized authors who have a grasp of the rural mind and the rural idiom. The rural reader certainly deserves a better deal. Most neo-literates relapse into illiteracy because they have nothing worthwhile to read. It has to be realized that this large market can support both authorship and publishing provided it is fed the right type of product. The payoff would not be only financial; it would go a long way in extending the consciousness of the people.

Books are not a luxury. They influence nation building and development in many diverse ways. A society deprived of books can understandably turn to mindless nihilism. The state must recognize its duty in this field.

S.C. Dube is currently a Senior Fellow of the ICSSR.

Publishing and Libraries

S. K. MOOKERJEE

Publishing and libraries are interdependent.

Even though publishing has an economic objective essential for its survival, it is in several ways an intellectual enterprise with objectives that are comparable to those of educational institutions. The objectives of libraries are no different, except that they mostly rely on subventions and their connections with educational institutions and readers are direct and closer. Publishers produce books to disseminate knowledge, education and ideas and libraries bring them to readers.

The main functions of libraries are to collect printed or mimeographed materials, store them and make them available to readers. They build up readership with their sustained and special efforts—in other words,

they create a demand for books. Though they don't directly involve themselves in publishing and its commercial aspects but libraries help in shaping and developing the publishing profession. All the categories of libraries together form the largest and the most important customers for every kind of good book—both academic and recreational, and it is their support and interest which sustain the publishing of research and creative works. Publishers are aware of the fact that without the support and patronage of libraries and institutions many worthwhile books would not have been published and, with escalating costs, the dependence on institutional buying is getting all the more important. This is particularly true of scholarly monographs, for which the market is

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INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

limited. It would be futile to produce larger runs of such works in order to seek economies of scale and bring down publishing prices. Without a strong publishing industry it is just not possible to meet the growing need of libraries for good books, but without adequate and well funded libraries publishing can't grow. Libraries could also help improve standard and quality of publishing by refusing to buy substandard works.

TOWARDS NORMALCY

For the last four years Indian publishing has been passing through a very critical time, thanks to the lack of library/institutional buying. The crisis started in 1979-80 when library grants were suddenly not available. Publishers had to abandon their otherwise sound proposals, drastically cut print runs and take several other stringent measures in order to survive the unexpected and hard blow. Countless authors who were looking forward to the publication of their works could not find publishers, whose warehouses were already full of books that libraries were unable to buy for lack of funds. Several university libraries in fact returned books selected or bought much earlier and held up payments leading to a severe cash-flow crisis in an industry built upon a weak capital base. Assuming that these troubles were a temporary phase and that library grants would soon be restored, publishers employed all the resources at their disposal to keep themselves afloat until normal times returned. However, normalcy has yet to be restored and present indications are alarming. The Fifth Five-Year Plan outlay for higher education was in the region of Rs. 260 crores but, despite the rise in costs and the increase in enrolments in universities/colleges, the Sixth Five-Year Plan provides for a ridiculously low Rs. 136 crores. Student enrolment in 1975-76 was 24.26 lakhs and in 1979-80 26.49 lakhs—an increase of about 9% in four years, but costs have gone up by about 40%. In order to keep pace with these two factors a financial provision for Rs. 387 crores would have been logical. Typically, books have been made to bear

the brunt of this cut: prior to 1979-80 the annual UGC grants amounted to Rs. 5 crores with matching grants from the States. There were other grants too. These grants have since been cut by over sixty per cent and of the available funds more than half is spent on journals.

The effect of all this on publishing is tragic. In normal times the initial print runs for scholarly and creative works were usually in the range of 1500/2000 copies. This has now been halved and sometimes 500 copies are produced. The number of new titles produced is now 40% less than four years ago. Library sales, which once accounted for 400/500 copies of a title are now down to 100/125. This cutback has put the economics of publishing out of gear. Lower print runs lead to higher published prices and, following from this higher prices lead to lower sales.

A large number of potential authors can't find publishers thanks largely to depressing market conditions and few publishers can now afford to strengthen their staff. If allowed to deteriorate further, the situation will result in severely wounding worthwhile creative and scholarly writing. Clearly, in order to restore normalcy, the situation needs immediate attention of all those who need good books. India requires well-funded and better organized libraries, both for urban and rural areas and for educational and recreational needs. Unless these are established Indian publishing will not only continue to stagnate but decline—a tragic fate for an industry which not so long ago seemed poised to put India prominently on the intellectual and publishing map of the world.

S.K. Mookerjee works for the Oxford University Press.

Impact of Book-Trade on Indian Academic and Research Libraries

SUBHAS C. BISWAS*

We made a sample check of the books added during 1981 in two of the largest libraries in Delhi against their accession registers and we found that 62% of the titles added in one and 83% in the other were of foreign origin. Almost all of them are English language publications produced by various UK and USA based publishers. This will be the scene in all academic and special libraries attached to research institutions throughout the country. Their number, including government departmental libraries, is estimated to be over 5,000. Because of our educational system and lack of suitable books in other Indian languages, English language publications are mostly in demand and continue to be the basic, if not the

only, reading material at our higher learning and research levels. The Book Promotion Unit of the Ministry of Education, New Delhi, in their latest annual sample study estimated that nearly Rs. 20 crores worth of books were imported in India during 1980. This entire import trade is, by and large, controlled by a few established wholesalers in India who can be counted on finger-tips. These wholesalers are mostly based in Delhi with their branches in other major cities of the country. A few of them, however, continue to operate from other metropolises. They import books either directly from the publishers or through similar British or American wholesale agency houses under Open

*The views expressed in this paper are entirely those of the author.

General Licence (OGL) terms of the Government of India's import regulations. Another 10% could easily be added to the total import value of books that are received through post parcels.

MECHANISM OF TRADE

Foreign publishing houses distribute these products in India through (1) Sole-selling distributors, and (2) Stockists. The local wholesalers take up distribution rights on commission basis. Books are supplied to them by the foreign publishers on easy credit terms. Some foreign publishing houses appoint local representatives, primarily for sales promotional activities. The retailers-book-shops and library suppliers all over the country have to send their indents to these local stockists or distributors appointed by the publishers for their supply of books published overseas.

Foreign publishers do not entertain orders for small quantities of supply received from individuals or retailers directly without the knowledge and consent of their appointed distributors. Under the OGL terms, any individual or institution may import any title of academic or literary nature directly. Such individuals can obtain a foreign exchange permit through the Reserve Bank of India upto Rs. 25,000/- in one year. Depending upon the nature of demand and specialised areas of activities of an institution, this limit may be increased without much difficulty. Unfortunately, this facility has been availed by only a few libraries. The reasons are : (a) High cost of ordering and correspondence by airmail, (b) Foreign publishers have now automated their warehouse storage and distribution systems by introducing computer. They find it most uneconomical to handle single copy orders--which they receive from individuals and institutions, (c) Suppliers always charge extra for handling and postage & packing over and above the actual cost of a title, which is hardly appreciated by anyone.

BOOKS-ORDERED & RECEIVED
In a recent study in the Central

Secretariat Library, New Delhi, we found that out of 837 foreign publications ordered with local booksellers during June-December, 1981, only 304 books were supplied by December, 1982 (within one and a half year), which is only 36% of the total items ordered. However, more than half of them were supplied within two months from the date of ordering and the rest were staggered over the remaining 12 months. We do not know if and when we will receive the remaining titles ordered by the library. These titles were selected from current national bibliographies, latest publishers' catalogues and other similar sources. 61 titles were supplied at an extra cost (on Good Offices Committee's terms), as they were procured as single copies by the local suppliers directly from the overseas publishers. The remaining items were obtained from the local market and supplied at the publishers' price, less 10% library discount. These latter items were imported by the wholesellers.

During the same period, the library acquired 2382 English language titles published overseas, which is 57% of the total English language publications, which are received 'on approval' from the suppliers. Thus the bulk of the library fund was spent in acquiring publications which the wholesalers imported and indirectly forced the libraries to buy. Some of them will obviously be of use to the readers, but a big portion of them will be lying on the library shelves. Libraries acquire these volumes to spend the book budget before the end of the financial year, with the hope that some day someone will find them useful. On the basis of a recent study conducted by the Librarian of Jawaharlal Nehru University, this remains to be a very high 'HOPE' for that library. We are certain that the scene is more or less the same in all libraries of academic and research institutions in the country...

CREDIT SITUATION

A handful of local wholesalers receive books on high trade dis-

count terms from their overseas counter-parts and publishers on credit. They look at this commodity, sadly enough, like any other consumer goods, and push them over again on credit basis, to the retailers and library suppliers. The libraries again receive them on credit i.e., 'on approval'. The cycle of payment works when the libraries pay, which takes an unexpectedly long time due to various official procedures. Delay in payment is one of the most severe stumbling blocks in our book procurement procedures. The libraries get a bad name from their suppliers and in the eyes of overseas publishers Indian wholesalers are branded 'naughty' in terms of making payments in time. Here is one point to which the country's policy makers should give some consideration. As book publishing and distribution is not a recognised industry, hence, soft term credit is not available to our publishers and book suppliers from the banks. According to one spokesman of the Federation of Publishers & Booksellers Association of India, 75% of the imported books find their way into the libraries of the country and the whole payment cycle takes one full year, if not more. Hence, the booksellers depend heavily on payments made on time by the libraries. This, in turn, affects the creditability of Indian book distributors in the eyes of foreign publishers.

WHAT RETAILERS THINK

Retailers, who are also the library suppliers, complain that :

- the wholesalers push their stock on the suppliers to get quick return of their investment;
- they import only the titles which they hope to sell easily or where they are allowed larger profit margin by the foreign publishers;
- titles published by academic or research institutions or small specialised publishing houses, which are mostly in demand only by the research and academic libraries, are generally not

- handled by the wholesalers, as their demand is comparatively less and the profit margin is not much either;
- (d) print run of research monographs is becoming lesser these days due to high cost of production, etc. During the last five years, cost of book has gone up by more than 3 times, whereas library's buying power has not increased proportionately.
- (e) the wholesalers, who hold the sole distributing rights of some foreign publishers are reluctant to take any action when they receive single copy orders from the retailers, as their handling charges are much too high.
- (f) some wholesalers occasionally supply books direct to the libraries on usual terms, which is against business ethics and an unthinkable act in developed countries :
- (g) another cause of this unsatisfactory situation, according to many, is that there are hardly any book suppliers, who have any subject specialisation or keep subject specialists on their staff which could help the libraries in identifying useful titles in various topics.

WHAT LIBRARIES THINK

Now, let us look at the customers, i.e., the libraries. One way of measuring efficiency of a library is by the number of books on the shelves that are being used by its members. This could be found from the date stamp. But in a research institution, use of book may not be the only criterion. One way of measuring effective use of library books is to check the titles against the citations given by its users in their research papers. Unfortunately, to my knowledge, hardly any such study has been made of an Indian library so far. So far the measures used generally are linear shelf space, issue and users, etc. These are all quantitative and not qualitative measures. In other words, the question to ask should be not how many books does the library have but what type of books does the library

have. This would be possible only when a library could procure the books it wants in time through an efficient book supply system. In the present context, this is a far cry.

Libraries must take their share of blame for this malady. By receiving books on approval, the librarians have given up their primary role of selecting the right books by checking various bibliographical and book selecting tools—such as, current national bibliographies, publishers' catalogue, book reviews and citations in academic journals, accession lists of sister libraries, etc. It is a general complaint of the book suppliers that libraries in India take an unnecessarily long time, both in finally selecting books received on approval and making payments.

Libraries are always short of funds. In some libraries, too many persons are involved in selecting books, which creates confusion and delay. Various official rules and regulations force the libraries and book suppliers to follow heavy clerical procedures. One of the disastrous steps in a library's acquisition process is to buy books in bulk at the fag end of the financial year, as funds are made available during that period only, this is especially true in respect of the academic libraries in the country.

Again, there are so many libraries which still strictly follow the General Financial Rules of the Government of India and buy books only through the book supplier, who has quoted the highest library discount. These suppliers cannot in any circumstances supply all the books that the library ought to have. The net result is that towards the end of the financial year the librarians visit some large stockists and spend the balance amount of the budget allocation on books that are readily available with them. This period is a real boon for the wholesalers in clearing their left over stock.

WASTEFUL

Vast amount of national resour-

ces are spent by the libraries in procuring books every year, although half of these titles may never be used by anyone, and an equal amount will be spent in processing and keeping them in order on the shelves of the various libraries. This colossal wastage of valuable resources by a developing country like India must be stopped and some positive measures are to be taken jointly by the parties concerned without losing any more time. Librarians and book-sellers have been grossly neglecting their responsibilities towards the country by failing to provide the right books, i.e., the books, which are needed by the academics and researchers in time. The areas of research work that are worst affected due to this shortcoming are humanities and social sciences, which depend a great deal on research monographs and scholarly publications. Perhaps, this is one of the root causes why the bulk of the research publications produced in India does not get adequate recognition in the international academic world.

Some of the problems that have been identified here—most of the books ordered by a library are never supplied; where they are made available, extra cost is to be borne by the library; short money supply within book industry; by receiving books on approval, libraries are acquiring much useless material and there is a heavy wastage of financial resources; users and librarians are avoiding one of their primary responsibilities of identifying and evaluating the material that are genuinely needed; official rules and regulations need to be revised and updated—have been taken up by the Good Offices Committee. However, very little can be achieved and much valuable time and resources will be wasted if all the agencies concerned with books in any form fail to put their heads together in solving this complicated problem.

Subhas C. Biswas is Director of the Central Secretariat Library, Ministry of Education and Culture, New Delhi.

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D N DHANGARE

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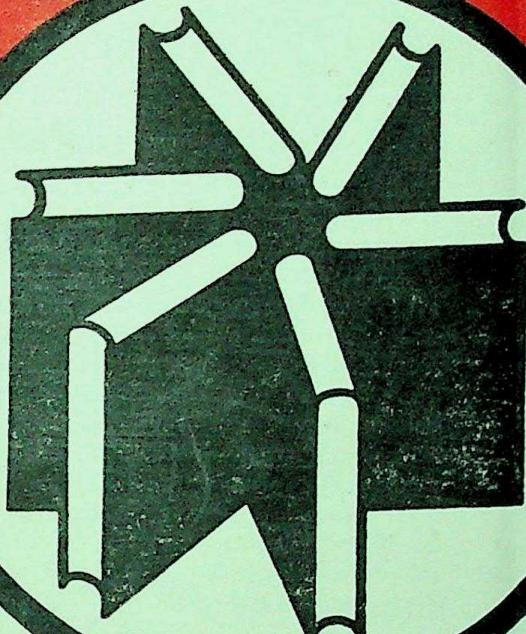
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NEW DELHI-110016
Telephone : 654461
EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH

A Wide Spectrum

The output of Indian poetry in English, in terms of sheer quantity, is amazing. Nine volumes of poetry* are before me, all published in 1981-82. The number of novels in English for any one year would not amount to as many, one may be sure. And these nine, one may be further sure, are only a portion of a vast number, not found their way to the reviewers' table. There is no Writers' Workshop publication among the bunch. If these are added, the number of poetry titles for the year would be something like 50. And this again, would not represent the total number. Comparisons with the novel or drama would be absurd.

To make a quality selection from this mass, however, would mean a rapid shrinkage of it like unsanforized cloth. Let us, however, describe the state of the poet Englishing his muse in cheerful terms; it is possible yet. We can still see him as an immigrant in the world of English, dazzled by its richness and proven virtuosity. And in this ocean of words it is his task to select the words that sum up his experiences best, redeemed from their original accretions of meaning and association, minted anew with his individuality, with the undertones and overtones of his own history, lore and what have you. Of course this is what everyone concerned with the creative use of language does in all languages.

But the danger of pre-packaged, pre-processed words, which, without his knowing it, act as substitutes for authentic expression is much greater in English. A basic, ground level test still relevant in examining English writing in India, whether prose or poetry, is, the extent to which the danger has been anticipated and avoided, the language made personal, made a barometer of the felt, the undergone, the lived with. Fortunately, this individually fashioned, folded-in idiom is becoming more evident now, providing a standard for retaining or setting aside awork.

A great many of the bunch referred to above, are what can only be called word-happy. "Speak/Hydra-headed..." begins K. Raghavan Pillai in his poem "Speech" in *Grey Tones*, obviously fascinated by the well preceded phrase 'Hydra headed'. K.R. Rao, in 'I clasped her by the hand', does so to 'shove her into a dingy room' seems fixated on the American colloquialism 'shoved'. Sasi Bhushan Das in his collection *Find Yourself* is metaphysically inclined. In the begining was the Word/And the Word was God/The Supreme Being—Brahma./Sabda Brahma/The word is Brahma. All the poems in the collection have a similar rhetoric.

Metaphysics is a special danger for the English writer. A whole range of nirvanic vocabulary and verbalisation in English are available to him, ready made, stifling true poetic expression at more than one

*(1) P.K. Nijhawan *Doodlings of a Normad*, pp. 64, *Army Educational Stores*, 1981, Rs. 15.00 (2) Manmohan Singh, *Village Poems*, pp. 57, *Arnold Heinemann*, 1982, Rs. 25.00 (3) Arvind Krishna Mehrotra, *Distance in Statute Miles*, pp. 56, *Clearing House, Bombay*, 1982, Rs. 25.00 (4) Sunita Jain, *Silences*, pp. 48, *National Publishing House*, 1982, Rs. 25.00 (5) Manohar Shetty, *A Guarded Space*, pp. 60, *New Ground, Bombay*, 1981, Rs. 60.00 (6) Sasi Bhushan Das, *Find Yourself*, *Roy & Roy Calcutta*, 1981, Rs. 25.00 (Hardbound) Rs. 20.00 (Paperback) (7) G.K. Saraf, *Behind the Mask*, pp. 59, *Rupa*, 1981, Rs. 20.00 (8) K. Raghavan Pillai, *Grey Tones*, pp. 35, *Sankaleen Prakashan*, 1982, Rs. 15.00 (9) K.R. Rao, *Fragment Memories*, pp. 30, *Sankaleen Prakashan*, 1982, Rs. 12.00

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level. The English toned Sanskrit terminology, so jubilantly used, emphasise even more the absence of a living silence behind the sound of words. Not only does poetic expression demand this silence: the abstractness of metaphysics and metaphysical themes demand it too. Nothing sounds more banal than words like Atma and Brahman bandied about facilely.

P.K. Nijhavan in 'On my loneliness' (*Doodlings of a Nomad*) wails, 'A loner/And a lover of seclusion/I loved/ploughing my own lonely furrow/The support taken from the catchphrase last line is obvious. G.K. Saraf in *Behind the Mask* from his collection of the same title, croons, 'Without a mask/I gaze—/your eyes/became vibrant/peopleled with unknown/untold stirrings./The malady gives place/to a tender melody/The punning attempt with melody and malady is possible only for the word struck English convert.

CONCERN WITH WORDS

Two books from this bunch call for more considered examination. *Village Poems* by Manmohan Singh, and *A Guarded Space* by Manohar Shetty. Shetty has not yet liberated himself from the clutch of words. There is a feel of his threshing about in its meshes, straining to break loose and touch the cold air of felt and lived experience.

Like the mushrooming concussions
Of an explosion the island
Is pounded thin, veins splayed
To the sea's rim, fingers
Spread-eagled towards the horizon

That is the first stanza of his poem 'Bombay'. The image here is not what one would call lucid. 'Mushrooming concussions of an explosion' is a jawful of polysyllables, from the jangle of which the mind takes time to detach itself and get the necessary visual perspective on the phrase. And the exercise doesn't yield a steady image. The 'sh' sound continues to intrude into the intelligence and comprehension. 'Concussion' has an association of muffled sounds, of insidious, underground mishaps, of momentum inward. 'Mushrooming' with its nuances of unsound rapid growth and a tangible, present-to-the-eye quality does not integrate with concussions to which it has been linked by the poet. One speaks of the mushroom horror, meaning the atomic explosion. But it is mushroom, a noun and a thing, which is meant in this usage, not mushrooming, which is a continuous process.

'Explosion' is a totally aural word. Yes, one does speak of the 'population explosion'. But no such variation is suggested in its usage by the poet here, and it remains aural. What is the connecting feature in these three words, 'Concussions of a mushrooming explosion'? But despite this imageric opacity there is a tenacious quality about the three words set together thus, a sense of a dogged stalking of big game in the jungle of words. The hunt for the big word is often—if one might pontificate a bit—the first, fitful step in the evolving of a personal idiom. The whole poem has this tenacious feel of the poet grappling with the antlers and fangs of the big words, of an engagement in a fray. Here is the whole poem: 'Marooned by the unkillable/cycle of mutilations it widens/mutant serrated teeth/to rip and masticate the tightening/torniquet of the sea.

'Ribs like ladder rungs
convex stomach ballooning
Its paw scoops the tide for more
Drips, shovels, a larger clump
At each meal. For each meal.

Sometimes the fray ends happily, the kill made well and without undue mess or bloodshed. 'Personality' is one such poem. Here it is:

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Shed the pretentious gravity

Observed clearly,

The haunting mist below

The foreboding lid is but

A dormant sea of dregs.

Magnified by fatigue and loneliness

Presentiments

Brought into the open

As terrifying spectres.

Both method and ep

I step now into the jarring air
Though the protective veFalls in place
Distorts images, cancels comLeaves me groping still
Drinking and talking

Fitfully, mid air

One could point to some doubtful areas in this poem. The tempo in the first stanza is well maintained at a steady high-low-high. But in 'Presentiments brought into the open as terrifying spectres' the seen physical quality of fear is expressed and the word 'spectres' has to continue this suggestion. Spectres however, are not seen. They are subjective, invisible phenomena.

Again, in the second stanza the tempo and rhythm falter. The high-low-high sequence fails. At the point, 'Leaves me groping still', one expects a heightening of voice. Instead, it is a flattening, and a weak link with 'protective veil' left three lines away. The succeeding lines go on in this weakened state, and the conclusion is a real peter out.

But the assets of the poem are considerably solid. The words come in low key, in profile, have leaned out, as it were. The pitch is toned, the engagement with the theme at the right distance and familiarity. These are coming clear break-through trends. And they find a very happy consummating expression in the phrase 'cancelled communication'. This phrase, with its two words, lights up the poem. It brings out the point of it home in a flash. I would read the poem again and again just to feel the

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impact of these two words.

Man Mohan Singh's involvement with words is at a breezier, less obsessed level. The polysyllables haven't got him. There seems to be a natural, songster's urge in him which he weaves with legend, lore, fable and folktale to invoke a lost world. His natural lyrical bent predisposes him to the short, tripping word, and with its help net the fleeting, teeming, engrossing images of a faded reality in his mind. The gossamer effect of this exercise in recreation, thus, is organic to the total poetic context under consideration. But the gossamer should also be precise, sharp in outline. It is so in nature. And this is deficient in his poetry. We get flashes of it in

The five paths
converging on the village
were left by finger marks
of a giant hand
which opened the womb of the
mound
to midwife the seventh child
of blazing dark mud.
(‘Rainbow on the Grass’)

We also feel it in the stanza preceding in the line, Spidery insects crawled on the surface of water. ‘Spidery insects’ is not a happy coinage. Spiders are also insects.

To imagine, as the reader is called upon to, insects like spiders is too much to ask for in the quickness and instant impressions required in the reception of the poetic impact. And then, there is a serpent to contend with in the stanza. Its hiss, we are told, is dangerous. But it is not clear whether it is the people of the village or the spidery insects that ‘build homes away from the serpent’s hiss’. If the first, it is a powerful evocation of myth and legend. Serpents terrorising human beings thereby, is a common theme. However that may be, ‘hiss’ is not the right word there. There has to be a more resonant word to match the atmosphere of the

dawn of life being created in the poem. The first stanza gets its precision from the phrase ‘slit in the mound’. There is savagery in it. But why ‘rainbow’ immediately afterwards? Why is the fluid, supple imagery brought in, destroying the sharp violence of the earlier one?

Again he writes, in another poem, the lines

‘The rain came like strings
woven and bleached in turmoil

The anger of lightning was
mirrored
in pools of water
forming in the fields’

But this precision and the sense of specialness, the specific localness it makes for is soon lost from the third line onwards of the ten-line concluding stanza:

A raging battle was on
as rain and wind lashed
and branches broke away
like infants in fear
out of the laps of mothers
The tops of trees
shook like long-haired women
exorcising spirits out of their
brains

That is commonplace. Raging battle, rain and wind lashing, branches breaking away are commonplace. The phrase ‘exorcising the brains’ sounds an unhappy transference of an Indian saying, ‘Sar pe bhoot savar ho gaya’. And Mr Singh, also please consider, do infants ever break away from the laps of their mothers in fear? Infants cling to their mother’s laps. The greater the fear, the faster they cling to the only area of safety they know.

To trace the reasons for this frequent fall from quality in Man Mohan Singh's poetry is to reiterate the general statement we made in the beginning: that the English writer in India is exposed to the danger of the cliche and the ready made word in a way that his fellow writer in the Indian languages is not. For Singh to write the lines

In stones and shards
in pebbles and shells
a song sung by fingers
was nailed into a homage
on the village wall
in the coming of rains
frogs croaked in hopping praise
to a dusky deity
as a rain of children fell from the
dark ceiling

with its smooth tempo, careful wording and equally careful charting of the area of silent sacrament grown round a village deity, and also to write ‘Truants slipped from schools and cast the nets of their turbans/to shore the fish like/a trophy of flapping silver/in triumph they howled/and dragged their glinting victims/like fallen soldiers’, is only good evidence of the potency of this lurking danger.

PRIVATE WORLD

Thus, it is with this contingency in mind that one now turns to the last two names in our collection of poets. These two, Sunita Jain and Arvind Kumar Mehrotra are largely through with their initiatory battles with words. In her best poems Sunita Jain indeed, has altered the glance and look of words by working into them the pulsations of her private world. Her words, now, can be said to proxy for the emotions they utter and elaborate. They have one might say, become pictograms.

‘Held between your arms spaces
dulled with loving
I know I’ll know a peace
certain as morning.
In your convoluted
tightgrips, see,
I have turned my love
utterly lovely’.
(‘Held between your arms
spaces’ from *Silences*).

The world that her emblematic words construct is a world of moral breakage: of broken faith, broken trust and broken troth. In the first two volumes *Man of my desires*

(Writers' Workshop) and *Lovetime* (Arnold-Heinemann) the poetic voice, pitched high, is derived from accusations passionately made, while the self battles to hold itself together, find coherence in a crumbling world.

'I shall
when pain no longer
gnaws at my soul
blistered by your lies
sing once again
of days bright with glory
of birds in nesting season
wailing for life
to gather under their wings
I shall, it's a promise
sing once again
of all that you
my darling
killed'.
(It's a Promise' '*Lovetime*)

This declamatory stance gives way to a quieter, composed self in the present volume. This alien self is able to relate to nature.

Koel in our trees
people make a wish when they
see you
and say if you sing the wish
is granted. 'Black feathered
beauty
music of mango days
wishes are childhood's toys
broken in withered age. But sing
still
while your season lasts
sing through the burning May'
(Wishes)

This new self is also more autonomous. It can say,

'Look what rhythms have come
back
to my peacock feet
the colours of blaze
in the flutter of limbs. The
cloudlust
has sent soft rains.
And when I gasp 'lover...lover'
in the final frenzy it will be to
myself
in me fulfilled. (A song for
us').

This new self, finally is more neutralised in its feminisms, become more man in its identification with work and vocation.

'Looping like swallows
in the expanse of mind
words, you are all I ever had

against pain
calculated injury
Loop through me
while breath breathes
and skull throbs
in this interlude of light'
('Interlude').

Silences is not uniform, that is, its poems do not belong fully to the latest phase. Some of the poems, in addition, are repeats from the earlier volumes. Nonetheless the poetic evolution detailed above is apparent.

This evolution notwithstanding the poems in the collection are not without imperfections. In 'A Song for us', for instance, the second poem quoted in the para the word 'flutter' seems a faulty adjective. We are told all along of motion, of fluidity, in the words 'rhythms' 'peacock feet', 'blaze'. 'Flutter' in this company is a misfit, does not indicate the firmness of course, of direction, present in the foregoing adjectives.

Again, in 'I know now' the line 'till breasts are heaving leaves' is unbalancing. The suggestion, till the word 'heaving' occurs, is of heaviness.

I know now how it is to be with seed, to walk about darkly. like the secret in dark recesses to be parasite... This monolith is punctured by the word 'leaves' which suggests lightness, flying away.

Blemish is present again in the phrase 'palm to palm/together on our knees, in the poem 'Children in love'. The image does not rise instantly to the mind. Palm to palm suggests one hand with two palms. 'Together on our knees' suggests two persons. 'A single prayer' admittedly, is a binding, uniting factor, meaning two separate individuals uttering one single prayer. But it is the idea of twoness that is dominant. And this is blurred by the line 'palm to palm'. We see two palms, not four, as we should.

Again, the 'senses reeled' seems doubtful. It does not have the idea of communion so strong in the preceding lines. 'My being made chalice/by the grace/of your giving/in the touch/of purity.../This sense of communion matures and comes

full cycle in the word purity, suggests a state of becoming from process of receiving. 'Reeled' in this context does not fit.

In 'In my body' a wonderful atavistic and perennial vignette of femininity is flashed in the line 'hid my best jewel/as a woman would/in troubled times/Putting away jewellery in anticipation of hard times is an old feminine reflex. The poem gains its core strength from this vignette. The opening two lines 'In my body cloyed by ungrateful touch/wounded by unclean taking' are powerful too, conveying as they do, the physical repercussions of moral uncleanness. Alongside the imagery of jewel, reservations, and distrust, the effect is of a composite powerful idea. One wishes the power had been sustained. 'Anticipatory empty futures', the succeeding line is thin, with the descent of the metaphorical to the literal not suggestive enough.

The line 'And a child coms sorely hungry' is an old, Sunita Jain motif. This lost child motif is, on grants, a natural detail in the architecture of experience she builds up in her poetry. It is a stepping stone from the picture of betrayal and seduction, trauma and hope she draws again and again. But anything as natural has to be used with true uncommonness and with unquestionable artistic necessity. This requirement is not often met with in her usage of it.

Secondly, the poem fades away in the last three lines. The thought is sound — bringing the hidden jewel to light because the need for holding it back, of nursing reservations, has disappeared. But the metaphoric quality thins, and the recourse to the literal aspect of 'jewel' weakens the total poetic quality of the poem.

DRY & VARIEGATED

Directly opposed to Sunita Jain's obsessive feminine psyche with its laments, timeless aches, and slow painful voyage to recovery, is the dry humoured, uncomplicated, exteriorised, variegated male world of Arvind Krishna Mehrotra. *Distance in Statute Miles* is a collection of many kinds of poetry. There are translations of Nirala and

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Muktibodh. There are experiments in the mode and tone of Kabir, there are celebrations in word of the relayed realities of old paintings and tapestries. Of these there are some that seem expressions of abiding, perennial sensibility states.

The long narrative poem with its studied casual stringing of incidents is natural to a temperament alive to the variety of phenomena. The success of this kind of long narrative poem depends to a large extent on irony and satire, the establishment of double edged moods that conceal a sting, or a chill revelation, or tragic overtones, beneath the banter. The poetic vision has to have a fine wrought sense of the unexpectednesses of life, the multi layered and elusive quality of it, of the mystery that nestles under the skin of the everyday and the seeming trivia, and can suddenly illuminate there with new meaning. Mehrotra is not devoid of these capacities, as his other poems show, but in this particular one 'Letter to a friend' they are not in evidence. Some of the lines raise hope: 'We slept in the afternoon/ And awoke when the long sad evening/was already halfway up the window/. But a key mood remains unestablished. The incidents never transcend the level of trivia, never reach that state in which they are meant to testingly unveil themselves. At one place indeed, they become positively banal, so depleted in visionary fibre do they become. 'She made tea by boiling/water, leaves,milk and sugar/he says. How else does one make tea, one is prompted to ask.

The shorter poems have something of the Haiku but do not always get the climaxing of the Haiku. In 'Inland', for instance, he says 'There's no escape from this./Birds, in twos, in threes,/Fly straight ahead/closing the sky behind them'. These lines are cryptic enough, enigmatic enough and complete in themselves. Need the last two lines have been there? 'The walls of our house/Are damp from last month's rain'/What do they have to do with birds in flight, the patterns on the sky they make, and the passage of time they illustrate? Admittedly, he says 'There's no escape from this', meaning a dead-endedness. But a poem after all, does impose its own

aesthetic rules and forbids the licence to change symbols haphazardly. The quality of the dead-endedness shown in the patterns of birds in flight is very different from that in damp walls. And the difference affects the coherence of the poem.

The slack, prosaic line performing a mechanical space filling function is present in 'Canticle for my son', in the sentence in which he says, he takes his son's small hands in his 'and don't know what/to do with them'. The concluding lines of that poem are piquant. 'Beware, my son/of the old clear headed women/who never miss a funeral/' But their impact comes a minute too late because of the commonplace ness of the two lines preceding.

ENJOYABLE

To make up for these flawed poems, however, we are given a succession of very enjoyable ones. 'January' is a faultless four liner with imagery leading on sure footedly to finale and quiet shatter. 'The gates wide open: chairs on the lawn/ Circular verandahs; the narrow kitchen:/High ceilinged rooms: arches: alcoves: skylights./My house luminous: my day burnt to ash'.

In 'Not Through Glass' the landscape is a neat ordered one of hills, birds, rain pines, the wind, smoke, bark, roots. The poetic imagination fixes its energies on the pines which 'talk of small animals afraid to go home',—of the 'wind collecting evidence' as the mountains keep watch over the valley, the smoke rising from the middle of the forest 'like a quiet hunter'. The sea is an imagined, alien presence in this setting, a 'thousand miles away'. The line 'The sea is a thousand miles' is the dividing line between the introductory setting and the concluding lines in which the action of the elements rise in intensity, gaining a sinisterness in the line Bark and uncovered roots/flicker like lights in the rain', and climax triumphantly in the last line: 'The pines enter my room'.

But at the risk of being accused of hole picking, I would say that even in this smoothly moving poem, the word 'tides' meant for the gathering rains but occurring soon after the absent rain is a smudginess.

Likewise, in 'Engraving of a bison on stone', take the lines 'Turns up like an unexpected visitor/and given refuge.../A visitor seeks refuge, does not give it: Then, he says, The land/cannot sign its name...' Surely it can! Exactly in the same way as it cannot die/because it cannot be buried. In the same way it yields/In places deliberately/having learnt warfare from the armies/It fed'. The whole poem is about an engraving of a bison on stone suddenly turning up. This engraving can be likened to a signature scrawl on land. For stone is nothing but earth that is land become hard.

No, Mr Mehrotra, the land *can* sign its name: And secondly, the line 'By carefully shuffling the leaves' is a misfit in an imagery pattern of hard, granite substances, of the potential or unleashed fury of the elements, of deathless durability. 'Leaves' do not suggest any of these qualities. The idea of the policing capacities of land in the line could have been expressed in a more contiguous way. These blemishes notwithstanding the poem is powerful, each line a successive, suspenseful unfolding of the capacities of land. An unconscious but delightful aspect it has is that of its suggestion of water. In land's qualities of resistance and yielding and final triumph is contained the idea of water, of its emerging finally from water.

PERSONAL IDIOM

It might be asked, after this cataloguing of faults, what is superior about these poets. Their lapses seem similar to the ones of the others. The answer is that both have evolved a personal idiom and diction which stamps even their blemished works. For all the weakness of the word 'flutter' in 'A song for us', by Sunita Jain there is a modulation of voice and a clear confrontation with the theme that present themselves as general, never absent, characteristics. Likewise, with Mehrotra, the bringing in of damp walls while choreographing the flight of birds does not blind one to his innate boldness of vision.

Such a generalisation is not possible from Shetty's use of the vivid phrase, 'cancels commun-

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cation', in his perfected poem 'Personality'. And Man Mohan Singh's many felicitous passages are not able to gainsay his faulty utterances happening time and again. The battle with words, ultimately, can only be a provisional criterion for assessing English writing in India. And the time lag in a poet's forging of a personal vocabulary can only

be short, limited as indicated in the beginning. The critical task, in effect, has soon to proceed totally without setting up these indulgences as criteria. There will be enough poets soon, making this possible.

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the time of its independence came, after the Second World War, the country was divided, giving separate homeland to the Moslems, called Pakistan. While the British government spent a good deal of time in negotiations with the Indian leaders of different political parties to ascertain what sort of political settlement they wanted, the declaration of independence was made in haste in mid-August 1947.

It goes on in this vein for a whole long paragraph. The information it gives may be useful to a foreign reader unfamiliar with contemporary world history, but the better thing would have been for the author to render it in terms of the experiences of the characters themselves, instead of this authorial interpolation. As a matter of fact Tabassum's narrative makes its appeal even without this historical padding. The fortitude and heroism of people like Ram Nath and his Muslim friend require to be told and retold—since here for once fact may sound stranger than fiction.

The unsigned Foreword (perhaps by the author himself?) introduces Dr. Tabassum as an "eminent writer of the East" and as a "prophet of peace." He is spoken of as a "rare exception" on the ground that "it is very unusual for an Eastern writer to write short stories directly in English." These claims, if made a century earlier, would have proved interesting; but in the year of the Lord 1981, they are difficult to swallow.

The incessant insistence on the representative character of the stories in this slim volume, containing just nine short stories, is kept up throughout the book. The customs and habits of the people of the East are explained by the narrator as though they are always exotic and quixotic. The author does not try to hide the fact that these stories were written for the benefit of the Western reader, eager to learn something about the social customs of the Eastern countries where, according to the Foreword, there is at present a "head-on collision between tradition and permissiveness."

The first story tells the woe that overtook the Hindus and Muslims in Upper India and Pakistan at the time of the Partition of India in 1947. The triumph of genuine friendship over the forces of cruelty and violence is celebrated in this sad

tale of suffering and vendetta. A large number of novels and short stories have so far been written on this holocaust that bedevilled the political destinies of the two new states of the Indian sub-continent. There is no doubt that the inner core of the story "Insane" is sound. But when the author starts summarizing contemporary history in the crude language of the social scientists, the effect is unpleasant. The following passage will illustrate this point:

"The man with dusty shoes" narrates the career of Rahim Bibi, the beggarly widow who courageously withstands the conspiracies and intrigues of the villainous headman of the village. Here again Tabassum's heart is in the right place. His humour and his deft use

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of the supernatural or the element of chance in highlighting the simple greatness of the ordinary people is brought out by the next story, "Greatest of the Great." The story is that of a he-goat who came to have mystical powers in the eyes of the superstitious. With the comic insight of an R.K. Narayanan, Tabassum unfolds the accidental miracles of the he-goat.

"Wrong time" exposes the hypocrisy and pretentiousness of the so-called good people and reveals the innate goodness of simple rural folks—here represented by Ramzan and Jameela. Tabassum has a special talent in recounting the details of domestic life, especially the delights and difficulties of marital life. The unsuccessful attempts of Sakeena and her husband to patch up all differences between them finally led to their separation. The girl wanted to reform his parents too to satisfy her ego, while the boy seemed to yield even when he had his own arguments to match her zeal. Quite inevitably the story ends in a divorce. The tone in which the whole thing is narrated adds to the charm of the story. The husband tried hard to soften the wife's reformist enthusiasm to change his old parents into her way of thinking. This is how Tabassum winds up the story:

I most humbly expressed my inability to get my parents reformed. We agreed on divorce. We had always agreed in theory. This was the first time we agreed in practice also. The pressure of our practice dissolved the rainbow.

A similar tone of mixing the lighthearted with the solemn or serious may be found in "Fire of hell," too. It tells the story of a marriage that comes about at the end of a series of Rabelaisian blunders and misunderstandings brought to a climax by a long train journey. The picture of the hero's mother intent at the beginning on a girl of her choice for her son, looked after during the journey by another girl, but finally having to consent to his marriage with a third girl, is beautifully drawn. Marriage proposals, betrothals, and wedding

ceremonies are recurring themes in Tabassum's fiction. "Amir Bakhsh seeks a wife" is yet another example of this. The debacle of a young man who wanted to marry on the basis of his belief in absolute "financial equality between the two families seeking matrimonial alliance" is portrayed with good-humour and sarcasm. The narrator has his final word: "I never heard of him again. But I know Amir Bakhsh never got a wife. All his efforts went up in smoke."

The last two stories in this collection are very short. "A miracle at work" is meant to illustrate the author's thesis that "East is the hemisphere of prophets and the Eastern people have always believed in miracles and shown reverence, bordering on worship to saints, both dead and alive. Usually they invoke supernatural help during a crisis. But sometimes it works in a queer way, too." The crisis in this story is that the Mayor of the place

is childless. So he takes his wife to a young man who is by some quirk believed to be a miracle man, and quite logically he comes to have children. The only miracle here consists in the fact that the young man here takes the woman to bed, and she conceives. This seems to satisfy the credulous, but impotent husband.

"The last word"—not quite a story—is more of a lyrical poem written in the style of the mystics. It reminds one of several similar things in the works of Tagore. For instance,

Mates and friends! Worry you not if the way is long and full of uncertainty, the night is dark, and I am disfigured and weak. I must go to her as I am. I must depart from you before the dusk.

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Welcome Contribution

R.D. Dikshit
Political Geography : A Contemporary Perspective

Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1982, Rs. 27.00

Reviewed by Sunil Munsi

As a specialised branch of the general discipline of Geography, Political Geography has undergone a metamorphosis as no other branch. From the 'political environmentalism' of the Ritter-Humboldt era through Ratzel's 'geopolitik', Ritter's 'chorology', Richard Hartshorne's 'morphological or locational approach' to the 'genetic functional approach' and its further refinement, Political Geography has travelled a long way from what Carl Sauer had described as a wayward child of the geographical science, without a distinct disciplinary and methodological orientation. The universe of Political Geography to-day includes: questions related to political boundaries; location, size and shape of state and their resources; stratification within population affecting States as political units; geographical pattern of State's politico-economic alliances; and finally, national attitudes and perception. It may also be noted that political geographers now study political phenomena at levels both higher and lower than the State and do not necessarily confine themselves to the study of a State as a politico-geographical phenomenon.

Dikshit claims that his book is a 'thoroughly researched view of and introduction to the status and content of political geography'. In order to provide a perspective to the subject, the book begins with the history, development, nature and scope of Political Geography. In the subsequent ten chapters the author firstly, deals with the State as a politico-territorial phenomenon, and its changing significance in the dynamic global strategic view. Secondly, he presents geographical perspectives to the growth of State—nation and the State, federalism, electoral studies and the impress of politics upon environment. In one chapter Dikshit elaborates his ideas on the geography of colonialism where he presents the historical experience from colonialism to neocolonialism. Another chapter is devoted to

methodological developments in the study of Political Geography which is divided into two broad periods with 1950 as more or less the dividing line when Richard Hartshorne presented his 'functional approach'.

DISTINCT SUB-DISCIPLINE

Dikshit must be complimented for his painstaking presentation of the essence of Political Geography as a distinct sub-discipline of Geography with a definite methodological orientation as opposed to Sauer's description of a 'wayward child'. The two most enlightening chapters in this direction deal with the 'history, development, nature and scope of Political Geography' and 'approaches to the study of Political Geography' where the evolution and consequent conflict of ideas have been competently dealt with. Of particular interest here is the history of ignominy of the subject in the hands of German 'geopolitikers' who "coordinated, integrated and rationalised the whole field of comparative geography for the uses of the fuhrer (Hitler)".

The chapter on the geography of colonialism is an objective analysis of the phenomenon of colonialism viewed in its historical perspective, and the growth of neo-colonialism in the post-Second World War situation. "Although the end of the Second World War, in a way, also rang the death bell of the old style colonialism, imperialism has continued as a dynamic force in world politics: only its outward form has changed with the changing international situation", says the author. He draws particular attention to Lenin's thesis on imperialism. One wished the author had analysed a little further Lenin's thesis that imperialism was the highest stage of capitalism. This would have only strengthened the author's own contention.

The chapter on 'nation and the State : geographical perspectives on

State-formation and nation-building' logically explains the spatial aspects of the problem with a view to stimulate further work on this neglected region of Political Geography. However, while using examples of Canada, Malaysia and India to explain the problems of nation-building in federal societies, the author unfortunately ignores the basic problem of spatial disparity and consequent disharmony bred by capitalism. In fact, explanation of the problem of spatial socio-economic and political disparity on a global scale as well as at the level of States and its links with the problem of nationalities and nation-building, could have given a much clearer insight into this very contemporary and relevant question. That social orders which breed disparities cannot solve them is a tested conclusion which geographers need not ignore.

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

The chapter on 'global strategic view' deals with the historical evolution of ideas on the subject including an elaborate presentation of the 'Heartland' theory of Halford Mackinder or its subsequent varieties. It would have been interesting if the author had also explained the use of map projections on the formulation of such ideas. Mercator's distortions were only reflected in the distortions of concepts which generated world views of Mackinder and his followers. Though this chapter refers to the dynamic changes brought about in the global strategic view with the development of reconnaissance satellites and nuclear warheads, the significance of these together with the capacity to deliver nuclear warheads to any part of the globe on a pin-pointed target needed special treatment in order to establish that the global strategic view of to-day outdates all previous ones which banked on armaments of much limited capabilities—in range as well as destructive capacity. The global strategic roles of States should be viewed in this changed context. The chapter has a section on the 'strategy in a new ocean age' but unfortunately it has been kept too limited in scope and therefore could not be elaborated with examples of evolution of new military ocean strategies.

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around the world which have considerable bearing on the study of Political Geography to-day.

Lastly, it may be noted that the chapter on 'core areas and capitals' fails to satisfy the interest created by the title of chapter. The significance of the nuclear cores in different countries, their characteristics and roles are hardly discussed, making this chapter possibly the

weakest in the otherwise well-written and comprehensive text book.

The chapterisation of the topics has been meaningfully done except possibly a little duplication of the subject of discussion in chapters one and six.

Sunil Munsi is Professor of Geography at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta.

these countries were thus perforce at the centre of the stage in pioneering economic growth in these countries. This was a historical necessity.

Political elite in the newly independent countries came mostly from the educated middle class. It was this class that had earlier led the freedom struggle of these countries against their erstwhile colonial rulers. The freedom struggle every-where culminated in the accession to power of this class. The class was cast in the historic role of leading the development process in these countries much in the same way as the capitalist class in the nineteenth century had led it in what are now western democracies. Having no capital of its own to push forward the growth process, it chose to build up a "socialist pattern of society" and "mixed economy" system in which the public sector that was controlled by the ruling elite would occupy the commanding heights of the economy. This is not only true of India; in practically every newly independent country in the post-World War II period, the story has been the same.

Theories in social sciences are generally the product of perception of individual social scientists of the contemporary scene. They are historico relative. A leading example is the theory of historical materialism of Karl Marx formulated in the middle of the nineteenth century. At that time the theory appeared to be a self-evident truth to everyone. No more so now.

Similarly the elite theories which began to appear at the turn of the century (Mosca's *Ruling Class* was first published in Italian in 1896) but were developed fully in the inter-wars period (Robert Michels' *Political Parties* appeared first in 1915 and Pareto's *Mind and Society* came in 1921), were the outcome of sociologists reflecting on the contemporary political scene in Western Europe.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The elite theories are relevant to the present day situation in the Third world countries but these have to be modified and reformulated

Elites & Development

Sachchidananda and A.K. Lal Editors,

Elites and Development

pp. 276, Concept, 1980, Rs. 70.00.

Reviewed by B.M. Bhatia

Industrial revolution in Western Europe was led by the nascent capitalist class named the bourgeoisie by Marx. Individual enterprise and free market economy were also responsible for initiating and carrying through the process of economy in North America and Australia. In Japan which started on the growth path last of all of the present day developed market economies, the government or the new ruling elite that came to power after Meiji restoration, played a leading role in industrial development of the country in the initial stages but once the plants set up by the government proved commercially viable and even profitable, these were turned over to the private entrepreneurs. Industrial revolution in the country was also, in the ultimate analysis, carried through by private enterprise. The role of the state in economic development of a country before the Great war, was thus, by and large limited to providing fiscal protection to domestic industry against foreign competition. In that way, the state was an ally of the capitalist class, a fact which was seized upon by Karl Marx to build up his theories of historical materialism, capital accumulation, capitalist's exploitation of labour and surplus value.

The Russian revolution of October 1917 marked a turning point in the theory of development and the leadership role in the growth process. Soviet economic develop-

ment was led by the political leadership of the country. It was far more rapid than that in any capitalist country. State planning emerged as an instrument of development available to underdeveloped countries after the Second World War and as countries of Asia and Africa beginning with India and Pakistan started shedding the colonial rule, they largely turned to planning for their economic and social transformation.

HISTORICAL COMPULSION

This was a historical compulsion imposed on them. It was not for ideological so much as for pragmatic reasons that they had to choose the path of planned development through massive public sector investment to modernize their economies and raise living standards of their people. The nascent capitalist class in these countries was weak where it existed and almost totally absent elsewhere. At the same time, the rate of domestic saving was low—around 5 percent of GNP—and population growth rates high. The only way for these countries to get out of the "vicious circle of poverty" was to push up the rates of investment through state mobilization of resources. Planned development called for resource mobilization by the state domestically through heavier taxation and from abroad through bilateral and multilateral aid from advanced countries. The state and the political leadership in

lated before they can be meaningfully applied to explain the role of elites in these countries in their socio-economic and political development. One way to do that is to view elites as the shapers of the course of history. The present reviewer has done that in his two-volume study of elites. Briefly the theory developed there is that it in the dialectics of power rather than dialectics of materialism that shape the course of history. Power struggle is intra-elite struggle. A society divides itself into masses and what Mosca calls the ruling class. The ruling class itself at any point of time in history into those who have the power and would like to retain it for ever and others who do not have that power but aspire to acquire it.

The struggle for power between two sections of the elite is a continuous process which goes on all the time in every society. The larger part of history that comes to be written is nothing but a chronicle of the major events in that struggle. What happens to the masses and their welfare is only incidental to that struggle. In order to keep or win the support of the masses, the competing elites are forced to legislate and implement measures of social development and welfare of the masses. More often than not, they make more promises than the actual amount of mass welfare they promote.

This theoretical framework may have no interest for the Western social scientists because the historical experience of their countries has been somewhat different. But social scientists in India or for that matter in the whole of Orient, cannot but find it very pertinent to the situation in their part of the world.

DIFFERENT PAPERS

The book under review is comprised of 16 papers, all excepting the first one, read at a seminar organized by A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Sciences Patna on 7-8 October 1977. The theme of the seminar was Elite's role in India's development. The first paper included in the book on "The Theories of Elites: Import and Relevance" is reprinted from Indian Journal of Political

Science January-March 1977. The idea to include this paper in the present volume was perhaps to provide the theoretical framework for the other studies that follow. But unfortunately it does not serve that purpose. It is concerned with evolution of elite theory in the Western political and sociological thought and has nothing to do with the subject of the book which is "Elite and Development". Western political thought has not turned to the role that elites play in development in the Third world countries. Even as a summary of elite theories developed in the West, it is incomplete in so far as it ignores an important recent development in that thought viz theory of democratic elites. In the political field this development in the elite theory is more pertinent to the Indian case than theories of Pareto, Mosca and Michels or those of recent American writers like Lipset and Lasswell.

Coming now to other papers of the volume, Sheo Kumar Lal writes on "Approaches to the Identification of Elites". He takes up three main approaches: (a) positional, (b) reputational, and (c) issue participation. After examining each one of them, he comes to the conclusion that none of these approaches is exclusive and one supplements and complements the other two. The paper underlines the main weakness of the whole volume: there is no clear cut idea as to what is meant by elite. Are we discussing various types of leadership in different sections of the society and at various levels of social organization or are we concerned with the political ruling or governing class of a country that occupies all positions of power and privilege in the society and is thus capable of promoting or hindering economic growth and social development?

V.P. Verma's paper on "Dynamics of the Modern Indian elite" is interesting. "India perhaps of all countries in the Afro-Asian continents" says the author (p. 46) "has been the most fortunate in having an expert intellectual elite (sic) that has fully imbibed the deeper aspects of Western metaphysics and science. India has pro-

duced some of the greatest scholars in natural sciences, philosophy and political thought at comparative level..." What he wants to say really is that this country before it got independence had almost a hundred year history of growth of college and university education behind it and that as a result of that education an educated middle class had emerged in the country which played a leading role not only in the political but also in the scholastic field. One cannot have any quarrel with that proposition but hyperboles and chauvinism could have been avoided in making the point.

But he does not stop at that. He proceeds from there to making some of the most tendentious statements. He deplores "the craze for dynastic succession" on the part of India's political leadership. He castigates the universities of the country where instead of the atmosphere of free cognitive confrontation and recognition of genuine merit there is evident the notorious story of appointments of favourites and castemen through unfair, uncompetitive and black door methods. At the end, he pleads for social scientists in Asia and Africa to develop "an Asian philosophy and sociology of history...which would examine the relevance of Mosca's concept of the Ruling class and Pareto's concept of circulation of the Elites to the social and situational systems of Asian lands". This is exactly what is required to make studies like the book under review, meaningful.

RICH & VARIED FARE

Other studies included in the volume are: N.K. Singh, "The Elite Phenomenon with Reference to Bureaucratic Elites"; Thomas Pantham, "Social Class and Belief Systems in the Indian Political Elite"; Ram Ahuja, "Political Elite: Recruitment and Role in Modernization"; P.C. Deb and B.K. Agarwal, "Role of Administrative Leaders in Agricultural Development. A case study of BDPO"; Budhadeb Chaudhuri, "The Bhadrak and Rural Development: A study in West Bengal; Surjan Singh Sharma

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"Peasants and Elites": A case study in communication"; Surendra Gopal, "An Elite Group in the second half of the Nineteenth Century in Bihar"; Hetukar Jha, "Elite and Mass Contradiction in Mithila in Historical Perspective"; Niranjan Pant, "Neighbourhood Elites: Their Resources and Role". A.K. Lal "The Educated Harijans as Elites"; Manohar Lal, 'Recruitment of Munda Elite'; and A.C. Sinha "Ranas, Kazis and Dassos; Study of the Aristocracy in the Himalayan Kingdoms".

This is a rich and varied fare. The attempt to organize the seminar on the important subject of the role of the elite in socio-economic development of the country and place the papers read at the seminar before the public in a book for getting to the authors a wider audience is to be highly appreciated. The reader, however, misses a central theme and focus as he goes through the book.

The editors of the book write in the Introduction to the book : "The influence of the elite can be seen in the legislation for reforms which invariably has built-in loopholes. Thus, the administration of the reform laws is ineffective even some of the reforms explicitly meant to benefit the poorest sectors, actually turn out in reality to subsidize the already well off and thus led (sic) to increase in inequality and disparity in incomes. It has been rightly observed that in most developing countries no public activity is so much soaked in hypocrisy as development work". These are strong words but there is no denying the fact that there exists in the present day developing world, a wide gap between promise and performance of elites in the fields of development work and improvement in the living conditions of the poor.

B.M. Bhatia, ex-Principal of Hindu College Delhi, is currently Secretary of the Association of Indian Social Science Institutions.

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Vaishnava Devotional Tradition

A.K. Ramanujan, Translator

Hymns for the Drowning: Poems for Vishnu by Nammalvar

pp. 176, Princeton University Press, 1982, Cloth \$24.50 Paper \$9.25

Reviewed by Ka Naa Snbramanyam

Most translations of creative work, like poetry or fiction, from one language to another, are bound to be unsatisfactory, yet, we have to read most of the world's greatest books in translation, as they are written in various languages that we cannot all learn. The perfections of a translation, which might at best be only an approximation in sound as well as sense, are acknowledged, yet no two persons will agree on how a given text should be translated. And if the two can claim to know both the translated language from and the translated language into, they can quarrel endlessly about the modus operandi and the many details of translation.

A K Ramanujan is by profession a linguist and, by training, a lover of literature and evidently a traditionalist at that, though he has to exercise his linguistics in Chicago. He evidently loves his mother tongue Tamil and a second mother tongue Kannada. He has been effectively translating selected passages from both. His *Interior Landscape* threw open to English readers a little known world, that of the *aham* poems of the ancient Tamils. In a subsequent volume devoted to translations from the Kanada of the Saivite poets, Basavanna, Akkamahadevi and others, he threw upon another window on the world of Indian literature in his own manner. And now comes a selection from Nammalvar's poems for Vishnu—eighty three of them in revealing modern verse style that brings them nearer to us but without losing any of the old world devotion—the modernity inherent in the great poetry sans time and language.

THE ART OF TRANSLATION

It might be only a truism to say that only a poet can translate a poet. Then we shall have to qualify the word poet with a poet of merit who can be translated by another poet of merit in another

language, thus introducing nebulous qualities. Something like that can be said about the translations of Ramanujan which are exquisitely done as no one has done them in just this manner. Ramanujan might be helped by his being considerably an "original" poet in English who has two impressive collections to his credit but he will not make the absurd sounding claim that he is of the same quality, or calibre, as Basavanna or Akkamahadevi or Nammalvar. Nor will any one else make such a claim on his behalf. The fact is that one who has read his poem in English, I shall be able to say that his original poems differ quite in style and format and content from the translation he offers us.

He is a poet, or a modern person, seeking his identity when he writes his olsmal poems but neither the poets represented in the *Interior Landscape*, nor the poets of the *Speaking of Siva* poems nor especially Nammalvar in this collection, are poets seeking their identity. If anything they are sure of their identity, not only because of the accretion, of tradition, but because of their relationship with God, or something Divine, which they were able to accept with a thoroughness and completeness with which we are not able to identify, even if we would. Perhaps the translations gain by AK Ramanujan's realisation of the futility of a search for identity, a search which however he won't be able to give up.

BHAKTI TRADITION

Nammalvar belongs to the earliest strata of the Bhakti tradition, the most considerable and the trickiest of the poets of the Vaishnava tradition which itself is a tricky one, interpreted times out of number by astute minds from among themselves. The surge of devotion that was originally generated in Tamilnadu was able to

spread in waves all over India, in ever windening circles, affecting different regions in different periods and cannot be said to be exhausted even today.

Ramanujan in his afterword in this book takes the readers, not familiar with the Indian quantity or quality of *bhakti* through its relation to the cultural imperialist language Sanskrit and its efflorescence in Tamil, where the practitioners did not seek to displace Sasnkrit, as much as to place it in its correct perspective. The scholarly rendering of the historic equation of languages in India is made by Ramanujan with a new nuance that might delight intellectuals. Possession, cannibalism metaphorically, mutuality, grace, local habitations, myths and legends and the like are discussed with startling originality by the translator with diagrams and academic details that might frighten off a general reader, but are illuminating in certain rare and recognisable points.

Turning to the translations themselves, one has to confess that Ramanujan brings to the translation of Nammalvar, as he did to the Kannada *Veerasaiva* poets and to the earliest Sangam poets of the *Kurundohai* anthology, a trick as well as a somewhat satisfactory technique. By arranging the spacing and by straight translation, he produces a near perfect approximation to the original that is perhaps most successful—more successful than any other translator has been so far. If anything—and reviewers are not satisfied unless they can find some fault or the other with whatever they are reviewing, we can quarrel with the selections that Ramanujan makes for his translation.

Even in the *Interior Landscape*, his selections could be quarrelled with. With the Veerasaiva poets, though I am not able to read the originals, I have heard Kannada carpers saying that Ramanujan left out the more impressive and the more effective poems because he could not fit them into his scheme. No doubt such an objection could be made about this selection as well...The choice is Ramanujan's and the translations offered do not give a distorted picture of the poet

he has chosen to translate. Why he left out some of the more impressive, the more effective, and perhaps the more popular poems could be questioned without allowing that the selection has presented Nammalvar, or the others falsely, or in the wrong light.

THE USES OF COMMENTARY

In a tradition, given more to commentaries than criticism, it is always possible to read far more into a text than the poet actually meant. This has happened with supremely unique poets in the Tamil tradition from the Sangam poets through Tiruvalluvar and Ilango and Kamban and even down to the latest major poet of the Tamils Subramania Bharati. The commentator often becomes an effective barrier between the poet and the reader, the poem and the modern sensibility. To approach a poem directly in the Indian context is really difficult and it is the task of approaching directly the poet and the poem that a translator like A K Ramanujan is often asked, or required, to do. He ekes his translations out with academic introductions and afterwords, obviously meant for the foreign reader, but the notes and comments impressive in themselves, detract, as often as not, and obstruct the reader from the literary quality of the poems offered. One would wish that the eightythree Nammalvar poems were published separately for the lover of the poem and the poetry. Of Course the traditional and the conventional and the historical have some use to place the poet; but as poetry the text and the translation should stand the scrutiny of the critic trying to approach the poem itself. We do it with Heine; we do it with Rilke; we do it with Valery. Why should we Indians refuse to do it with poets of the Indian tradition?

Commentators were often learned men, in fact most of them were more learned than the poets themselves, and that is the rub of the whole thing. The translations of Nammalvar offered here by Rammanujan can stand by themselves as poetry and that is all that matters. It is only when we forget

the limitations placed by traditions, conventions and local legends and myths etc that we can get at the quality of the poetry.

The very first poem will illustrate what I mean :

We here and that man and this man and that other in between,
And that woman, this woman
and that other, whoever,
Those people and these,
and those others in between,
this thing, that thing
and this other in between,
whichever,
all things dying, these things
those things, those others in
between,
good things, bad things,
things that were, that will be,
being all of them,
he stands there,

Not satisfied with offering a near perfect translation which reads like a good poem in the English language, the translator goes on to add (mercifully only in the Afterword section away from the poem) three fullpages "explication, carrying seven numbered points, on linguistic metaphorical and other usage in the poems which is really too much of a good thing in itself but does come between the poem and its reader.

Rammnajan living far away from the Indian academic world, seems to be still obsessed with the Indian habit of depending too much on commentators losing sight of the direct approach to the poet who can in most cases, if he were worth while, take care of himself, and the reader, if again be were worth while.

I would like to offer three or four more examples from the excellent translation of poems. The translation does not make Nammalvar modern, as a reader of the English translation might believe; Nammalvar is modern as any modern can be in his original Tamil even if he uses some archaic words. That is what stamps him a great poet in a great tradition.

My lord
who lives in the city
of names,
came here today

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said he would never leave
entered me
filled my heart
I've caught him
the big bellied one
not content yet
with all that guzzling
on the sevenfold clouds
the seven seas
the seven mountains
and the world that holds them
all.

I've caught him
I contain him now

And yet another poem :

What Her Mother Said.

O women,
you too have daughters,
and have brought them up.

How can I tell you
about my poor girl.

She talks of the conch shell,
she talks of the wheel,
she talks, night and day,
of the basil in his hair,

What shall I do?

And a final example

Only men who live by the
Vedas qualify
and wear your feet on their
heads,

lord
of blueblack body,
and eyes like lotuses,
but you know, when the town's
cattle moo
coming home,
the blind one moos too;
do I too speak of you,
how else.

The translations of A K Ramanujan place a certain stream of Indian poetry in translation effectively before the English reading public. That is one of the great national services to be rendered to India for the great classics of India have not won the critical acclaim of literature the world over partly because though, we speak much of these poems and poets among ourselves, we have not presented them as part of a living literary stream. That is exactly what Ramanujan succeeds in doing. It is a great national service indeed.

The translation of Alvar as "the drowning" might sound fanciful but it is literally one of the meanings of the word though the word might also mean a diver. The book has a short introduction about the life and times of Nammalvar (880-930 AD though the date might be controversial) and a long and impressive Afterword on the *bhakti* movement in India from an academic angle but bringing together quite a few original details, on results of modern research. There are notes on the individual poems, offering some clarifications of the allusions, the local habitations and names, as well as the wellknown deeds of Vishnu(not known of course to foreigners.) The book has rather complete bibliography. Well produced, the price is beyond the reach of the ordinary buyer of books we have in India. But is it likely that we have Indian editions of these translations? It looks unlikely, our publishers being what they are.

Ka Naa Subramanyam is a well Known Tamil writer who is equally at home in English.

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Reflecting on Sociology

P.K.B. Nayar

Sociology in India : Retrospects and Prospects
pp. 451, B.R. Corporation, 1982, Rs. 175.00.

Reviewed by Masood Ali Khan

This comprehensive book is a collection of essays contributed by eminent sociologists in India on different themes of Sociology. The volume contains 15 articles. In fact, this book is an outcome of a seminar on "Sociology in India in the 1980's" held at Trivandrum in 1979. Outstanding sociologists participated in the seminar. Some experts who were not present at the seminar have also contributed papers on themes which were not covered in the seminar. Each author has reviewed the achievement and trends and has identified further areas of research in different branches of Sociology. They have taken stock of knowledge gathered so far, pointed out the gaps, drawn attention to the emerging pattern and have ended with suggestions for desirable direction of research.

The book begins with a sort of review of all the articles contributed by different authors. Greater attention of sociologists, in India, appears to focus on problems like agrarian relations, land reforms, scheduled castes/tribes and village studies in the 1970's. Sociology in India seems to have taken to the studies of women and Muslims very lately.

Among the different contributions, value of Sociology has been stressed for the planner and the administrator (Prof. M.S.A Rao : *Sociology in the 1980's*). Most of the sociologists propose to suggest multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary approach in the study of social phenomena (Y.B. Damle: Theoretical orientation and Methodological perspective P.K.B. Nayar; Task of Sociology). Prof. Damle criticised the sociologists in India who tend to function apart from other social Scientists particularly the economists and political Scientists. He condemns the proliferation of descriptive studies, endless studies of rituals, status of caste and romanticization of the rural social system. They evince a superficial interest in

methodological precision. Some have traced the history of and research in sociology in India and have pleaded for introduction of "Transcendental Sociology" (T.K.N. Unnithan : A new Sociology of India). The idea has been mooted but it needs further sharpening its conceptual and methodological finesse. Some sociologists maintain that a solution to Indian Social problems lies only in the application of Marxian approach to study the social phenomena. This is emphasised as the only correct model to study the change (A.R.D. Desai : Relevance of Marxist Approach). There is a review of Sociology of the family pleading for clarity and precision in the concept of the joint family or extended family. It disagrees with the different bases for the family composition sought and tried to explain in terms of caste, traditionalism or otherwise, etc. and stresses the functional imperatives. It suggests that more attention in future be paid to intra-family interactions and to the place of women and formation of personality. (M.G. Kulkarni: Family Research in India). Reference has also been made to Sociology of Education by pointing out draw-backs in the present educational system and emphasis on management planning and financing of education (Sumachitnis : Sociology

of Education). Reviews have also been made of Industrial Sociology (K.L. Sharma), Sociology of Crime and Deviances (K.S. Shukla), Sociology of Population (K. Mohadevan) and lastly of Sociology of Tribes (L.P. Vidyarathna). Gaps have been pin-pointed and new areas of research have also been identified by these sociologists.

In this volume, most of the sociologists seem to discard the western methodology and models for the study of Indian Society. They are averse to the western jargon and plead for evolving our own methods of approach to suit the Indian reality. The discipline of Sociology, as is well known, has its very inception in the western thought and research. The rules and laws of sociology are proved to be scientific formulation deriving valid laws recurrent phenomena in sociological theories. Scientific laws are Universal or else they are not scientific. It is felt while applying the western model to Indian reality that it does not fit the latter the former may be perfected further or the abnormal in the latter needs to be explained.

The Editor of this book deserves appreciation for its scholarly efforts, to bring out such an important compilation incorporating the knowledge of all branches of sociology in one place. The price of the book is too high to reach one and all who are interested in Sociology and its progress.

Masood Ali Khan is incharge of the Southern Regional Centre ICSSR, Hyderabad.

Our reviewers, knowledgeable and perceptive as they are, need

not be allowed to have the last word. It is for you to argue

with them. Our columns are as much open to you as to them.

February 1, 1983

Letter

Sir,

On the opening page (p. 377) of the combined (1 & 16 Dec. 1982) issue of "Indian Book Chronicle" received today, the reviewer says : "In 1966 Harold J. Laski thundered that the epoch of federalism was over". The year 1966 is an obvious

error, perhaps a printing one; for, Harold Laski died on 24th March, 1950.

Purushottam Ganesh Mavalankar is Director of the Harold Laski Institute at Ahmedabad.

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Awasthy, Rajendra. *The Red Soil : A novel translated from the original Hindi by Shrawan Kumar.* Delhi, Vikas [c 1982] 134 p. Rs. 75.00

Every part of the book vividly describes the composite culture of the tribals of Bastar, their solidarity and harmonious existence and most of all their unconquerable spirit.

Katari, R.D. *A Sailor Remembers.* Delhi, Vikas [c 1982] x, 179 p. Rs. 75.00

Admiral Katari rose to be the first Indian chief of Navy. He describes here the development of the Service, particularly its agonising recovery from the upheaval caused by the mutiny of 1946 and partition in 1947.

Penner, Peter and MacLean, Richard Dale. *The Rebel Bureaucrat : Frederick John Shore (1799-1837) as critic of William Bentinck's India.* Delhi, Chanakya, 1983. 304 p. Rs. 120.00

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

Sen, R.N. In Clive Street. Calcutta East India, 1981. xii, 187 p. Rs. 75.00.

The autobiography of an Indian business executive who joined a British film in 1940. The strength of the book lies in the picture that he draws of British Commerce in India.

Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology and Other Buddhist Studies, Gangtok. *Aspects of Buddhism : Silver Jubilee Commemorative Volume.* Delhi, Vision Books, 1983 201. p. Rs. 75.00

A collection of articles that explore the development of Buddhism in Tibet, and the religion as a way of life in this region and as applicable to modern living all over the world.

Talib, Gurbachan Singh. Selections from the Holy Granth. Delhi, Gur Nanak Foundation [c 1982] vi, 209p. Rs. 15.00.

A compilation of the basic writings of the Sikh Faith.

Yati, Nitya Chaitanya. *Neither this Nor that But... Aum : One hundred meditations based on Narayana Guru's Atmopadesa Satakam.* Delhi, Vikas [c 1982] xvi, 221p. Rs. 125.00

The book contains one hundred verses of Atmopadesa Satakam (Self Instruction) the main mystical composition of Narayana Guru, written originally in Malayalam. Each verse is given in English transliteration followed by a translation and meditation.

Presents a judicious selection of F.J. Shore's articles as published in India Gazette as are concerned with a variety of subjects ranging from self-aggrandizing and exploiting character of the British rule in India to a criticism of some of the disagreeable features of Indian Society and culture.

Sauldie, Madan M. *Ethiopia : Dawn of the Red Star.* Bombay, Asia [c 1982] vii, 241 p. Rs. 165.00

Studies the evolution and the nature of Ethiopia's current revolutionary experience, and attempts an examination of the direction in which the country is heading.

Readers who are unable to obtain books reviewed in these

columns through formal trade channels may write to us

directly. We shall assist them in every way we can.

New Publications

MAHATMA GANDHI : His Life and Influence
by Chandra Kumar & Mohinder Puri

'The light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere', said Pandit Nehru after Gandhi's assassination in 1948, yet the principle of non-violent non-cooperation which he pioneered has spread, in the years since his death, far beyond his native India to be found in peace organisations throughout the world, from Martin Luther King's fight for civil rights to Ireland's Peace Movement.

In this illustrated biography, the authors have drawn together the disparate strands of life of this great man to provide an introductory study of Gandhi as popular leader, religious ascetic and statesman.

Published by William Heinemann in October 1982, and now available at a special price for the Indian market.

128pp., 60 black and white illustrations Rs. 80.00

AGAINST EPISTEMOLOGY : Studies in Husserl and the Phenomenological Antinomies
by Theodor W. Adorno

Translated by Willis Domingo

Against Epistemology is the long-awaited English translation of one of Theodor Adorno's most important works : it inspired Habermas and Marcuse and continues to influence other eminent thinkers in philosophy and the social sciences today.

Against Epistemology is written in a relatively simple style and can thus serve as an introduction to Adorno's later and more difficult writings. This lucid and scholarly translation will be welcomed by students of sociology, philosophy, psychology and literature, and also provides a much-needed philosophical base for researchers in the social sciences.

Published by Basil Blackwell.

1982 viii + 248pp. £ 15.00

NEETISHASTRA KE MOOL SIDDHANTH (Fundamentals of Ethics—Hindi)
by Vedaprakash Varma

This is a new enlarged and revised edition of a work that is now a recommended textbook in Indian universities. It covers all important topics which figure in the syllabi of Ethical Philosophy and is as such a basic coursebook on the subject.

Special features include a detailed discussion of Greek and Indian Ethical Theory, a critical appraisal of important metaethical theories propounded during the 20th century, and the latest development in some major ethical theories.

For the benefit of the reader, a bibliography and list of technical Hindi words alongwith their English synonyms, have been added at the end.

1982 (2/c) Demy 8 vo xvi + 404pp. Rs. 40.00



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indian book chronicle

NEWS AND REVIEWS



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G D Khosla

Alok Sinha

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Rakesh Kumar Datta

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V R Krishna Iyer

J D Shukla

Amritjit Singh et al

P N Haksar

Ved Mehta

Barbara Ward

Alvin J Cottrell et al

Anne Marie Gaston

Law Society and Collective Consciousness

Indianisation of All India Services and its Impact on Administration

Indian Literature in English

Reflections on Our Times

A Family Affair

Progress for a Small Planet

Sea Power and Strategy in Indian Ocean

Siva in Dance Myth and Iconography

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Sar Desai, D.R. & S. Chawla (eds.)	:	Changing Patterns of Security and Stability in Asia	Rs. 60.00
Shukla, J.D.	:	Indianisation of All India Services and Its Impact on Administration 1834-1947	Rs. 175.00
Thapar, R.	:	An Indian Future	Rs. 45.00
Vishwanathan, S. (ed.)	:	Japan : The New Challenges	Rs. 60.00



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Indian Book Chronicle

News & Reviews

Vol. VIII. No. 4 February 16, 1983

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Mr. Justice Krishna Iyer is fired with a passion for legal and judicial reform. He feels unhappy and, at times, indignant because the present system has miserably failed to meet the needs of present day India as a free democracy, designed to secure social, economic and political justice and equality of status and opportunity. The administration of justice is expensive, tardy and leans heavily in favour of the opulent and the powerful, to the lamentable detriment of what is due to the poor and the weak. He is distressed that "at the heart of the Indian constitutional failure is the alliance between money power and political power and the formation of a new politico-economic mafia operating in insidious ways."

In another essay which he composed for his Commemorative Lecture on the occasion of the birth centenary celebration of Chakravarti Rajagopalachari and which has now been republished in this collection* of his speeches and articles, he says :

The weakest and the strongest arm of our polity is the judiciary. Its potential, as a positive force for order and good and for the sustenance of confidence of the broad masses, is great but dormant, its heroic role at critical times, has been epic, but its performance as a negative factor in national progress has sometimes been anti-heroic. Its expensive trappings, slow modalities, and ambivalent empathies have been a frustration for the humble and the have-nots to demand right against might, in tune with the authentic meaning of social, economic and political justice...the judges themselves, in public and in private, disclose enough material to shock public conscience fed on the myth of the model robed members of the judiciary.

Harsh words, but Mr. Justice Iyer has always been given to expressing his forthright views in strong uncompromising terms. He deliberately pokes, prods and wounds to wake up a somnolent and pachydermic judiciary and a paranoiac executive. "India, today," he declares, "is a material marshland, a moral desert and an *asuric* miasma, because the secret of personal success has been vulgarised by mafia culture in seats of power—political, economic and social. This awesome corruption and absence of vision have become the hallmark of social position."

The learned judge feels that judges should not be content to hear and determine issues of fact and law presented in a form enabling judgment to be passed, and when passed, to be enforced by law. He would like, as he specifically says, in the course of one of his lectures, to grasp the sorry scheme, shatter it to bits and then remould it nearer to his heart's desire. In a flourish of rhetoric, he asks :

Do you know that despite independence of the judges, now bruitied about, little judicial men are made dependent on landlords for accommodation at rack rents? Do you know that policemen never serve process for months, and magistrates are blamed for delays? Do you

*V.R. Krishna Iyer, Law, Society and Collective Consciousness pp. ix + 213,

Allied, 1982, Rs. 70.00

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EDITOR: AMRIK SINGH

February 16, 1983

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICL

know that in many places a courtroom is worse than a store-room, and several 'robed' men and women administer justice without human facilities and in the noisy adjacency of busy streets? Do you know that some courts have sometimes no stationery for recording evidence? Do you know that for years, men, women and children languish in prison as pre-trials for want of judicial time and under-trials are handcuffed in public routinely in our human conscious country?

All very true and distressing. But how is this state of affairs to be remedied? Pat comes the answer. We must have honest, conscientious legislators, enacting progressive, egalitarian laws, we must have judges committed to investigatory processes and administering social justice, helping the poor, the downtrodden, the have-nots and protecting them from the exploitation of the rich, the greedy and the unscrupulous haves.

EASIER SAID THAN DONE

But, alas! This is easier said than done. From times immemorial, from the golden age of RamaRajya and the Puranas, from the time of Shakespeare till today, "the law's delay, the insolence of office and the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes" has plagued mankind. Kautilya emphasised the dire need of punishing the litigant who sought to delay judicial proceedings. The judge in Sudraka's famous play, *The Mrichchakatika*, expressed similar sentiments. Said he: "A judge should be learned and skilled in tracing a fraud: he must be eloquent and dispassionate, and must show equal grace to friend, foe and kinsman. He must pronounce his judgments only after due investigation. He must defend the weak and punish the knave. He must not swerve from the path of virtue, nor must he be avaricious. He must sincerely set his heart on discovering the absolute truth and, at the same time, avoid the anger of the King."

The sting lies in the last sentence. The King's brother-in-law who is the complainant in a case before him, flares up when the judge tries to sidetrack him. "I will tell my brother-in-law, King Paloka, my sister's husband, and I will tell my mother and sister too, and I will have this judge removed and another judge appointed."

Do we not hear echoes of this threat in our own day?

Mr. Justice Krishna Iyer's indignation and his desire to remould the law and the judiciary are understandable. Many of the suggestions made by him are admirable. Not all of them are new. But when judges persist in a needless display of their erudition by writing inordinately long and not always to-the-point judgments, when they develop a passion for grasping at jurisdiction by entertaining petitions and complaints liberally and when they decline to shake off the tyranny of precedence by an obsession with past events and rulings even though they are not as they say "on all fours", and when lawyers start hiring themselves out on daily wages, to add to their income by asking for or agreeing to endless adjournments, instead of taking a consolidated fee for the entire case, and when there is interference by men wielding power and influence, what hope is there for a meaningful change and for putting an end to the troubles of our proud and angry dust?

Nevertheless, what Mr. Justice Krishna Iyer says is worth listening to. His words have a purport and an aim, and he chooses them with his characteristic force and originality. His appeal is for humanising processual law, simplifying it and freshening it up with modern technology. He argues convincingly against the tier-upon-tier of appeals and revisions and litigation about jurisdiction, court fees, limitation, burden of proof and endless disputations on whether an appeal will lie, the archaic methods of drawing up decrees, granting copies, counting limitation, insisting on written applications, printing, translation and medieval methods of service of process.

Without meaning to be cynical, I conclude by quoting a passage from my scrap-book:

The illusion that men will be well if their better nature is appealed to and the illusion that injustice will vanish by some rearrangement of society, change of heart are two of the most fatal, fatal because they encourage people to believe that if only wicked men at present in power were removed, or the social structure were rearranged, all would be well, fat because injustice is regarded as the creation of politicians, and is not seen to be inherent in nature, in that men cannot help hurting one another simply by the fact that they are alive.

G.D. Khosla is a retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court and well known author.

An Important Article

J.D. Shukla

Indianisation of All-India Services and Impact on Administration

pp. 500, Allied, 1982, Rs. 175.00

Reviewed by Alok Sinha

"England will never lose India unless she gives way to racial confusion in her machinery of administration", so prophesied Hitler, though it is not necessary that the great Fascist always fore saw correctly.

The question then is: did Indianisation of All-India Services lead to our national liberation? But before groping for an answer to this interesting question, we must ask what were the causes and extent of this Indianisation, without whose understanding it will be difficult to handle the first question.

A veteran Uttar Pradesh IC man, J.D. Shukla ably traces out, admirably painstaking detail, how this Indianisation of the colonial civil services in India came about, why it came about, and how far it went. But unfortunately, having whetted the reader's appetite, he rather tamely—unlike a historian which in any case he is not—ends up on a hesitant note, almost with a whimper, when it comes to gauging its impact.

In the initial stages of British colonial entry into India and its subsequent consolidation, there was a deliberate attempt at an Anglicisation of Indian administration. In 1769, the East India Company, professedly to alleviate the miseries inflicted on her colonial subjects by corrupt Indian officials, replaced the latter by a class of British officers designated as Supervisors. It is undoubtedly another kind of matter, depending on one's view-point, that these British "do-gooders" actually went about shaking the juicy but orphaned Indian banyan tree so vigorously, to their personal as well as imperial benefit, that the colony was impoverished regularly, systematically, and deeply—leaving behind a backward and poor country having to start from scratch, so to say, on attainment of Purna Swaraj in 1947.

This Anglicisation syndrome got so well established by the Charter Act of 1793 that till around the first quarter of the 19th century, Indians were practically nowhere in their own public services except as contemptible clerks. And yet the drive towards Indianisation here was to start around this time only—and inexorably so, as it now seems from historical hindsight.

The first accepted shot was fired when a Select Committee of the British Parliament conceded in 1832 the unfairness and unwisdom of excluding Indians from higher employment, acknowledging that "such exclusion is not warranted on the score of incapacity for business or the want of application or untrustworthiness". And Macaulay, the father of our modern education—which both did and undid British colonialism in India!—showed his active involvement in the matter of producing westernised oriental gentlemen by getting inserted in the Government of India Act of 1833 an innovating clause "making an exclusion of any citizen from public service in India on grounds of colour or religion positively illegal".

This almost revolutionary clause albeit remained on the shelf for two decades, since the East India Company's Court of Directors, eminently hide-bound, and also

like all sensible subjugators, never believed in equality with the subjugated—a liberal principle that the British parliamentarians showed little disinclination to shun, perhaps because they were so far away. Once the Company lost its political power in the wake of the 1857 troubles, this principle of equality began to be established and the consequent Indianisation of All-India Services also started gaining a relentless foothold.

FACTORS FOR CHANGE

But this Indianisation of the administration was not merely and exclusively liberal in cause and content. There were certain other seemingly independent forces working towards it, best summed up as "modern, westernised Indian education". Macaulay had indeed fathered a two-edged weapon in making Indians imbibe western education. His well-considered intention was to create a class of Indians steeped in Anglicana and hence beholden to and upholding the British Raj. But what was also achieved was a highly ambitious middle-class, steeped equally in liberal values and wanting to utilise them for both personal as well as national amelioration. The founding of Calcutta's Hindu College in 1817 (which paved the way for other such institutions elsewhere) meant a regular outflow of educated middle-class Indians yearning for personal fulfilment—which in those colonial days could chiefly be in government employment and which accordingly also became the first expression and channel of national feelings.

In addition to these liberal and popular drives towards Indianisation, there was the third factor of colonial interest. The steady expansion and spread of Firanghee pink on the sub-continental map in the first half of the nineteenth century meant a new administrative need, that of able but low-paid officials recruited from amongst the colonial subjects. Indeed, Indianisation here became a pragmatic necessity, throwing overboard the previous century's Anglicisation syndrome. And although their initial incumbents were still Europeans, the creation of Deputy Collectorships from 1833

and of Deputy Magistracies from 1843 signalled a regulated spurt in governmental activities across the length and breadth of the country, and the entry in increasing numbers of Indians into their colonial subordinate civil services. The Indianisation of All-India Services could not but be the next evolving step.

AFTER 1857

But the process of broadening the colonial administrative structure was quite tardy, its base continuing to be narrow even after the Act of 1833. Not only was there a singular focus of legislative power at one point in the Council it was also entirely in alien hands, there being no Indian membership in it. Sir Bartle Frere was in fact sufficiently moved to lament the "great evil of the present system that Government can rarely learn how its measures will be received or how they are likely to affect even its European subjects, till criticism takes the form of settled and often bitter opposition".

Therefore the Indian Councils Act of 1861 was radically innovative—partly a result no doubt of "1857"—in not only decentralising legislation and increasing the number of Council members from six to twelve but—and more importantly from the Indian point of view—gave away some of these new seats to Indians. It was from then on that some Indians, albeit not particularly representative of their fellow-countrymen, started framing laws for their country. And Indianisation of All-India Services now matched the sporadic, piecemeal progress towards self-rule.

This erratic movement towards self-rule in her Indian colony was inherent in the very many-sided nature of British imperialism, being exploitative in content and yet liberal and charitable in profession. As Shukla puts it aptly, "the central point was how to associate Indian public opinion with the government and legislative function, so as to get the best out of them and yet not to bring about a position where the fundamental responsibility of the Government of India, of the Secretary of State, and ultimately of the

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British Parliament for the executive government of India would be affected".

RISE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

The kernel of the truth of the British impact, to continue in Shukla's vein, was that it "was not confined merely to the setting up of the machinery of the government. It gave rise to an intellectual renaissance, a religious reformation, a new sense of nationhood, a new sense of rights; it was leading to a transformation of society itself. It is true the process was confined to a microscopic minority to begin with, but the important thing about this minority was not that it was microscopic but that it was steadily expanding. The mouthpiece of the new sentiments and ideas were the middle classes. THE MIDDLE CLASSES MADE ALL THE DIFFERENCE. (Like) there were no middle classes in the Moghul Empire."

Superlative words indeed, perhaps also smelling of a sweeping generalisation, but very well put, and very

close to the truth too—a fair and just assessment. Under pressure of this growing and ambitious middle-class, and due to the practical and contemporary needs of colonialism, advancement towards self-rule as well as Indianisation of All-India Services became twin processes, so to say, though their paths were by no means smooth and steady, or even willingly and ungrudgingly charted out by the colonial masters.

The Act of 1892 further broadened the still slender base of the governmental structure, while that of 1909 expressly recognised the principle of election—a major headway by any means. And yet, in sum, while the latter Morley-Minto reforms upheld the need for increased representation, they also reiterated the impossibility of basing it on a direct or general franchise!

INHERENT CONTRADICTIONS

Shukla brings out pithily such inherent contradictions between British colonial needs and the liberal pulls of the age, with history on the latter's side. Little wonder then that

the Report on Indian Constitution in 1918 foresaw and judged correctly the Morley-Minto reforms as constituting "a decided step forward on a road leading at no distant period to a stage at which the question of responsible government was bound to present itself", even though as yet all the responsibility for administration remained with the British government in India who were agitating the rights for criticising it we Indians given to the Councils !

Similarly, as the other side of the same coin, Indianisation of All-India Services was still truncated, to be finally conceded in principle as late as in practice only by the end of the first quarter of the 20th century. Its structural rationale lay in the Acts of 1833 and 1853, and in putting Queen's Proclamation of 1858—stand, I always with the perennially undying consideration of somehow fulfilling the Indian middle class aspirations for increased employment in the higher administrative echelons without thereby harming British colonial interests.

What ultimately seems to have been pushed through the operation

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February 16, 1983

stitution, this Indianisation principle was its and judge, entwining with nationalistic fervour to reforms expounded and expressed by the leaders of the national movement. The dyed-in-the-wool British colonial elements had always been opposing simultaneous examinations in England and India on the self", evasions in England and India on the very same specious plea on which the Indian middle-class had been agitating for it—that thereby more Indians than before, obviously at the expense of the Britishers, will qualify for the ICS! Various resolutions were moved by the nationalists in the Council—all in vain due to the heavy preponderance of the British colonialist sought to preserve in their originally "white" mould. The other All-India Services did not really attract any public attention regarding their Indianisation.

And even in operation, the Indianisation factor was slow and tardy in its push ahead. If in 1903 Europeans held more than 90% of not only All-India Services posts but even in subordinate levels, the rate of Indianisation in the ICS even after 1920, though showing a marked improvement, continued to be low, not attaining 50 : 50 level even upto 1947, as the following chart would show :

Year	Indians in ICS	Europeans in ICS
1907	52	1201
1915	63	1342
1919	78	1255
1933	478	1297
1940	502	1284
1947	510	1178

COMPLETE INDIANISATION

On the face of it, Indianisation of All-India Services sounded a straight-forward proposition : to be fought for and won by the colonial subjects as a middle-class job aspiration, or to be considered and conceded by the colonial masters as an unavoidable contemporary necessity. But in fact there were many nuances to it. Figures published by the Government of India at the turn of the 20th century showed that of the total number of public servants employed on a monthly salary of Rs 75 or above, there were only 283 Muslims as compared to 2263 Hindus. This proved to be further grist to the then still nascent Muslim League voice. And there-

after, Indianisation of public services was multi-conceptual instead of the hitherto simple single-faceted, with an increasingly public debate, no doubt fuelled by colonial forces, as to which particular community should constitute how much of this indigenisation.

Again, the issue for and against Indianisation centred primarily around the ICS and the IP, being the backbones of the British Raj, and also to some extent around the IMS, perhaps because of its war reserve duties. It were these that the British colonialist sought to preserve in their originally "white" mould. The other All-India Services did not really attract any public attention regarding their Indianisation.

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ment came down upon it with equally growing severity, the growing Indian element in the superior services very rightly got personified and identified with an alien government which had become the object of a well-organised and well-orchestrated popular hostility. Shukla is correct in holding that, in the ultimate analysis, Indianisation did not make the All-India Services popular, and that this unpopularity continued and has outlasted Independence.

If, then Indianisation of All-India Services was not even half-attained by 1947, and if this half-attainment had in any case lost all popular value—indeed had become totally unpopular—by then, wherefor Hitler's prophecy with which we began? Here, to one's unexpected and sudden dismay, Shukla becomes infirm, unsure, and unenlightening while examining the impact of this Indianisation. Both in his Introduction and towards the end parts of the book, he candidly admits his inability in assessing this impact, blaming it chiefly on the lack of research materials, since official documents do not offer much of clue.

But, to my mind, the drawback lies in the authorship itself. This book is actually a doctoral thesis completed way back in 1972; and a research compendium reproduced in toto (as it seems to have been) can never make a good publication unless it is edited, updated, and revised (as it does not seem to have been). The India Office Library and other British agencies have lately been publishing in an edited form (e.g. Mansergh's *Transfer of Power* volumes) as well as opening to the world all the classified and other official papers of the period—which are proving to be a boon to fact-hungry researchers. Also, their Raj in India is back in the British intellectual psyche, throwing up any number of interesting publications, some based on the new style of "oral history".

ORAL HISTORY

Lamenting the lack of written and official sources, Shukla too has relied on "oral history", obtaining the accounts of a number of ICS and public men of the pre-Independence

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dence era. But "oral history" is a tricky matter, to be handled with even more care and caution than written history. The latter is safer, being based at least partly on organised digging into the facts of the past and then coming up with conclusions. "Oral history", on the other hand, is likely to be a reminiscent recounting on the spur of the moment, without much of disciplined preparation.

Before "oral history" had come into its present and wide-spread fashion, and when written history—if we discount archaeology and numismatics—was the be-all and end-all of a historian's field of action, E.H. Carr, the philosopher-historian who died recently, had cautioned more than two decades back that one should always study the historian if we are to understand his history. This elementary precaution Shukla has failed to observe even in the matter of "oral history", wherein it is all the more essential since there are hardly any premises on which the "speaking source" can be pinned down, being more in the nature of a sudden flash. Therefore Shukla, unfortunately, is unable to guide the reader through the angularities of the ICS men whose views he has canvassed, but whose autobiographical harkings—while making good reading—cannot in themselves constitute any kind of disciplined history.

Basing himself accordingly on such sources of history, it is no surprise that Shukla is unsatisfying when he comes to write on the second half of his book's title: impact of Indianisation on administration. His sources contradict each other, with Bonarjee, Venkatachar, and T.N.S. Raghavan holding the view that the Indian element in the government in sum created nothing new, while Whittle, Mason, Sapru, and Mukandi Lal are confident about its positive aspects. In fact, Mason—the famous Philip Woodruff—is the only discerning reminiscent, taking the trouble to draw a correct distinction between Indian officers in the districts and those posted in the Secretariat, with the latter making some difference to administration, while the district

officers "behaved in much the same way as his British predecessor".

SHUKLA'S VIEWS

Shukla's own views are that Indianisation of the superior civil services did not affect the basic policies of the British government; and that the constitutional and political changes in India were the result of popular movements and the inexorable working out of the nature of British rule. But having discounted the possibility of written and official sources and therefore banking upon whatever little "oral history" he could compile, he should at least have gleaned through them for the reader's benefit, instead of merely reproducing them, as he seems to have done.

Such undisturbed reproduction has thrown up any number of viewpoints, with nary a help from Shukla as to which amongst them

is valid, leave alone the justification of such validity. What is worse, sometimes Shukla's sources contradict themselves, and again makes no attempt to clear up the confusion so created. He quotes Bonarjee that "Chintamani of Tawang was a leader in a speech in the Council called him (the second Indian Chief Secretary of UP) 'the Governor-dhobi-in-chief'. And about his Chief Secretaryship, Bonarjee quoted as having "had no influence on anything at all, political, constitutional, or administrative". You the same Bonarjee is also of the opinion that an Indian officer had more influence with his community. But surely this influence must have had some impact, for good or worse? Shukla is of no help himself. Raghavan and Sapru also similarly contradict themselves. And if Bhagat Singh thought "Indianisation did deteriorate the quality or conduct of the Imperial Services. It made the Brit

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better instead, and more popular... The sterling character of the Indian Services was proved in a fire of communal rioting which followed Indian Independence", He quo Dharma Vira writes that by 1930 when he joined the ICS, whilst outwardly it was one Service, there was definitely an undercurrent of its being divided on racial and national lines.

MULTI-MOOD & MULTI-VIEWS

You name your viewpoint and also of your preconceived notion will be officer satisfied, such is the achievement of Shukla's "oral history" of the impact of Indianisation on administration. So much so that he contradicts himself! Having started off his second chapter (Impact of Indianisation and if Bhawn Administration) "with a degree of certainty" with the premise that it did not affect the basic policies of the British government", he makes a neat somersault to hold in the end that "objectively as well as subjectively it brought a new factor in British administration in its higher reaches". His rationale is equally forthright :

"It brought in more knowledge or at least a new angle on Indian affairs; and this was bound to benefit the government. It also made the administration more acceptable to the educated middle classes who were ill disposed towards British administration...and the establishment of official and social contacts on an equal footing between European and Indian officers made some difference to the way administrative matters were discussed or looked at".

What is one to make of such a variety of views, which the compiler makes no attempt to place in a perspective? Indeed, what is one to make of the compiler who too gets into this multi-mood to himself present multi-views?

The best view of the impact that this Indianisation had on the administration is indeed available not in Shukla's present book under review but in his own "oral history" compiled in another book called *The District Officer In India : 1930-1947*, by Hunt & Harrison. In it, he is quoted as terming 1947 "a historical moment indeed!" All because

"to men in the Civil Service, as well as in the Defence forces, new opportunities opened out to serve their country. So far, for the Englishmen the ICS had been a mission, to Indians a career; now for Indians too it became a mission".

It is this last sentence from Shukla's own quotation in *The District Officer In India* that forms the essence of his view, and one that gives the best clue to the impact of Indianisation on the administration. If to its Indian members the ICS had been a career and only a career, and by no means a mission, its Indianisation could not but have had a minimal impact, if at all any.

LACKING ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE

Such a clear view of the author is missing from his own book! This is perhaps because, though a doctoral research thesis from a renowned University like that of Allahabad, it definitely betrays a lack of academic discipline. Quite clearly, it is the result of a veteran bureaucrat dipping his eager hands into a syrupy plethora of data and not much knowing what to do about what thereby sticks to all his fingers—except to retell it all!

But history is not merely a simple narration of facts, like recapitulation from the rote, but a conscious attempt to first pick and choose facts of history, and then to place them in perspective in order to discern a pattern. Without such

discipline, one is apt to come up with conclusions as horrifying and unsubstantiated as "the eternal theme in Indian history that whenever Indians are left to themselves, they must divide themselves and fall apart"; or "had the Muhammadans secured an equitable proportion in the Services as well as in the Councils, Indian history might have been different"; or another one like "Services in India today are not Indianised, they are Indian".

And yet, in all fairness, it must be said that Shukla, though unfortunately has little to say on its impact on administration, he is undoubtedly and laudably enlightening in tracing out the historical course of this Indianisation of the All-India Services.

As a veritable goldmine of facts, figures, and useful data which the author has dug up and revealed with amazing and painstaking detail, his book, in spite of little historicity, will in years to come stand out as a beginner's reference book to which future research workers will have to turn to for education and guidance—especially since, apart from B.B. Mishra and Bradford Spangenberg, no important work on British Indian administrative history has yet been published.

Alok Sinha, a member of the I.A.S., is Deputy Director of the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussourie.

Indian Literature in English

Amritjit Singh, Rajiva Verma and Irene M. Joshi.
Indian Literature in 1827-1979 : A Guide to Information Sources
pp. xxii+631, Gale Research Company, 1981, \$ 38.00

Reviewed by Darshan Singh Maini

It's one of the great ironies of history that a foreign language, which despite official patronage and prestige for nearly 200 years remained an awkward intruder, has, since its dethronement, shown a remarkable appetite for domicile and domestication. This is of course, no place for determining the dynamics of this strange phenomenon,

though the political pundits and soothsayers have lived to see their dreams turned into dupes, and their fancies into fears. The gay 'alien' continues to flourish, invading our nurseries and schools, our hearths and homes, not to speak of the general business and traffic of life. Undoubtedly, the imperialism of a language is, of all imperialisms, the

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more tenacious in that it exercises its sweet suzerainty through a benign piracy of the imagination.

To stretch the idiom, we are not surprised that creative literature in English by Indian writers is already a "swelling act" of "the imperial theme." The full 'horror' of the story, if that's the fashion of saying things, comes home to us only when we happen to chance upon a comprehensive history or bibliography of this amorphous body of work. And that's precisely what *Indian Literature in English 1827-1979* attempts to do magnificently and heroically. This "Guide to Information Sources" bids fair to become a definitive bibliography for a long time to come. Thoroughly researched and double-checked, insightfully written and collated, the material in question has been exhumed from all manner of places and resources.

The prodigality of the Editors is however matched by their scholarly industry, rectitude and concern. Even what they call "mere ephemera" and the marginalia have not been allowed to remain where they belong, to wit, obscurity and eclipse. Assuredly, the imagination of love and labour was continually at work. Understandably, in a volume that seeks to cover almost every significant scrawl in English, and in each separate genre, including translations from the native languages, the business of annotation cannot be central. At best, in a bibliography of this kind and cut, it can be only functional. And this office, I hasten to add, the volume which covers a span of 150 years performs judiciously and tastefully. The promiscuity of the exercise in no way affects the line of control and the line of vision.

Both the primary and the secondary materials included here add up to a formidable collection, leaving all earlier efforts in this regard way behind. Additionally, there's little which the Editors have not taken note of—from individual authors and books to anthologies and journals, from author index to title index etc. The subjects range from Fiction, Poetry, Drama and Selected Prose to Criticism, Literary History and "Backgrounds" on the one hand,

from Biography, Autobiography and Memoirs to Philosophy, Politics, Social History etc., on the other. Included also are a 'Select List of Relevant Periodicals' and a 'Select List of Indian Publishers' with their addresses. As many as 134 journals and periodicals of all manner and description appear in the 'List of Acronyms for Periodicals'. This will give the prospective reader and researcher some idea of the monumental nature of the enterprise. Clearly, the Editors have gone to school with eminent bibliographers in India and abroad, for the quality of labour bespeaks a rigorous training and an authentic involvement. The volume under review,

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then, promises to be the 'Bible' all those engaged in research work on Indo-English authors, here anywhere.

If the bulk of this proliferating literature deserves only one cheer—the critical level, and even its most prized products no more than the volume that seeks to project so handsomely surely deserves full compliment. Written in Gale Research Series on World Literature, the book is, even aesthetically, a most pleasing artefact.

Darshan Singh Maini recently retired as Professor of English, Panjab University, Patiala and now lives in Chandigarh.

Our Troubled World

P.N. Haksar

Reflections on Our Times

pp. 119, Lancers Publishers, New Delhi, 1983, Rs. 60.00

Reviewed by Sudha Raman

As a public servant, P.N. Haksar was, by common consent, outstanding, sui generis. His acute and wide-ranging mind and long experience of diplomacy, law, administration and public affairs entitle his view to the most respectful consideration.

Human concern is central to Haksar's viewpoint and it has been sharpened and reinforced by his training in the dialectics a la Marx. He will probably disavow any labels, but here he is speaking throughout the book which is actually a reproduction of three lectures delivered in 1980 as a man of the Left. He is not, however, as has been suggested, fixated in the Thirties, the Pink Decade, when Marxism was not so much the opiate of the masses as of the intellectuals. His mind is constantly active; it does not dwell on dogma or fetishes, but the basic premises are unbreakably Left.

This leads to both clarity and elision. In a swift recapitulation of the first 80 years of this century, Haksar examines the concept of "legitimacy". His thesis is that the Japanese and Western imperial systems in Asia and Africa broke down when they collided against the

explosion in "people's consciousness" that he sees as the paramount of our times. In other words, it lost "legitimacy". This consciousness was built around a sense of national identity which was, paradoxically, "crystallised" by the very attempt to destroy it. Thus, British power retreated from India, the French, Dutch and other colonial powers followed suit. American Imperialism collapsed in Vietnam. Haksar clearly envisages a similar scenario for U.S. imperial system in Latin America.

Above all, Haksar warns India against "soft options," the like of which route. But this is precisely where India seems to be heading.

During the past six years, foreign debts of developing countries trebled and reached the astronomical figure of 525,000 million dollars at the end of 1981. Even the official statistics proved that the grip of financial "aid" was sought to be made increasingly tighter on the economies of developing countries. The burden shouldered by them as a result of the trebling of their debts was compounded by the fact that the interest on their debts

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growing even faster. During the same period, it increased by five times.

The need to repay debts and meet the requirements for paying rapidly growing interest was bleeding developing countries, while forcing them to slow down their economic growth rates and borrow into their accumulations which could have been used for development purposes.

The recipients of credits were compelled to borrow anew in order to be able to repay earlier loans and pay interest on them. According to

the estimates of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, altogether 88 percent of new loans would be used in 1985 for repaying debts and by 1990 the figures would reach 95 percent.

In all, the book provides an informative background to the recent developments in the world scenario.

Sudha Raman is on the teaching staff of the University of Madras.

India Under Three Prime Ministers

Ved Mehta

A Family Affair

pp. 166 Oxford University Press New York, 1982, \$ 14.95

Reviewed by Surendra K. Gupta

Reading Ved Mehta's latest book on India reminded me of a remark an English political scientist had once made to me. I had just settled down in his office at the London School of Economics and Political Science and was looking forward to discussing his work on Asian politics, when he burst out, "For you Asians, all politics revolve around your families." Although the political figure he had in mind was Kim II-song of North Korea, who at that time was doing his very best to promote the political fortunes of his son, I realized that his remark, so pointedly aimed at me, was also directed at India.

Family links have no doubt counted a great deal even in Western democratic countries—the case of the Kennedy clan in the U.S. is by no means an exception—but in no other country has the family relationship counted for so much as it has in India. The famous as well as those not so well known have openly used power of their office to promote the economic and political fortunes of their family members. Originally written for the *New Yorker*, Mehta in these pieces provides us vivid and interesting sketches of this seamy side of Indian political life.

Although Mehta starts with a discussion of India's transition from the father-daughter (Nehru-Indira)

team to that of the mother-son (Indira-Sanjay), and ends with the emergence of Indira Gandhi, with Sanjay in the background ("Intimations of a Nehru Dynasty"), in 1980, a large part of the book is devoted to Janta Party's brief tenure in office.

JANATA GOINGS-ON

Going through Mehta's narrative of the goings-on under the Janata rule, one almost feels sad at seeing not only how a great opportunity was lost—which the party certainly had to give a new direction to Indian political life—but how the people at the top can get enmeshed in petty and personal politics and forget the larger vision of the future of the country and the welfare of its teeming millions. The long correspondence between Prime Minister Morarji Desai and his Home Minister, Charan Singh, from which Mehta provides long quotes, gives us a good glimpse into this political infighting. Usually, it is the opposition parties that bring charges of corruption and misuse of power against those in government; in case of the Janata government it was the unique case of one minister bringing up such charges against another—and not just any other but the Prime Minister himself.

Bringing up the question of the misuse of power by the Prime

Minister's son, Kanti, the Home Minister charged that Desai and all his family members living with him "should not only be incorruptible but should appear to be so." Desai, not unexpectedly, not only denied all the charges against his son but shot back at Singh by referring to rumours of corruption against the latter's wife and sons-in-law. The Home Minister now said that the Prime Minister's position seemed to be that "if there are charges against my son, there are charges against your sons-in-law and wife too."

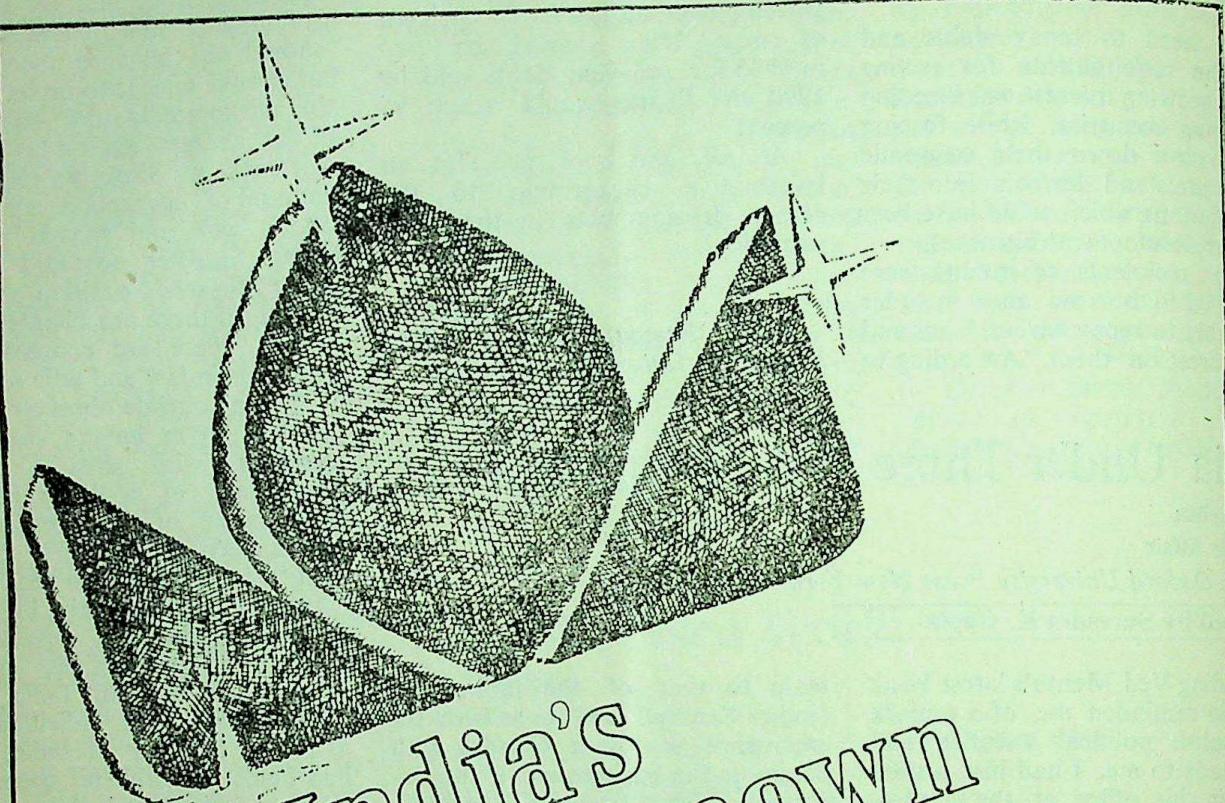
To any outside observer, the real problem lay in having close family members, who already had the opportunity of wielding influence, serve in an official capacity. One can understand Desai's assertion that "I am 81 and I do need help," "but why appoint only his son as his Private Secretary, especially the one with his own business interests. No one can say that India lacked able and dedicated individuals and as Prime Minister of India, Desai had funds available to appoint one or more such individuals to serve his needs. He might have been right in arguing that "as Private Secretary he [Kanti] does not deal with any official matters," but anyone familiar with the Indian officialdom knows how even a clerk working in an important office can sometimes make or unmake things. If the political system has to serve—as it should in any democratic society—the larger good of the people, it is imperative that the leadership establish healthy political conventions. Especially in the Indian context, one of the steps that the leaders at the top ought to take is to establish a convention not to appoint their immediate family members on powerful positions in their administration.

WESTERN CLICHES

What are the reasons, if any, why family becomes such an important factor in Indian environment. Here Mehta succumbs to popular especially Western, cliches about India and puts all the blame on Hinduism and the caste system. Nepotism, he writes, "is sanctified by the caste system and by religion—by karma and dharma". And since both Hinduism and the

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caste system are not likely to see an early demise in the country, there is then really no hope for India! Even the most persistent pessimists will shy away from painting such a bleak and dismal picture of India's future.

A writer of Mehta's calibre, with his roots in India but with enough detachment in terms of time and distance which his long stay in the U.S. must provide him, could have produced a more analytical and stimulating study on this subject. In this reviewer's view, one of the important things that needs to be discussed is the working of the parliamentary system in India. Nepotism, to some extent, is a part of all political systems and will remain so in the future. Today India has a political system that leaves the final choice of the party candidates not only for all parliamentary seats but the legislative assemblies in different states as well in the hands of a central parliamentary board, and this is bound to lead to more nepotism, not less. And if the Prime Minister can make or unmake state chief ministers, the Prime Minister's son or daughter—as a power behind the throne—invites more sycophancy, not less.

PROBLEM OF DEFLECTIONS

Indian political leaders, the Congressites as well as those in the opposition have failed to solve the problem of defections. If they cannot solve it by passing a law against it, perhaps delinking the office of the head of the government from the position of his party in the legislature, as it is the case in the United States, would cure India of this political disease, the ugly manifestation of which was recently seen in Haryana. Had Mehta discussed these and other issues in light of the working of Indian political system since Independence and suggested reforms which could minimize, if not eradicate completely, the unhealthy role of family relationships, he would have made a significant contribution to a debate that must increasingly engage Indians as they grapple with the problem of reforming the country's political system.

As it is, *A Family Affair* is only a compilation of newspaper stories, some gossip and rumours. Mehta's interviews, quoted verbatim, with Desai are more entertaining than enlightening. When the pieces were originally published in the *New Yorker*, they certainly provided some interesting reading material to be enjoyed over a cup of coffee or

at bedtime. But why publish them in book form unless the author has something important to say? One has the right to expect more from a writer of Mehta's ability and eminence.

Surendra K. Gupta is Professor of History at the Pittsburg State University, U.S.A.

A Plea for Sanity

Barbara Ward

Progress For a Small Planet

pp. 305, Heritage Publishers, 1982, Rs. 100.00

Reviewed by M.C. Gabriel

If all the world were paper
And all the seas were ink
And all the trees were bread and
cheese,
What would we have to drink ?

This is not at all a nursery rhyme situation. But in substance and with a lot of grimness added on, the above rhyme, in a way, sums up the world about which Barbara Ward's book is. And so good it is that it is a matter for some self-satisfaction that the book is now available in an Indian edition. It is true that the present price does not bring it within the reach of the ordinary reader who takes, what might be called an intelligent interest in the future of this planet. However, considering the importance of this work it is to be hoped that the publisher will bring out a cheaper soft-cover edition and not rest content with his present effort of having pushed it among institutions.

It is also true that *Progress For a Small Planet* like the other books she has written, has received wide acclaim and notice. That in itself, however, does not make the importance of what she says felt and shared as widely as it deserves. Nor for that matter, does it make the anxiety she feels and which all of us as members of a common household facing disaster ought to feel, a closer experience. If, therefore, one expresses a hope for a cheaper reprint almost as the first line of a review, it is because what Mrs Ward says and what she writes about are not matters just for academics,

researchers and policy-makers to whom in any case this work in its present format will be accessible but matters which concern all of us as the inhabitants of this remarkable planet. Besides, the book is conceived in and rests firmly on the faith that reason (in the case of Mrs Ward that 'r' should perhaps be in capital) will ultimately prevail over man's incomprehensible lust for self-destruction and through information, education and responsibility, bring him to ways of sanity and survival.

GREED & IGNORANCE

The occasion for the book is, as may be guessed, Man's presently triumphant mood of self-destruction. It has suddenly dawned on us that for all the traditional pieties we have been habitually uttering, we have become like dangerous microbes that are threatening the planet that has sustained us and that is, till we know it is not, the only home we have in the stretches of space around. It has turned out that our pride in human history as a glorious record of achievements was misplaced. If we took a more realistic view in the light of present anxieties, we might see that much of it was thoughtless depredation and plunder—so thoughtless indeed that we seem to have nearly lopped off the branch we were sitting on! It was not always wilful but the result as much of greed as of ignorance. While we used all that the planet could give us, we failed to give to our actions a sense of global responsibility and were con-

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tent with marauding for narrow mean-minded gains. Even now when we have become aware of the danger, it can hardly be said that the plundering has stopped. It goes on with but slightly diminished ferocity.

In a sense we may say that the demon was awakened with the Industrial Revolution although perhaps it never possessed us as fiercely as after World War II. By then it had become inescapable. It had not come upon man without warning. On a tip from the great David Ricardo, Marx saw it, but optimist that he was and full of faith in the revolution he and Engels were assiduously hatching, he saw it in less menacing light as the flawed offspring of bastard circumstance which would ultimately die of its own poison. He did not foresee a Keynes stepping out of the wings to postpone indefinitely the day of reckoning. Not till the War ended and even then not till the Arabs created the oil crisis by calling what grew in their backyard their own, did anyone stop and look. As Mrs Ward says until the seventies "the rising tide was felt to be the motor power of a world advancing toward general prosperity and in all estimates of future use the tendency was simply to extrapolate past percentages of growth in fuel consumption." And well may they have for "high energy, high technology, high employment and consumption, appeared inextricably linked by over a century of solid practical experience."

The solid practical experience did not avail much. The spell snapped; the dream came to an end. In 1973 came the Arab oil embargo shaking them awake just before they reached the precipice. It was such a near thing that Mrs Ward believes that "the Arab, in a sense, did them (the minds of the developed nations) the service of jolting them into a perception of fuel stringency twenty years before the natural decline in oil production would have started to set in—in which case, it would have probably occurred too late for anything but panic protective measures."

THE ENERGY GAP

In its initial impact the jolting amounted to a recognition of what

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is called the 'energy gap'. Had anyone urged a recognition of this gap in the recklessly buoyant mood of the pre-seventies, it would in all probability been dismissed as an interesting talking point or a bright phrase of limited usefulness. In the mid-seventies instead it opened unending vistas of disorder and desolation. The jolting by the Arabs meant not just high prices but the chance of a whole culture coming to an end. The question that faced developed societies was simply this; how does one extend the life of a culture that was built out of an easily available energy source and depends on it for its working, after the source has been cut off? Although they had known it all along, the simple fact that oil was a non-renewable resource and with all the spending was bound to run dry, struck them with sudden and stunning force. Besides, Arab or no, oil would not last for ever. An alternative source had to be found. After the War the answer came easily though it was somewhat desperate, that is nuclear power.

But this (the energy shortage) was only one of the many results that flowed from the jolting like numerous febril cracks running in so many directions in a sheet of glass from the spot of impact. Questions arose in every different direction so that eventually the whole culture itself came in for a revaluation in which it showed up badly. It turned out to be a culture of poisonous pollution and waste. The combination of high technology and big business ambitions had created quantities of indissoluble rubbish. Plastic, a direct byproduct of petroleum industry was an example. There was much enthusiasm for it. It seemed the answer in many matters. Cans, containers and buckets were easy enough to produce and made in plastic they had distinct advantages but once they had lost their use they also created mounds of garbage that would not dissolve and go back into the soil. A new process had to be found which would make plastic disintegrate on prolonged exposure to sunshine.

WASTELAND

A technology of recycling waste

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came into existence. But the problems of waste have not been fully solved and perhaps may never be. A writer in the late fifties who had asked herself what their civilization would leave behind was both saddened and angry with the answer that where older cultures had left behind temples and sunken treasures, they were likely to leave behind a new wasteland, not the wasteland of Eliot in which death had undone so many, but one in which there would be "mountains of twisted, rusted steel, canyons of plastic containers, and a million miles of shores garlanded, not by the lovely wrack of the sea, but with the cans and bottles and light-bulbs and boxes of a people who conserved their convenience at the expense of their heritage, and whose ephemeral prosperity was built on waste."

Were the wasteland confined to the affluent countries there might have been a hope, a chance. But it is spreading like a drop of ink on a piece of blotting paper. The harassed developing societies are the most eager. The problems are too many and they want quick solutions; they seem determined to 'catch up' with the old imperial powers and round off the end of political dependence with an equal social and economic emancipation. According to Mrs. Ward, "This is the political ambition behind the whole discussion of the 'new international economic order'." She is sympathetic with them and does not deny the legitimacy of the feeling that informs the need. But she fears that the developing countries burdened with own problems and the differing levels of their own growth from which they are attempting to negotiate the change might get into more serious difficulties with less chance of being able to pull themselves out. The effort itself could be ill-advised. "It can greatly complicate the catching-up process. The developed world has been changing its structures, technologies, and scientific insights for nearly two centuries, and is in the midst of changing them again. What she would advise then is that the Third World countries to profit from the experience of the First look for the 'vital clues' that have been overlooked or underemphasized.

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and use them. For countries like ours it would be useful and educational to study the 'dark shadow' that agricultural priority and productivity casts in an all-out effort. If attempted it might result merely in new patterns of misery. For example it must not be forgotten that bringing in the Green Revolution with 'big machines, new seeds, artificial fertilizers, and increasing out-put for the well-to-do farmers' will also mean dispossession of the rural poor and a steady laying off of available manpower. Also in a system dominated by the absentee landlord the principal beneficiary is likely to be the least useful member. For this reason, it will be most practical to keep in mind the experience of Japan's course to modernization in agriculture. The most fundamental act of the Meiji Revolution was to transform the rural sector. The success of this revolution was ensured by the government abolishing all feudal intermediaries and thereby freeing the peasant farmer from all arbitrary payments and compulsory work. Japan thus avoided much of the misery that the western pioneers in industrialization from whom she got the idea went through.

THE NUCLEAR OPTION

The path of the biggest problems while also in every way the most tempting is unquestionably the nuclear option. For all Third World countries the political prestige that goes with its possession makes it almost irresistibly attractive. In an arrangement where power is being constantly balanced, an option which makes one equal to any other power, hardly allows room for debate. In the recent past there has been much talk about Libya wanting a bomb for the Islamic world. Pakistan was supposed to be a party to the plan. Whatever came of it, right now Pakistan's efforts to make a nuclear bomb for herself is very much in the news. We who were the first to do it in the subcontinent are no doubt quite concerned over these rumours but assessed on the level of motives, they do not seem any different from ours. It will be recalled that in our country Homi Bhabha was the

first to argue in favour of the Bomb. His argument was that while it was not only less expensive than a conventional armoury, the political leverage it offered was beyond all proportion. The Bomb may not be the best thing to go for but whether Gaddafi or Zia who wants it, his arguments could not be very different from these that went into our exploding it at Pokhran.

And it is also true that the more unstable the internal situation gets in a country, the more tempted its rulers are to make the Bomb. This is also one reason why in the present debate about sources of energy, the nuclear option finds so much favour with countries who could cause serious harm to their economies trying to adopt it. Apart from that, one is not sure yet the nuclear option is a 'safe' option. Mrs. Ward is quite clear in her mind that it is the least acceptable of alternatives and should be treated as such. Besides plenty of evidence has already accumulated to show that there are several other sources of energy, possibly less dramatic but equally useful. These other sources, both for cost and safety should receive greater attention in the Third World. She is willing to consider the nuclear alternative only 'if there are no alternatives—since a world without energy is arguably as dangerous to life as any risks from either of these (i.e. fission and fusion).

NEW STYLE OF LIVING

The denial of nuclear energy may add to the sense of deprivation in developing countries because they do perceive it as a political loss. If one must make a point of it, it is here that one may say that if there is

anything that may go against the book, it is its overwhelming sanity. For there is, all said, a certain innocence here. It is the unspoken assumption in this work that the future from all indications is so horrendous that it will compel sanity. On this point it may be wondered if history is on the side of Mrs Ward. Besides the kind of changes that must be made in living and in our choices would take one to simpler forms of existence, not necessarily less exciting.

It may be too early to predict the styles of living that will take shape from the acceptance of the other options and responsibility for this planet but it is certain that in the contemporary frame they are likely to seem less glamorous with increasing emphasis on saving, various forms of austerity, giving up the easier courses and above all, with a firm commitment to social in place of individual gains. These mean a new way of thinking and a new way of living. This seems the only way if we want the planet to survive and support us. We shall have to take the responsibility to look after it as carefully as any intelligent being can make it his problem. All this may sound grim but does not necessarily have to be so. It is possible that the element of enjoyment which has been so markedly lacking in our strenuous styles of living may come back to us. But without determination, forethought and commitment quite obviously, let alone progress, not even the survival of the planet can be assured.

M.C. Gabriel is a Hyderabad based free lance writer and novelist.

Maritime Strategy and Indian Ocean

Alvin J. Cottrell and Associates
Sea Power and Strategy in the Indian Ocean
pp. 148, Sage Publications, 1981, \$ 20.00

Reviewed by Rakesh Kumar Datta

Cottrell and Associates' book on Indian Ocean has again shown the importance this particular area holds in the contemporary age in respect

of its strategic position and undiluted rawness, coupled with its maritime potential. The study includes three inter-related essays focussing

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entirely on the Indian lake and its oil-carriage areas, mainly the Persian Gulf, which is of vital concern to the super powers and especially now to the United States.

The book also projects, the growing dependence of the developed countries on the developing ones, when it is otherwise assumed that the former have political, economic and technological dominance over the latter.

The volume begins with Kemp's essay analysing the past, the present and the future prospects for the area, significantly entitled Russian interests in the Indian Ocean. By looking at the historical perspective, he has tried to marry the events of the past with the present, when in the 14th century the spice-trade which was controlled by the Middle-eastern countries, motivated the European maritime forces, who eventually succeeded in running the show. Applying the same yardstick to oil now which is much more of an essential commodity than the spices in demand, in those days, the author has clearly emphasized the importance and the early need to control the same; the factors are however common, but the related situations and circumstances are quite different. The essay includes, detailed analysis of the term 'maritime power' and 'Mahan's essentials', besides tracing missing links like the importance of science and technology in the size and decline of the role of a power e.g., the change from coal to oil which brought a significant shift in international scene, and the process is a perpetual one. The detail is mainly illustrated by a maritime comparison between the two super powers.

ALTERED ENVIRONMENT

The author has further focussed on the altered maritime environment which is fast eroding the traditional maritime status, built up during the 50's and holds different factors responsible for it, mainly new laws on the use of the sea and the growing Soviet naval capabilities. Though it is still debatable, whether Soviet naval expansion is, of an offensive or defensive nature it will certainly help her in influencing regional powers, and the attempt is there. Apart from this, there is the growing menace of other regio-

nal powers, which are building sea-denial capabilities, coupled with commerce raiding threat from the Soviet Union, though the latter's feasibility can only be in exceptional circumstances. But there can be other possibilities, resulting in same kind of danger for which the author suggests maritime supremacy as the primary mission for the United States and its allies. The final section, examines the new technological trends related to maritime infrastructure. Here again, in his partial exploratory attempt, the author has cautioned the U.S. maritime force about the grave implication, in case Russia outmanoeuvres her, since control of space is definitely going to alter the future of three dimensional warfare.

The second chapter, by Hanks and Cottrell, examines the growing oil dependence of the western countries, including the super powers, the seacarriage lanes, mainly the Strait of Hormuz, have assumed immense strategic importance, until of course the world finds any alternate source of energy. In their efforts to mark the beginning of this prime source of energy which (though it is not more than a hundred years old) the author has handsomely profiled the stages the coal-supplant has undergone including the oil-politics. The section further notices the contemporary U.S. Middle-East politics, which has unsettled the energy-picture increasingly and demands new measures to avoid crippling shortages and confrontations in the future. Even though the endeavour to find new sources of energy is continuing like discovering new oil fields, primarily for European consumption, solar energy, nuclear fission and fusion arrangements, conversion of coal to oil, etc., their total impact is limited and the western industrial nations cannot but depend chiefly on the Persian Gulf fields, thereby making the Strait of Hormuz most crucial.

DISLOCATING POLITICAL STRUCTURE

However, continuous infiltrations by the powers in the Gulf has dislocated its political structure so badly, that now western industrial powers, mainly the United States, find their interests mostly threatened, e.g., Iranian revolution, Iran-Iraq war, movements against Sheikdoms, local insurrections, Soviet's Baluchi

interests etc., have brought so much of uncertainty in the area, that significant changes are likely in the future.

Besides, the political changes on the shores of the Gulf will largely determine the amount of oil produced as well as the security of the sea lanes for which the U.S. must attempt to improve its commercial and diplomatic relations which Gulf countries in general rather than be choosy as described by the author. Focussing centrally on Hormuz and the probable threats, Hanks and Cottrell feel that it is imperative for the United States and its allies to ensure safe passage for oil towards this objective, the United States should go for more non-military measures than sliding on loose footholds, like the Nixon Doctrine and the twin pillar policy in the Gulf. The author has rightly mentioned about the steps the Atlantic alliance should take and assume greater responsibility to combat any significant advances towards the defence of vital oil-lanes.

Lastly, Moorer and Cottrell have emphasised the need for immediate U.S. deployment in the Indian Ocean. According to them, continuous neglect of the area based on certain assumptions, is proving dismal for her stature. Even though the current U.S. efforts in the area includes deployment of U.S. naval vessels and marine component, plans for RDF and a search for air and naval facilities, (the author has suggested Kenya, Somalia, Oman, Saudi-Arabia and Pakistan as the most ideal spots for this purpose), still acquisition of regional basing structure is a delicate undertaking. Looking at the past experience in the area, it would be more desirable for the Americans to conduct their relations on a broader framework than to emphasize military relations only.

Authored by distinguished scholars, with valuable insights and descriptions and a detailed bibliography, the book is beneficial both for researchers and academicians and for others. The American point of view is projected with considerable still and clarity.

Rakesh Kumar Datta, a Chandigarh based scholar, writes frequently on defence and strategic matters,

Siva & Indian Dancing

Anne Marie Gaston
Siva in Dance, Myth & Iconography
pp. 242, Oxford University Press, 1982, Rs. 200.00

Reviewed by Mira Seth

The author is a Canadian dancer and this work is based on her M.Litt thesis for the Oxford University. It is an unusual book, in the sense that it is written by a dancer who connects her practical experience of dance to mythology and iconography. In the introduction to the book she states that she has written it to record the richness of the dance of India which is traditional but constantly evolving. She states that Indian dance also served a secular function as reflected in temple sculpture. According to her, dance contains movements and time, and the latter consists mostly of stories from mythology. As mythology becomes more important, a complex system of hand signs, body positions and expressions is evolved to enable a dancer to express it.

Similarly, in the Hindu iconography also, a complex system of symbols has been developed to signify and depict mythological events. The connection, according to the author, between the gestures of dance and symbols of iconography lies in the fact that both require images either in the form of body movements or iconography to express themselves. Further, she says that both use the same symbolism—the dancer employs hand signs to suggest an attribute while an icon actually holds it. It cannot be stated whether the dance or the iconographic reflections came first. One cannot assign priorities for the simple reason that in respect of sculpture there is a record but not so in respect of dance.

DANCE IN INDIAN SOCIETY

To discuss this inter-relationship, the author traces the position of dance in Indian society. Dance has been linked, initially, with religion as everyone knows, but it also had a secular position in the kingly courts. The connection of dance with the Devadasi Cult is brought

out in great detail in this book. The author writes that the *Devadasis* were offered to God by their parents. They got regular maintenance grants from the temple, and often land grants were made to them. What is indicative of their social status is that they frequently had enough money to donate grants to temples. Their profession was often practised hereditarily and the daughters of the *Devadasis* invariably became *Devadasis*. *Devadasis* performed not only in Hindu temples but also in Buddhist temples. In Travancore there were two groups of *Devadasis*—one for daily worship and the other for festivals. There was also the concept of formal occasions being graced by *Devadasis*.

The author then discusses the formalisation of dance in the *Natya Sastras* in the 4th and 5th century A.D. The simplest combination of dance movements, according to her, were *karanas*—the combined movement of hands and feet in dance. There are 108 such *karanas*. The illustrations of *karanas* in sculptured form exist from A.D. 8th century onwards. She then compares the *karanas* which appear in Tamil Nadu with the body position used at present in Bharata Natyam and Odissi.

The author proceeds to classify the Nataraja images produced in different parts of India. According to her, Coomaraswamy limited his categorisation to three main types of Nataraja images whereas Gopinath Rao based his distinctions on dance *karanas*. The third set of scholars who were Sarvashree G. Rao, Pattabiraman and V. Raghavan classified the Nataraja images with the help of Agama texts which include descriptions of iconography. The Agamas also list 108 dance moods of Siva like the *Natya Sastras*, but the names sometimes differ. The author states that while Rao limits his Agamic divisions of images to the southern *nritamurtis*, Pattabiraman and Raghavan give

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illustrations from all over India.

SCHEME OF CLASSIFICATION

The author then gives her own new classification viewing Nataraja images strictly from the point of view of a dancer. She has chosen the position of the feet as a main criteria for this classification. According to her, the feet determine the position adopted by the rest of the body as the body weight has to be adjusted according to the position of the feet. On the basis of this classification, she discusses the symbolism of Nataraja both in dance and in sculpture.

It must be said to her credit that though she limits herself to Nataraja, she does a very broad examination both as far as chronological treatment is concerned and also its geographical sweep. She divides the images dealt with into three periods, the first period extending from A.D. 550 upto A.D. 800, the second period running from A.D. 800 to A.D. 1100 and the third phase from A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1450. The regions taken are the Deccan, the northern region, the eastern region and the southern region; hence including most of the States of India. The sculptural remains of almost all the prominent archeological sites from Tamil Nadu and Kerala in the south to Himachal in the north, Bengal in the east and Gujarat in the west, have been discussed.

In her survey, she successfully establishes that there is a gradual reduction in the variety of poses used for Nataraja from the first period to the third period. Gradually the images got differentiated more by regional styles. There are evident many inter-regional similarities however. She has shown how this image was spread all over India, though in the third period it got more and more confined to the south.

There is a separate chapter on the components of Nataraja image like the snakes, trisul, fire, the lotus, the noose, the bell, the dagger, the sword, the shield, the ash pot, the deer and other elements. She also discusses the iconography of the minor images associated with Siva, concentrating on the Devi, Ganesh, Kartikeya, musicians, Bhringi,

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Dikpalas and the Bhairavas.

NATARAJA IMAGES

The author concludes that the similarity of Nataraja images to those of dancing figures, particularly *karana* images, is striking. The Nataraja images depict the full repertoire of dance poses, many of which are present in Indian classical dance forms today, while others have remained constant and some new ones have been introduced. She concludes that the essential principles of dance include the guidelines observed by sculptures namely, bent knees, hand gestures and position of shoulders. This inter-connection is in consonance with the concept of Siva as the creator of dance and his dance depicting every form of dance. Further, from the classical dances, the Odissi is the closest to *karana* figures in early carvings.

The author has obviously taken pains to research widely for her interpretation of the connection between dance and the iconography of sculpture. The book presents a definite point of view, i.e. the iconography of sculpture based on foot position. It is a new way of looking at the dancing images of Siva. She has also examined her point of view with illustrations spread over a broad time scape as well as geographical areas. She has, however, concentrated too much in discussing all her examples from the image of Nataraja and his associates.

OTHER IMAGES

Of course, Siva is the founder of

dance, but then dance takes in its sculptural sweep a great variety of figures of beauty specially as depicted through female characters. When you think of dance in the ordinary parlance, you think of the beautiful *apsaras*. Siva may be the founder, but the more appealing and tantalising image that remains is of the female dancer which so lushly illustrate all the main sculptural figures of Indian temples in every corner of India. She has chosen to concentrate on Nataraja images, but no variations from her theoretical format in relation to other iconographic images of dance could have been discussed to give her thesis greater universality and credibility.

The title of the book is *Siva in Dance, Myth & Iconography*. We find that mythological concepts are inter-related but no philosophic discussion of how they conceptually influenced dance and iconography is undertaken in the book. A recent work of Stella Kramrisch on the *Presence of Siva* deals with this aspect in a very illuminating fashion.

As far as the style is concerned, it is self assured but rather turgid. It has to be read carefully and to that extent the book is not easily readable. The book is well illustrated with black and white illustrations. It is definitely not for the general reader, but is only for those who are subject specialists in this subject.

Mira Seth, a member of the IAS, is a well known art critic.

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Brahmananda, P.R. Productivity in the Indian Economy : Rising Inputs for Falling Outputs. Bombay, Himalaya, 1982. xvi, 280 p. Rs. 80.00.

Treats productivity growth both from macro and sectoral angles and presents relevant data and relations on productivity change in India.

Khalid Hasan and Faruq Hassan, ed. Versions of Truth: Urdu Short Stories from Pakistan. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. xvi, 272 p. Rs. 125.00.

Chronologically the period covered extends from 1930s, when progressive writers movement was initiated in Lahore and Lucknow, to the present. Re-

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presented in the collection amongst others are Saadat Hasan Manto, Mohammad Askari, Ghulam Abbas and Mohammad Umar Memon.

Mukherji, Badal. Theory of Growth and the Tradition of Ricardian Dynamics. Delhi, Oxford, 1982. 132 p. Rs. 55.00.

The main concern of the book is the analytical relationships of basic axioms and propositions in growth theory.

Rao, V.K.R.V. India's National Income 1950-1980: An analysis of Economic Growth and Change. Delhi, Sage, 1983. xv, 208 p. Rs. 125.00.

Provides an over-view of India's economic growth and changes over a thirty year period. The author breaks new ground by linking economic growth with productivity, using alternative measures to explain the relatively slow rate of growth in Indian economy.

Ray, Renuka, My Reminiscences. Social Development during the Gandhian Era and After. Delhi, Allied, 1982. ix, 294 p. Rs. 60.00.

An autobiographical Statement in which the threads of public and private life are woven together by the author who besides being an early Gandhian nationalist and a noted politician has been a devoted social worker.

Sethna, A.M. and Katju, V. Traditions of a Regiment. Delhi, Lancers 1983. xiv, 243 p. Rs. 150.00.

Traces the traditions and customs of the oldest rifle regiments of the army—The Rajputana Rifles and provides an insight into the moulding of its officers and men.

Suntharalingam, R. Indian Nationalism: An Historical Analysis. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. viii, 471 p. Rs. 150.00.

While tracing the history of Indian nationalism from the 19th century till 1947, the book addresses itself to the equally important need questions of interpretation like conceptualisation of nationalism.

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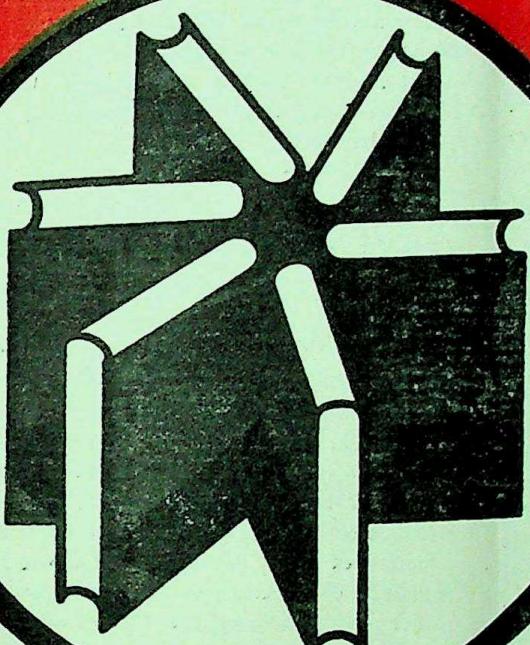
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Bonded Labour in India

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Rs 11

Indian Book Chronicle

News & Reviews

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EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH	

Bonded Labour in India

History knows various forms of suppression of the helpless and the weak. In various countries, in the past, there are examples of groups and individuals who have been persecuted dispossessed and deprived. These were the Helots, serfs, slaves and bonded labourers. In many cases entire civilisations whose achievements we are never tired of lauding, were made possible by the availability of slave labour.

In the middle ages serfdom or agrestic slavery was an essential constituent of the feudal socio-economic structure. In India bonded labour are largely land-bound serfs who have survived even though feudalism has been formally abolished. Although the existence of bonded labour has been noticed by sociologists and economists in various parts of India and the oppressive structure has been described in parts, the data generated by this study* is the first attempt to comprehend the problem at the all-India level. The study was undertaken by the Gandhi Peace Foundation with the collaboration of the National Labour Institute. The funds for the survey were made available by 'Bread of the World' of the Evangelical Church of Germany.

MECHANICS OF SURVEY

The survey was conducted by a research team led by Dr. Sarma Marla, a sociologist. Ten states were covered by the survey. These were Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh. Other states were left out as in them either bonded labour was absent or its incidence was negligible. In each state, there were one or more Co-ordinators who supervised the survey work. A random sample of 1,000 villages was drawn from a total of 4.5 lakhs of villages in the ten states. These were distributed over 295 districts in ten states. In each village 20% of the bonded labourers were interviewed. Some general socio-economic data from the village was also collected. On the basis of this sample the number of bonded labourers in each district was computed, and areas of concentration were identified.

According to the survey projection there were over 26 lakhs of bonded labourers in the country. When the interim report of the survey was published this figure was disputed by the state governments and the Planning Commission. It was contended that the incidence of bonded labour is not even in different parts of the same state and the statistical projection is bound to present an exaggerated view of the problem. However now that the methodology of the survey has been brought out in full, the projection does not seem to be far from reality.

This is more so since the complexity of social structure makes difficult the identification of the bonded labourer. Bonded labourers live in a state of terror and do not possess enough courage to admit their status for fear of being taken to task by their masters. The investigator approached the problem of being bonded through the incidence of debt. He avoided mentioning the local term for bonded labour till the residents themselves spoke about the bonded labour in the village. Moreover in the village the bonded labour status of certain persons is known to people at large.

*Sarma Marla, *Bonded Labour in India*, Biblica Impex, New Delhi, 1981,
Rs. 85.00

STRANGLEHOLD OF MONEY

In each state the survey identified certain districts, each of which had forty thousand bonded labourers. These could be categorised as bonded labour districts in the country. Orissa had eight such districts and Uttar Pradesh had seven. Small peasants, share croppers and agricultural labourers are generally the victims of this oppressive system. On account of their disability to offer securities, such persons had to enter into bonded labour contract with moneylenders-cum-farmers in rural areas who are in search of cheap labour force. The debtor is in immediate need of money and this is provided by the moneylender without any security. In fact, repeated loans are welcomed by the moneylender, since his stranglehold on the debtor is reinforced. The contract is between two unequal parties in which the moneylender has a stronger say. The main interest of the moneylender is to secure cheap labour on a long term basis. The bonded labourer is also ensured near-continuous employment even though payment is meagre and conditions of work highly oppressive. In this bargain the first casualty is the debtor's freedom of movement and action.

Over 86% of the bonded labourers are drawn from the Harijans and the Adivasis. The rest belong to the pauperised section of the artisan castes. Indian religious tradition which enjoins the Sudras to serve the higher three castes lends social legitimisation to their economic exploitation. Over 97% of the bonded labourers are males. This is because the landlords needed cheap labour for hard work. Some of the women bonded labourer were also subjected to sexual exploitation. Nearly 60% of the bonded labourers are in the age group of 21 to 40 years. This is natural since the landlords prefer an age group which promises the best physical condition for maximum exploitation of labour. 26% of the bonded labourers are below the age of 20. They represent the worst forms of the social evil since it involves the child and youth in debt bondage.

The survey has brought out the fact that 70% of the bonded labourers have three or less children. This leads the author to conclude that the lower classes do have a functional concept of population control. He contends that neither does poverty result from a high number of children nor do a high number of children result from poverty. However, this conclusion is unwarranted unless the actual number of children born in each bonded labour family has been ascertained. It may be that there is a higher rate of infant mortality among them.

PERPETUATION OF BONDAGE

Nearly 20% bonded labourers did not take loan themselves. They landed up in that status through either inter-generational bondage, child bondage, loyalty bondage, bondage through land allotment and widow bondage. 13% of the bonded labourers have incurred a debt of more than Rs. 1,000. While 12% are in debt for amounts ranging between Rs. 1 and Rs. 100. 45% have loans from Rs. 101 to Rs. 1,000. It is interesting to note that 39% of the labourers interviewed did not know the amount of interest they have to pay, and 27% did not pay any interest at all. Only 7 to 8% of the bonded labourers pay an interest of more than 50%.

The moneylender is not so much interested in the rate of interest. The master's objective is to secure cheap labour force, which is the basis of the accumulation of wealth by him. The main interest of the master is the perpetuation of bondage rather than the redemption of debt. The all-India average tenure of a bonded labourer is 6.4 years. 6% of the bonded labourers have been in bondage for more than 20 years, while 35% are in bondage for only one year between 1975 and 1977. 25% of the respondents were forced into bondage due to economic pressures. Such was the condition to which a substantial section of the rural poor was driven. This was the period of the national emergency, of the abolition of bonded labour by legislation and of the much trumpeted measures for the uplift of the rural poor.

55% of the bonded labourers take loans for current domestic expenditure, since they belong to chronically deficit households. The common assumption that the bulk of the loans are taken for meeting social obligations and the cost of festivities and the ceremonies has been refuted. It is the gross inability to meet the three basic needs of food, shelter and clothing that drives labour into bondage. The wages fixed and actually paid to the labourer are so low that he can never repay the loan completely to free himself from bondage. The forfeiture of the right of movement and of seeking alternative employment is in fact a violation of human rights and should be viewed in this light.

The largest group of masters come from upper caste Hindus while 15% belong to the intermediate castes. 15% of the masters belong to scheduled castes and 13% to the scheduled tribes. This is a very recent phenomenon and shows how the emergent elite among the scheduled castes and tribes has no compunction against exploiting their own poor brethren. This new elite is the product of different development generated by the various steps taken by the state. In areas of high agricultural prosperity and in those in which out-migrants send remittances, there have been cases of labourers freeing themselves from bondage after clearing debt obligations. On the other hand there have been cases in which bonded labourers freed by the legislation of 1976 have reverted to their original status on account of absence of alternative employment or failure of government rehabilitation schemes.

This survey was confined to bondage in the agricultural sector. It does not include the bondage that persists in the form of informal tenancy in agriculture. Nor does it include the system of attached labour in which some of the rural poor are attached to rich farmers without any debt bondage. The study does not cover bondage in construction work and migrant labour employed in agriculture. In recent years there is much evidence of gross exploitation of migrant

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labour from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in Punjab and Tripura. There is also employment of bonded labour in stone quarries and brick kilns. There is need for a deep study of the problems of such labourers. There is also the need for freeing them from such bondage.

One of the main contribution of this study is the typology of bondage. The author identifies two ideal types which are found all over the country in one form or another. They may coexist in one region at the same time though they belong to different stages of the development of agricultural production. The two types are customary or additional bondage and modern bondage. The difference between the two types is determined by the quality of social relations between the debtor and the creditor, the stage of development of productive forces, the pattern of work to be performed in bonded labours and the purpose of the loan. In the former the relationship is personal and is characterised by paternalism which includes elements of dependence and obligation as well as compulsion and protection. In the latter the relationship is impersonal, more technical and short term. The landlord tries to extract as much work as possible without considering the consequences to the life of labourer. The former type leads to intergenerational bondage in which the services of a physically weak father are replaced by that of a son. The long term bondage is reinforced by repeated loans. Sometimes the master allots a small plot of land to the labourer which he cultivates as a share cropper. Sometimes after the death of a husband the widow

takes loan to perform the death rites. This results in her bondage which continues for the entire life.

The Government of India in the Ministry of Labour appointed a Committee on bonded labour which surveyed the problem and came up with a number of suggestions to mitigate it. It stressed the point that there should not a long gap between identification, liberation and rehabilitation. Adequate funds should be made available for the rehabilitation of bonded labour. Effective schemes should be devised for rehabilitation. Unless this is done there is great danger that liberated labourers might relapse into bondage and government action would lose its credibility. However this programme does not seem to receive as much attention as it deserves. This study recommends among other things an intensified campaign for making bonded labourers aware of legislation about abolition of the system, liquidation of rural debts and the minimum wages prescribed by the Government in the area. Steps should also be taken for the organisation of agricultural and bonded labourers. Care should however be taken that the government should not raise people's aspirations to a level that it is impossible for it to satisfy. The most important task is to provide alternative employment, new sources of income and credit facilities for the indigent and liberated labourers.

I write as a student of cultural anthropology: to that extent I write as an outsider; but for a book like this one the outsiders' views should be as relevant as the insiders'.

SOURCES OF TENSION

What struck me as most interesting and worthwhile about this book is the author's explicit recognition of a tension between his cultural identity as a north Indian Hindu and his professional identity as a Western-trained psychoanalyst. He recognizes his two (opposed) selves but he also affirms the desirability and the possibility of a dialogue between them. Though the Indian traditions do not, according to Kakar, recognize the kind of introspection and analysis which lie at the root of psychoanalysis, he does consider these teachable. As for himself (and psychoanalysts like himself), he says that the "boundary spaces between cultures are not necessarily bad places to live in" (p. 9). Hence his characterization of his book as having its theoretical underpinnings derived from a psychology of the human mind that originated in the West (implying a universalistic psychological approach) and, at the same time, being purely Indian in its aesthetic inspiration (implying a cultural particularism).

I am sure some readers will say that Kakar is evading the issue, and that he is unwilling to examine the fundamentals of the two positions. For me the thing to note is that he recognizes the existence of "the opposed self", and with it the notion of a *negotiated* version of what constitutes the social reality. This is a book about such *negotiations*. Not that the negotiations, or the dialogues, and the translation from one idiom to another is easy; but, Kakar affirms, it is possible. He writes: "An awareness of the relativity of all healing approaches, together with a recognition of the universality of their concerns helped me in lessening the imaginative leap required to understand the 'mysteries' of this other world" (p. 271).

The book has, then, a descriptive and a comparative intent: how are mental disorders perceived in India; how may these perceptions be translated into the language of

The Healing Tradition of India

Sudhir Kakar

Shamans, Mystics and Doctors: A Psychological Inquiry into India and its Healing

Traditions.

pp. x+306, Oxford University Press, 1982, Rs. 125.00

Reviewed by T.N. Madan

The present book on India's healing traditions by a practising psychoanalyst is bound to attract wide attention. Kakar's fellow psychoanalysts will, of course, judge

his work from a perspective which they may or may not share with him, and I for one will look forward to the discussion this book should generate in scholarly circles.

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psychoanalysis. From such an exercise, what elements of an Indian cultural psychology may be constructed.

THE INDIAN REPORTORY

The author introduces the reader to the healing work of a Muslim *Pir* (wise elder), and the healing process in a Hindu temple. The *Pir's* demonology, Kakar finds, is more readily translated into a modern psychoanalytical idiom than are the spirit possession and exorcism rituals in the temple, which seem to follow radically different principles of therapy: they emphasize not the autonomy of the oppressed patient but the ending of his alienation from his social and cosmic matrixes. I would like to comment here that the drawing of contrasts is also a kind of translation. The author moves on to consider a tribal shaman (who works through himself becoming possessed) and a Buddhist lama to wind up his discussion of shamans.

We are next introduced to mystics: the spiritual leader of the Radha Saomi sect whose members pursue the "path of the saints" for total well-being through total surrender; tantrics and their kind of

psychotherapy which Kakar finds "most congenial"; and a woman mystic who combines elements of traditional and modern systems of healing in a manner which the author finds most unsatisfactory. He would much rather like the traditional healer to rely on his own idiom than seek the support of modern physicians and therapists. Finally, there is a detailed discussion of the cultural and theoretical aspects of ayurveda and of the principles and practice of a traditional "mental health" specialist.

The range of traditions and the type of specialists covered is comprehensive, though I must say that I missed the astrologer and his repertoire of *upayas* (preventive actions). Drawing together the threads of the discussion, Kakar concludes: "The Indian emphasis has been on the pursuit of an inner differentiation while keeping the outer world constant. In contrast, the notion of freedom in the West is related to an increase in the potential for acting in the outer world and enlarging the sphere of choices, while keeping the inner state constant to that of a rational, waking consciousness from which other modes of inner experience have been excluded as deviations" (p. 272). Apart from the

basic yogic perspective, mentioned in the sentence just quoted, Kakar also draws attention to the distinctively Indian ideals of mental health and the therapeutic strategies employed to that end. Let it not be said, as it often is, that mental health/illness is not a matter of central concern in Indian culture and traditions.

Kakar calls his book a personal intellectual journey. If some readers think that he oversimplifies complex situations, and that reality is never as neat as he makes it out to be, no one would perhaps deny that he is quite explicit in stating his point of departure and the implications of the same. If some others readers think that he is over-concerned with repressed sexuality and dreams, he could hardly be faulted for not indicating his interest in these phenomena from the heuristic point of view. In short, I find Kakar's book marked by a refreshing intellectual integrity. And it is a pleasure to read it. His eye captures a great deal of the scene in fine detail and he has cultivated a literary style enriched by a puckish sense of humour, to match it.

T.N. Madan is Professor of Sociology at the Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi.

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Women in Rural India

Mumtaz Ali Khan and Noor Aysha
 Status of Rural Women in India
 pp. 225, Uppal, 1982, Rs. 75.00
 Reviewed by Masood Ali Khan

The celebration of 1975 as the International Women's Year has brought a rich crop of literature on Indian Women. The book under review is a scholarly effort of a husband and wife team, an empirical study carried out in Bangalore district villages in 1978. It aims to study the status of rural women in Karnataka with broad objectives like their educational, economic and social conditions and to assess the impact of social conditions and working of women as such. The authors have used different empirical techniques for collection of primary data like the interview-schedule, group discussions, etc. This primary data was analysed and quantified in a simple statistical form.

The authors highlight the educational condition of rural women and bring out issues like enrolment, drop outs, illiteracy, adult education, etc. The level of education, as was found by the author, as achieved by rural women was upto the elementary standard only. Drop-outs were noticed to an alarming extent. The attitude towards adult education among rural women is not encouraging and it was mainly the cultural constraints that were responsible for not making it popular among women folk. The authors come out with the finding that rural women have great desire for the education of their children. The bulk of them favour however primary education for girls and higher education for boys.

RURAL WOMEN

The authors of this book have also taken into account a major theme like the economic condition of rural women with respect to their employment, occupation, domestic work, etc. Rural women work in different forms of employment. Some are employed on a full time basis while others are self-employed. In the later form of employment, they work in beedi work, basket

making and so on. They mainly work on daily wage basis which is the prevalent form of work for agriculture labour. Cultural values would not allow domestic women to undertake certain types of work. The authors have also touched upon the reasons for the employment of women and their working problems. Women work mostly due to the insufficient income of their husbands. Amongst the problems they face are the problems of heavy load of work along with insecurity of service and insufficient and irregular payment in wages. Unionisation is almost absent so that women can hardly fight for their grievances.

The authors Statistically Evaluate participation of rural women in social organization and point out the ignorance of the majority of rural women about the existence of social organizations like cooperative banks, village panchayats, Mahila Mandals, Primary Health Centres and schools. It is interesting to note that the authors compare Hindu, Christian and Muslim woman at every stage, revealing their low profile in the existing social structure of rural India. In fact, the problems pertaining to women of all communities are identical. The concept of studying rural women on a sectarian level is not much convincing. It would have been better if rural women could have been studied on the basis of caste or class instead of religious groups.

The authors talk of social legislation like Hindu Marriage Act, and other lofty ideals framed by the Government to uplift the status of women like the Hindu Succession Act. A correct perception of these social legislations among average literate urban women may not be significant. It is futile to expect any awareness among rural women about these lofty ideals.

The authors, in conclusion, lament the lack of interest among rural

women in utilising available opportunities in the matter of education, and express concern over massive drop-outs and the deplorable educational condition of scheduled caste women. The utter negligence of rural areas in the spread of education by voluntary agencies is commented upon. One of the findings in this study is that rural women have to shoulder double responsibilities: looking after domestic activities and sharing the economic activities of their husbands in order to augment the income of the family (p. 208).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Finally the authors list a long list of recommendations for the emancipation of rural women like making education compulsory, and improving the economic condition of rural women; active participation in social organizations; expansion of Mahila Mandal activities to cover all sections of women in its fold.

The authors strongly suggest that voluntary agencies like Christian Missionaries, Sri Ramakrishna Mission, etc., should be actively involved in improving the status of Christian and Hindu women. But they are silent about which voluntary agency should undertake to improve the condition of Muslim women? The authors sum up that the socio-psychological constraints like fear, suspicion, social distance, prejudice should be kept in mind while promoting the interest of women of all categories. Different techniques suited to the socio-economic and cultural development of rural women should be employed. The authors have avoided the use of complicated statistical jargon in analysing their data. The authors have not touched upon the political aspect specially with regard to political participation of women in rural politics. In the present democratic setup, she has been given a right of vote and can contest elections for all local, regional and national bodies. The authors have omitted this significant aspect which is one of the indicators in reckoning the status of rural women in the present political setup.

The authors deserve a token of appreciation for their efforts in

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contributing some knowledge to sociological literature for improving the status of rural women. The cost of the book denies an opportunity

to the individual buyer.

Masood Ali Khan is Director of the Southern Regional Centre, ICSSR, Hyderabad.

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deals with the political and economic rights of women in relation to their political participation after independence. This section has four articles.

THE SETTING

Gail Minault, the editor and contributor of another article too, provides the setting to the book by bringing out in summary form, the different roles the woman plays during her life span. These roles vary from bringing alliance (by marriage) to being a dutiful wife, a nurturing but punishing mother, guarding and managing the family property and even influencing the fortune of the family. The multiplicity of her role in an extended family got extended to the political realm too. "She was a commodity of exchange and a vehicle for propagating the line, but she also developed into an individual whose decisions could influence the career of the lineage, its marital and

Women & Political Participation

Minault Gail, Editor

The Extended Family—Women and Political Participation in India and Pakistan

pp. xiii + 304, Chanakya Publications, 1981, Rs. 90.00

Reviewed by M.K. Singh

When 'Vidhata' (The Almighty) created Eve, He definitely had some purpose or mission to be completed through her—something more than only the procreation of mankind. The drama of the world probably might have remained incomplete without her. Women who form approximately fifty per cent of every nation's population, thus, are destined to play a definite role in the world structure. The historical evidence all over the world speaks abundantly of the female influence in the social, economic and political sector. No movement can gain full impetus and achieve success without women participating in it.

Here one is reminded of an episode from history, a narration from the Ramayana. It is said that Rama, (after Sita was exiled the second time) was not permitted to perform a 'Yajna'. Since without a wife (Aradhagni) 'Yajna' could not be considered complete, he had to have an idol of Sita next to him before he was permitted to perform 'Yajna'. This brings out the role of women in bringing completeness in the religious realm. Similarly, history is full of evidence indicating how, where and when, women played a dominating role in the political realm. The social realm, of course, is identified with woman itself.

The work, under review, is an effort to analyse participation of women in Indian and Pakistan politics, in its historical perspective. The book has been divided into three sections. The first section is the beginning of the feminine story; it revolves around the multifarious roles of women in the familial sphere and the initiation of female involvement into public activities. The section has two articles. The

second section deals with the participation of Indian women in the freedom movement and their legitimacy to do so. The question namely 'The right of participation' has been taken up by providing the framework of women's rights movements and the three problems identified for this have been Child-marriage, Purdah and Legal Rights. This section has five scholarly articles. The third and the final section

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political alliances, its material prosperity, its moral and ritual status" (p. 5).

The use of the concept of 'The Extended Family' as a metaphor is most appropriate to the study; it vividly projects the opening up or extension of the women's realm from the home to the wider world. Discussing the ideologies, namely radical and liberal, the writer further justifies the title/metaphor used by her by giving the views of the national leader Gandhi saying that Gandhiji was always mobilising women to participate in political activities but "interpreted women's political participation as an extension of traditional roles as well".

Similarly, the most active women of the time, Sarojini Naidu and Abadi Banu Begum or Bi-Amman (the name by which she is well-known in the field) also considered this role as an extension of her household role only (p. 11). On the question of metaphor the editor touches the other dimensions of womanly role by using different analogies till the reader gets fully convinced with the concluding remarks of the writer, "The extended family is also a useful metaphor for the historian seeking to analyze the many dimensions of Indian women's political participation" (p. 15). And with this convincing setting, the story of woman's rights and her participation in political culture moves on.

THEMATIC FLOW

Throughout the book, the reader is fascinated by the thematic flow, smooth progress and different parts of the story getting properly fitted in the scheme of the things. This happens in spite of the fact that each article has been contributed by a different scholar who probably belongs to a different discipline, having a different approach to the subject matter and also the fact that the editor does not want to hinder the individual approach of the scholar in any way. "...I made no attempt to control the contents of these articles. There is certainly no attempt at ideological or methodological uniformity." (p. VI). The thematic harmony definitely elevates the book in its own way.

For instance, most of the articles have selected the same problems—Child-marriage, Purdah and Legal Rights of women and built around it a study of their participation at the social level, extending it to the political realm. G. Forbes studies the congruency of feminism and nationalism with the above approach. He quotes the example of Japanese and Chinese women and declares that India is an exception where the Women's Rights and Movement fits in with the nationalist movement.

Gail Minault in her article "Sisterhood or Separation? The All-India Muslim Ladies Conference and Nationalist Movement" again brings out the complementary aspect of women's rights and national emancipation. Here the minority group—the Muslim ladies—have been taken as the framework to establish the thesis. The contribution of the three British women namely Eleanor Ruthbone, Margaret Gillespie Cousins and Agatha Harrison in the article "Catalysts or Helpers? British Feminists, Indian Women's Rights and Indian Independence" by Barbara N Ramusack, has been brought out, emphasizing the awakening aspect of the issue.

The four articles given in Section Three continue spinning the thread of the same theme and analyse the situation in contemporary India. Shahida Lateef emphasizes the fact that although to obtain legislative equality by women became easier due to the nationalist movement, the real war for women's rights continues; it needs structural changes in the system, a new ideology needs to be infused among the members of the society and the composition of the Women Movement needs to undergo a change in order to achieve the goal. Here the reader pauses to think of the reality of the situation and one wonders to what extent Indian rural women have been given the so-called legal rights in the contemporary period in the Real sense.

STORY OF MOVEMENTS

The present work can be considered a narration of the history of different Women's Associations. To name a few, for instance, Social Reforms Movements in

Andhra, Women's Indian Association (WIA), All India Women's Conference (AIWC), All India Muslim Ladies Conference (AIMLC), Women's International League, Gujarat Hindu Stree Mandal, Bombay Presidency Women's Council, Maharashtra Rajya Shramik Mahila Samiti and Samajvadi Mahila Sabha, etc., are some of the Associations which have been described in detail. Probably it was inevitably necessary to discuss all the Associations to discuss effectively the struggle of Indian Women for their rights, yet the reader does get the feeling of having a little overdose so far as the historical aspect is concerned. All the same, a scholar wanting to do research on Women's Movement can immensely benefit from the present work.

No doubt the story of Indian Women and their struggle for rights has been told and retold many times, each scholar focussing on it from a different perspective but the interdisciplinary approach to the subject as adopted here lends a uniqueness to the work. From this angle, this book is definitely an addition to the literature on Indian Women and their movement for their rights.

Secondly, in spite of the heavy bias towards history and only an occasional reference to sociological perspective, many sociological questions can be raised opening up the field for new research. For instance, remarks like, "As the Nationalist Movement gradually broadened its base of support, it mobilized members of urban lower castes and the middle peasantry, and women. Women of all social groups could be mobilized for a mass demonstration, but these women who were the most active in the Indian women's movement and in nationalism were still drawn from a narrow social base" (p. 14).

A question confronts the reader—did Indian women's movement ever become a mass movement? If at all the answer is yes, then at what stage, to what extent and so on? Similarly, a remark like "Social reform is for the benefit of the upper classes" poses a question. Was it indeed so? Have some changes occurred in the contemporary period and to what extent? These

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and some such other questions need thorough investigation to give completion to the Indian Women's Movement.

A list of contributors given in the beginning of the book is an interesting feature. A close look at it reveals that out of the eleven contributors, nine are women, and the editor is a woman too. Maybe it is a coincidence! But one is prone to think that identification with the

problems of women and reaching to the depth of it, can best be done by women only. The proof of this is readily available in the text itself. The book indeed is a major contribution delineating the historical features of the struggle of women for their rights.

M.K. Singh lecturers in Sociology at the University of Poona.

Rural Poverty & Agrarian Reform

Steve Jones, P.C. Joshi and Miguel Murmis, Editors

Rural Poverty and Agrarian Reform

pp. xxi+384, Allied, 1982, Rs. 170.00

Reviewed by Jandhyala B.G. Tilak

In many developing countries of the world, green revolution and similar other strategies have been regarded as 'successful'. Agricultural production registered a significant growth in the last couple of decades. Food production has increased at a faster rate than population in most developing countries, resulting in a significant increase in the production per capita. For example, in Asian and Latin American countries food production per head rose by 5.0% to 10.0%.

PARADOX

Paradoxically this growth in agricultural production has not resulted in either reducing the proportion of workforce in agriculture significantly nor—more importantly—has it reduced the incidence of poverty. Still, in many developing countries nearly three-fourths of the population live in rural areas. About two-thirds of the population in developing countries are poor and four-fifths of the poor live in rural areas. Agriculture is the principal occupation for four-fifths of the rural poor. The number of *absolutely poor* people in the developing world showed an increase from 600 million to 650 million during the last couple of decades and it is estimated that in all probability, the number will increase to 689 million by the end of the century.

Thus, in short, after 'decades of

development', the real incomes of farmers has either stagnated or declined increasing the number of people below the poverty line; the distribution of rural incomes has become more unequal; and the rural-urban differentials have significantly increased. Such a paradoxical situation leads one to doubt and question the very 'developmental' strategies. The perplexing question is: why is growth not followed by distribution, as expected? As P.C. Joshi in an article on rural India (in the volume) rightly observes, "poverty and growth within an inequitable social framework are two sides of the same coin" (p. 74).

The fifteen papers in the volume under review help us a lot in understanding this paradox. This rich volume is a result of a conference on 'Basic Needs, Appropriate Technology and Agrarian Reform' held in 1979 in Dacca and Calcutta organised by ENDA (Environment and Development in the Third World), in which about 30 academicians,

micians, planners and development workers from Asia, Latin America, Africa and Europe participated. The present volume includes studies on the problems relating to more than 14 countries, including India, China, Bangladesh, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Cuba, USSR, Tanzania, Algeria, Iraq, Mexico, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, etc. The contributors include—to name a few—Henry Bernstein, Mehabub Hossain, Steve Jones, P.C. Joshi, David Lehmann and Peter Nolan. Unlike many conference/seminar volumes, the present volume contains papers of even and high quality. At the same time, it is not an easy task for the reviewer to review all the papers satisfactorily in a short review of this kind. But fortunately the many papers in the volume help in attempting some kind of a synthesis of experiences of successes and failures. That is what is attempted in the following paragraphs.

COMMERCIALISATION

To start with, the success or the failure of the growth strategies can be explained as follows. In Asian countries like India the uneven distribution of land resources allowed only the rich farmers to adopt the capital-intensive growth methods in agriculture and at the same time made the traditional methods of production followed by poor and marginal farmers relative unprofitable: thereby the poor became poorer. The commercialisation of agriculture in Latin American countries like Ecuador also produced similar results against the interests of the poor farmers. One of the reasons for this, as the evidence from the Mexican study suggests, is that concentration has been on techniques that require the intensive

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use of purchased inputs, mechanisation and irrigation techniques that are not widespread in peasant agriculture" (p. 219). "Mass poverty is thus the consequence of the very process of structural change in agriculture which destabilised the small peasant sector on a vast scale" (p. 73).

Many a paper in the volume also asserts that given the initial conditions of inequality in the society, the twin goals of alleviation of rural poverty and agricultural growth cannot be fulfilled, as acquisition of wealth breeds in poverty; and hence almost all papers highlighted the importance of agrarian reforms. It is also however noted that agrarian reform is not an easy rural policy for any government or political party to pursue, since it is overridingly a socio-political process'.

Many authors in this study clearly felt that agrarian reform is not a technocratic nor a legal-administrative programme. For example, in India, agrarian reforms are not a remarkable success as they are viewed as a 'top-down bureaucratic process'. The authors also clearly note that agrarian reforms, both in market and socialist economies are a 'continuing process' and the duration of this process depends upon the 'strength' of the government: the stronger the government, the less is the duration of this process. However in no case is it a one-time event.

VARIETIES OF REFORM

Agrarian reforms, as some of the papers rightly reveal, are of different varieties, such as capitalist and socialist reforms. The agrarian reforms in Cuba and China are socialistic in nature, aiming at the socialised ownership of land, while the reforms in Japan and South Korea are of a peasant capitalist type. But almost all reforms, including revolutionary reforms, are 'revolutionary' in nature and pattern of growth.

Some country experiences such as those of Algeria, Sri Lanka and Thailand outline the role the peasants' unions can play in seeing that agrarian reforms benefit the rural masses. In fact, the experience

of Thailand further shows how students' unions, one of the most politically and socially powerful and vocal groups in any country of the world, and groups of intellectuals, can help the poor peasants in their struggle for better standards of living and more importantly in their struggle for more 'power to control decisions affecting their livelihood' (p. 33).

The volume also contains some very interesting historical accounts of peasants, movements in India, Peru, Sri Lanka and Thailand—how the governments tried to suppress them and how they succeeded or

failed. These accounts do provide valuable insights into the movements and related conflicting issues and the consequences of attempts to suppress such movements.

To conclude, *Rural Poverty and Agrarian Reform* is indeed a rich and scholarly volume which would be of immense use to students of comparative studies in agrarian development, besides of course policy makers.

Jandhyala B.G. Tilak is Fellow at the National Institute of Educational Planning & Administration, New Delhi.

Folklore of Nepal

M.M. Sharma

Folklore of Nepal

pp. 216, Vision Books, 1982, Rs. 80.00

Reviewed by Tribhuvan Nath

As a collection of seventy Nepalese folk-tales, including a few songs, this book offers a varied and rather out-of-the-way fare to English-knowing Indians interested in Nepal. One may have heard a few of them visiting various places in Nepal. Some even find mention in Daniel Wright's "History of Nepal" (1877). But nowhere are they to be found in such detail as in this volume.

Woven around mysterious black magic, myths, mythology, fairy-tales and ghost stories, the folk-tales have a wealth of imaginative quality which is perhaps missing in the folklore of the plains. They also unfold the impact of Tantric Buddhism with its mysterious religious rites including human and animal sacrifices. They are welcome in a book form even as antiquated art-specimens are welcome in a museum. They seem to belong to a period of time when people had an abundance of leisure, the pace of life was slow and those that narrated or heard these yarns were simple, credulous folk of village societies.

The collection represents only a fragment of the vast storehouse of folk-tales and songs of the Nepalese people. The author, an Indian Gorkha Army brigadier, acknowledges that the jawans of 5/8

Gorkhas were the main source of his account. He had them published as he felt "many Indians are ignorant of the Nepalese and their beautiful country". Introducing his collections, he insists it is meant "to bridge the wide gap that exists between the minds of the people and to provide the means of welding together bonds of deeper human understanding".

FICTION : PURE & UNFILED

The stuff offered here is fiction, pure and undefiled. It's a pleasant surprise to find that the book has run into a second edition within four years though Rs. 80/- appears to be rather a fancy price to pay for a book of pure fantasy. Possibly, production-costs went up on account of the art sketches on its pages.

The choice of fable and song testify to the author's aesthetic taste. The translation would have better succeeded in recapturing the moods of the themes provided a richer vocabulary had been utilised by the author. Sharma's opening note on the "Country and the People" is jarring to credibility.

When he writes (p. 1), "Nepal is the only country where the Yeti has been sighted", he is exaggerating

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the published accounts of the footprints of the "abominable snowman" who has never yet been seen by any mountain climber.

To say that all the "Nepalese have now come to be called Gorkhas" (p. 11) is to forget what Radio Nepal repeats night and day, "We are Nepalese first".

It is too simplistic to attribute the dissolution of the Nepalese parliament (1960) "to frequent wrangles between the Newar and Gorkha members" (p. 12). When the author writes on the same page that nineteen members of the Rashtriya Panchayat are "elected by trade unions", he is not precise about the constituency he wants to identify. It used to be under the 1962 Panchayat Constitution (subsequently amended four times) a constituency to represent six "class organisations".

Sharma writes "There are a number of different languages spoken in Nepali, many of which do not appear to have even a remote resemblance with each other... (sic). Had he referred to a copy of Nepal's Census report, he could have formed a correct idea of the total number of its dialects.

Incidentally, King Birendra's grandfather was not "Maharaja" as the author notes (p. 12) but a "Maharajadhiraja".

On page 11 the author notes "The earliest known rulers of Nepal were Kiratis who were residents of north west India prior to the influx of Indo-Aryans. History records that there were twenty kirat dynasties that ruled Nepal for ten thousand years." (Even Wright does not mention the rulers by name for there is no record of these dynasties.) What's amazing is that two pages later, Sharma writes, "The Kirats and Nagas belonged to pre-history." Such discrepancies are not expected in a standard work since they leave the reader perplexed.

It is difficult to digest the author's observation (p. 19) "The Newars eat beef" when one is aware that cow-slaughter is banned in Nepal.

The "glossary" of Nepalese words and their English equivalents is also "select Nepalese Proverbs" very welcome. The folk-songs are enjoyable.

The pages are adorned with artistic sketches that speak of the

author's refined taste. However, the Narsimha on the cover... (it is repeated in pairs beside each chapter heading) appears a pale copy of the original. The Narsimha design is a familiar sight on the temple structures of Nepal. It is a wooden carving on a column meant to serve as a bracket. According to The "Nepalese Art" (Department of Archaeology, HMG Nepal, 1966, p. 30) "The corner struts exhibit a roaring lion (Narsimha), as Atlantes, supporting the load of the superstructure" (of the temple).

The major part of such carvings are covered by a figure of divinity

while the "lower part contains an erotic figure of mundane character". The erotic lower half is missing from Sharma's title cover when it is prominently displayed in the original carvings. According to popular belief, such figures of divinities serve to proclaim a "mystic symbolism" and their presence in temple structures is meant to provide a "protective charm against the visitation of calamities like lightning".

Tribhuvan Nath represented the Times of India in Nepal for some time and now works for the paper in Chandigarh.

The Education Commission and After

J.P. Naik

The Education Commission and After

pp. 258, Allied, 1982, Rs. 120.00

Reviewed by Amrik Singh

This is an important as well as an interesting book. While the preface was written on July 31, 1979 the internal evidence from the book indicates that the book was written in the period 1978-79.

The Indian Institute of Education, Poona, decided in 1976 to take up a research project on Development of Education in India (1981-2000). The project consists of 15 studies, each of which will deal with a different aspect of the educational situation in the country. This particular book is the first in the series and deals with the situation that obtained in the educational sector between the submission of the Report of the Education Commission and the coming to power of the Janata Government. According to J.P. Naik, the situation changed after that. This was said in 1978-79. In retrospect, it can be seen that the situation hardly changed. But then, this, in a sense, is the unspoken theme of the book.

The book begins with an account of how the Education Commission came to be appointed in 1964. According to J.P. Naik, no Education Commission appointed before it had looked at the problems of Indian education in a comprehensive manner, nor had any

Commission even attempted to evolve a national system of education. The definition given by J.P. Naik deserves to be quoted. According to him, the national system of education should emphasise education of the people, i.e., liquidation of illiteracy and universalisation of elementary education. As a corollary to it, the over-dominant, imperialist position of the English language has to go.

In the main recommendations of the Education Commission, special attention was focussed on three things : (1) Transformation of the existing educational system, (2) improving standards of quality, and (3) expansion of educational facilities. These were the three objectives and each one of them was sought to be achieved by the Education Commission.

IMPLEMENTATION

Soon after the report was submitted, the Minister for Education set about the task of having the recommendations implemented more or less on the lines of what had happened earlier in respect of the Report of University Education Commission and the Secondary

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Education Commission. The problem arose from the fact that education was essentially a State subject. The Centre, till the 42nd Amendment was adopted in 1976, had no *locus standi* in the matter except in respect of higher education where its responsibility was to determine and coordinate standards. As a result of this infirmity in the constitutional set up, it was felt that a National Policy on Education be evolved.

While the report was submitted in 1976, it took almost two years for such a policy to be evolved. The mechanism for doing so consisted of various layers of consultation. There was the Central Advisory Board of Education which considered the Report. There was also a Conference of Vice-Chancellors. But the innovation made this time was that a Committee of Members of Parliament was appointed to process the Report and submit a draft to Parliament for approval.

According to J.P. Naik, three things went wrong at this stage and each one of them has a lesson for the future. One was the fact that this was the first ever occasion when persons belonging to all political parties sat at a round table to hammer out a blueprint for a national system of education. The experience turned out to be so unsatisfactory that never has this experiment been repeated again. The Ministry of Education, as J.P. Naik puts it, was bitten so badly by this experience that no such committee has been set up since. As an illustration of his argument, he refers to the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women. That was a kind of Report which could have gone to a Committee of Parliamentarians. It was never referred to such a Committee however because the earlier experience had been utterly negative.

The second thing that went wrong was that while politicians are constitutionally competent to decide about every issue on earth, the average politicians did not have an adequate "literacy in education". There was hardly any dialogue between politicians and educationists with the result that discussions in the Committee tended to be *ad hoc*

or desultory and were more in the nature of party wrangles than a national effort to evolve an agreed educational system.

As if all this was not enough, a catastrophic development took place. The Committee of Parliamentarians discussed the Report of the Education Commission as if it was the report of a Language Commission. In other words, most other recommendations of the Education Commission were ignored and mainly three issues were discussed. These related to Language, the Neighbourhood Schools and the 10+2+3 pattern. Each one of these issues proved controversial. As against 26 pages of the report submitted by the Members of Parliament, there were 23 pages consisting of Minutes of Dissent which had been written by various Members.

COMMITTEE OF M.P.'S

Three other things that the Committee of Parliamentarians chose to enlarge upon were equally significant. This Committee totally rejected the recommendation of the Education Commission regarding selective development of educational institutions. The Commission had recommended the creation of six major universities and the upgrading of 10% of the institutions at all levels to optimum standards. This was turned down and more or less as a corollary to it the Committee of Parliamentarians placed much greater emphasis on the expansion of facilities.

The fat was in the fire, as the term goes, and logically enough the third thing on which the Committee chose to assert itself was in turning down several recommendations of the Education Commission to create

new administrative structures or change existing ones. The emphasis of the Commission turned upside down in consequence. What happened later on more or less followed from this acute difference of opinion between what experts of the Education Commission had recommended and what the Committee of Members of Parliament had finally approved. The draft recommended by the Committee was placed before Parliament and finally adopted. Commenting on all this, J.P. Naik says in a telling paragraph:

Anyone following the public debates on the Report of the Commission at this time would have easily got the impression that the only recommendation of the Commission was to expand regional languages as media of instruction at all stages and that this one reform would create a national system of education to solve all our educational ills.

The overall thrust of the National Policy on Education was to make most recommendations non-specific, non-committal and as innocuous as possible. This was done so as to avoid controversy or shirk responsibility. Quite pertinently, J.P. Naik quotes the parallel example of Maharashtra State in which a non-meaning Education Minister tried to get an Education Act passed recommended by the Education Commission. Two of the proposals made in that Act were attacked by the Opposition. One was the attempt to regulate the expansion of college education and the other was to attempt the improvement of schools.

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on a selective basis. No wonder the Act was never adopted and the whole thing was talked out.

PESSIMISTIC CONCLUSIONS

Not unreasonably, J.P. Naik draws three pessimistic conclusions from this sequence of events. He says that (a) No political party in the country is committed to a radical reconstruction of education and for the creation of a national system of education; (b) it is only some individuals in different political parties that show a commitment to education; and (c) the talk of creating a national system of education and bringing about a radical reconstruction of education is by and large a populist slogan.

This is the heart of the book and anyone who wishes to understand where education stands in the country and what are the issues involved may read the first four chapters of the book and discover for himself what broadly speaking has been reproduced above. J.P. Naik however goes into further details and in two chapters deals with recommendations that attracted wide attention and in another chapter refers to the recommendations that were opposed and rejected. None of these items are unimportant but they certainly do not belong to that category which were discussed in the first instance. For instance, amongst the recommendations that attracted wide attention the following are illustrated:

1. Use of language as the media of instruction at the university stage.
2. Non-formal education.
3. Education for the people, i.e., elementary and adult education.
4. The Common School System.
5. Pattern (10+2+3 for school and college education).
6. Teachers' salary.

In respect of each one of these recommendations, J.P. Naik goes into details. Most of these details are useful and educative and anyone who is interested in higher education should read these chapters carefully. He is right in saying, for instance, that this Commission was one of the first in the entire world to have given considerable attention to the non-formal education.

Thinking on the subject has been evolving in other countries as well. India had the unique distinction of having led the way.

MAGNA CARTA OF TEACHERS

Out of these six recommendations, as one can see, the two that have been really acted upon are those at No. 5 & 6. The 10+2+3 pattern has been accepted in the entire country except for 3-4 States. These too are likely to follow suit in the years to come. As to teachers' salaries, the Report of the Education Commission was described by M.C. Chagla as a *Magna Carta* for teachers. This was a correct description and if the situation in this regard has improved noticeably it is largely because of the impetus given by the report.

In passing, J.P. Naik makes a telling remark also. He says "For instance, teachers picked up the recommendations regarding remuneration but without the precautions and safety valves which the Commission had imposed". This remark is made to illustrate the point that the Report required to be treated not as a set of recommendations but as a group of recommendations which were interlinked and were comprehensive in nature.

Two other remarks made by him in this behalf are also relevant to the contemporary situation. One of them reads "The size of the university and college system is now so large and the university and college teachers are now so well organised that they have a great political pull; and with the latest revision of their scales of pay, the recommendations of the Commission have been implemented almost *in toto*". The other remark is equally pertinent. He says "The Commission's hope that the improvement in the scales of pay will not be automatic and that it will be definitely linked to improvements in qualifications and selection procedures has not materialized".

Amongst the recommendations that were opposed and rejected, J.P. Naik lists the following:

1. New priorities in educational development.
2. Selective admissions at the higher secondary and university stages.

3. Major universities.
4. Selective improvement of schools.
5. Differential systems of grants-in-aid.

6. Administrative reforms including the creation, of an Indian Education Service.

7. Continuance of Education as a subject in the State List.

Not much need be said about these points except to refer to the fact that in 1976 Education was included in the Concurrent List. No follow up action has been taken since then. Constitutionally speaking, the Ministry of Education should have introduced fresh legislation assuming certain powers. That has not been done. Whether it is for lack of will or for lack of clarity of objectives cannot yet be ascertained. It looks as if there are elements of both these considerations at work.

SOCIETY & EDUCATION

In order to give the flavour of the book, it seems appropriate to quote from it *in extenso*. The following quotation speaks for itself:

One also cannot help feeling that the proposals of the Commission were not radical enough and did not address themselves to the fundamental weaknesses of the system which in their turn, are again related to the fundamental weaknesses in the society itself. Even if all the recommendations of the Commission were implemented, the basic contradictions and tensions within the system would still have remained. They can only be cured through a simultaneous attempt to alter the society and the system of higher education. This was of course not on the agenda. It is, therefore, hardly a matter of surprise if the crisis in higher education still continues: over-production of "educated" persons; increasing educated unemployment; weakening of student motivation; increasing unrest and indiscipline on the campuses; frequent collapse of administration; deterioration of standards; and above all, the demoralizing effect of the

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irrelevance and purposelessness of most of what is being done.

In order to understand this argument, it would be helpful to notice two other comments made by J.P. Naik while elucidating the connection between education and development. According to him, there are two basic weaknesses in the presentation of the Commission on this problem:

(a) The first is that its positive statements are far from adequate and even misleading. For instance, it speaks of national prosperity in which there would be growth in India's trade and commerce, more food for all, and better health. But a mere wish of this type has little meaning unless we say why India has remained poor and how its poverty can be eliminated. On this, the Commission had little to say. Its statement that "prosperity is within the reach of every nation which has determination, willingness to work hard and a stable and progressive government" is too naive. Its identification of national development only with increase in productivity, social and national integration, modernization and cultivation of moral, social and spiritual values is also unsatisfactory.

(b) The second basic weakness is that the Commission does not even refer to many crucial aspects of development. These include, at the universal level, the inequalitarian international economic order and the exploitation of the developing countries by the developed ones. At the national level they include the extremely skewed structure of property ownership; the arbitrary and inequalitarian wage-structure we have evolved; the social and cultural determinants of poverty; the large existing inequalities—social, economic, and political; exploitation; unemployment; concentration of most political, economic and knowledge power in the hands of a majority of haves and the marginalization of the vast masses of people who

are poor and deprived of most good things of life. These are the "basic problems" which, the Commission argued, will have to be "squarely faced and resolutely tackled". But unfortunately, they have not been highlighted in the Report of the Commission.

J.P. Naik is humble enough to assume responsibility in the personal sense for what was included in the Report of the Commission. The explanation given by him however is only part of the explanation. According to his statement, his own knowledge of development was very limited at that time. Indeed he says that he became "the Member-Secretary of the Indian Council of Social Science Research after I was the Member-Secretary of the Education Commission. I wish it had been the other way round". This is not going far enough. The fact of the matter is that as a whole the Education Commission failed to understand the intimate connection between social and economic development and educational reconstruction. It should not be necessary to analyse this any further because J.P. Naik has owned up responsibility in regard to the manner in which the Report was presented.

LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE

The whole thing has been put much more neatly in one of his last chapters entitled "Lessons for the Future". According to him, there are five lessons to be learnt.

(1) The Commission did not give a clear picture of "development", that is, of the future society we should strive to create in the country and the steps to be taken to create it. This exercise has therefore to be taken up afresh. In fact, it is essential to maintain a nation-wide debate on the subject in the years ahead.

(2) While the Commission did prepare a fairly good blueprint of the national system of education, its Report did not highlight the close links between education and society. Nor did it elucidate how the dialectical process of education leads, on the one hand, to a strengthening and perpetuation of the status quo and on the other hand, to social change and development. The proposals to

be framed in future for the creation of national system of education will therefore, have to be clearly justified with reference to the new society we desire to create.

(3) A very persistent effort needs to be made to educate all concerned to realize that a radical reconstruction of education and a socio-economic transformation have to go together. It is very often found that people believe that major educational changes can be brought about without attempting corresponding changes in society itself. Such illusions do a considerable harm and have to be dispelled.

(4) There is very little understanding about the price that society has to pay to create a national system of education. Not too infrequently, this price is highly underestimated. Very often, people believe that the price is essentially in terms of financial investment, say, six per cent of the national income. It is very essential to educate the people to realize that "money" is the least of all the different prices that society has to pay for creating a good educational system. Money no doubt is needed for educational reform; but money alone, whatever its quantum, can never achieve the goal. The more significant prices that society has to pay for education include the investment of "thought"; of dedication; of sustained hard work by teachers, students, education administrators and others; of course, to make hard and unpleasant decisions; and above all of a willingness to change the society itself.

(5) It needs also to be emphasized that every citizen and every social group is an actor, with his own unique role, in the national system of education. While therefore different individuals and social groups have their own unique roles to play in education, a national system of education cannot be created by any one individual or social group or even by some them working together. It can be created only when every individual and every social group plays his assigned role.

There are a number of other insightful observations scattered over the book. The best thing one can say to a would-be reader is Do read it if you are interested

education and if you are not interested in education, you are to be pitied for, as J.P. Naik says, "Every citizen and every social

group is an actor, with his or its own unique role, in the national system of education".

—EDITOR

Letter

Sir, I have only just read A.R. Sethi's review (August 16, 1982) of my book, *South Asian Civilizations: a Bibliographic Synthesis*. Since I note that you freely open your columns for authors' comments and rebuttals, I should like to avail myself of this and to offer some clarification of points the reviewer has made.

To begin with, I am very grateful to Sethi for his long and thoughtful evaluation of my book and for his kind and most positive reactions. While he has lucidly summarized the main points of my overall approach as stated in the Introduction, I should like to clarify one important point, and then to discuss some of what he calls "lapses".

Sethi appears to me to be misleading in his paragraph about the languages from which I drew my bibliographic entries. I had perforce to limit myself in some way lest the project get out of hand, and the first limit I chose was to Western languages, I felt that made sense since we were very strong in Western language materials on South Asia at the University of Chicago. While we do have small but significant collections in each of South Asia's two dozen major languages we could not begin to do the justice to the extant corpus of materials in these languages that they deserve. Clearly, solid bibliographical identification and organization of these materials must be done in the subcontinent itself where the works are available and where specialized language skills are easily available. I did not, as Sethi seems to imply, restrict myself to western languages "since the compilers believe that relatively little solid analytical work is published in South Asian languages" (emphasis mine).

Sethi failed to note, unfortunately, that this remark of mine immediately followed my observation

that "such social sciences as economics, politics and international relations are dominated by English materials" and that my words referred specifically and solely to those disciplines! Since my remark was not intended as a value judgment but rather as a statement of fact that he, I am sure, would actually concur in (given his experience with the social sciences at Jawaharlal Nehru University), I feel bad that he should have felt "hurt". I was at pains in my Introduction to refer to "the production of a wide variety of studies in regional languages, studies of substance and quality that must be recognized" and I further stated that "we can no longer be satisfied that we have covered all significant works if we restrict our coverage to the 'traditional' languages of serious western research, i.e., English, French and German". My own work with the treasure-house of Marathi materials for social and cultural history of Maharashtra made it painful for me to impose the limit of Western language materials, but limits were necessary. I eagerly look forward to the production in the subcontinent of bibliographies which will identify and carefully organize and classify the mass of materials that should be made accessible to research scholars.

A few words about my "lapses": Sethi criticizes me for excluding certain "significant" journals from my purview. One such, he suggests, was *Epigraphia India* [sic]. Apparently he missed the index reference to *Epigraphic Indica* (no. 00565, to be found on p. 99 of the text); I decided that this whole important serial had to be mentioned as one of the basic reference works for historical research and that it would have been fruitless to select articles from this voluminous and invaluable publication of the Archaeological Survey of India. *Purana* likewise does indeed appear as the source of

numerous articles (see for example, no. 01931-01933, and a large number of citations between no. 05745 and no. 05826); perhaps Sethi has mistaken my List of Abbreviations for a list of periodicals surveyed—it happens that I chose not to abbreviate the title *Purana*! I should remind Sethi that *Mahfil* changed its name to *Journal of South Asian Literature*, and as such he will find many references to it.

Since I was not indexing (Sethi's term) periodicals, I included only selected articles for certain subjects (as stated in the Introduction, p. xvi) for which I did not find full length monographic treatment. My principle, as developed further on p. xvi, was if possible to present titles of books rather than of articles, unless on a certain subject I could find only articles. I trust that should explain to Sethi why I did not use *Aryan Path*, etc.—the subjects dealt with in such journals have been on the whole fully covered in multitudes of books on religion and philosophy (my problem in these subjects was to keep the number of citations from getting out of control, and here as in other subjects, I had to make painful decisions as to inclusion and exclusion in order to maintain some semblance of balance among all sections of the book).

I am somewhat surprised that when Sethi finds "the utility of inclusion of (certain) journals... suspect" he includes in his list such a scholarly British journal as the *John Rylands Library Bulletin*, important British general magazines from the nineteenth century as *Fortnightly* and *Round Table*, the distinguished *Central Asiatic Journal* from Wiesbaden, and in particular the highly regarded Canadian quarterly *Pacific Affairs* (organ of the well-known Institute of Pacific Relations which played such an important role in reporting early Asian Relations conferences—a fact of which Sethi is surely aware) which is one of North America's leading outlets for significant social science articles on individual nations as well as on comparative topics pertaining to Asia and the Pacific.

Two more "lapses": Sethi suggests that I did not pursue any "periodical from the field of library science" thus "elbowing this subject

out of the pale of culture". Here again, he has been misled by the "List of Abbreviations" which he mistook for a list of periodicals surveyed. Let him look on p. no. 690, for example, for references to articles in *IASLIC Bulletin*, *Herald of Library Science*, and *International Library Review*. And for books on "Libraries and Information Services" at the national level for modern India let him look at the twenty-two titles presented on p. 451 (no. 16909-16930)—here I preferred fulllength books to articles. Other books on libraries in South Asia occur at the appropriate chronological or geographical place: no. 04510 and no. 04518 for the ancient period; no. 07646 and no. 07650 for the Mughal Maratha period; no. 18250-18254 for libraries in Pakistan. I trust this begins to show concern for libraries as important sociocultural institutions within the overall civilizational context.

I must assure Sethi that the important bibliographies whose "omission...is inexplicable" are all in my book. The *Bibliography of Asian Studies* is listed in the Author Index (individual, corporate, and title entries are included here as mentioned in the Introduction) and appear as no. 27645; *Asian Social Science Bibliography* (also in the index) actually appears twice: no. 00613 and no. 11983; *Documentation on Asia* (no. 11984); and N.N. Gidwani and K. Navalani's two-volume *Guide to Reference Materials on India* appears as no. 27639 under the heading "Bibliographies of Reference Works". As for my placement of reference materials, it should be clear from perusal of the Outline of Headings that I preferred to put reference works on specific topics, specific periods or specific places as the first part of main sections preceding the general materials on these topics, periods or places. That makes it easy for the scholar to locate reference work of the specificity he needs to research a topic. Other references obviously exist in the more general works listed in various parts of Part Five. This was my personal predilection; Sethi is of course entitled to his.

While I am more aware than most of the limitations of this book, and I am the first to find and admit errors,

I felt obliged to answer Sethi in considerable detail since the "lapses" and "aberrations" he pointed out could in fact be shown to be far fewer than he suggested in his review.

One other small matter: the University of Chicago's South Asia Collection goes back to the founding of the University in 1892, grew steadily over the years, and only after 1962 was greatly augmented by the Library of Congress' "PL 480" program of acquisitions.

Once again, I am delighted at Sethi's overall most positive review. And I have welcomed this opportunity to set the record

straight in regard to the faults sought to point out. Faults there must surely be, but perhaps I have convinced him that some he believed to exist, in fact do not.

In conclusion, I am pleased to report that the Oxford University Press in New Delhi has assumed exclusive distribution of my book in India and is able to keep the price to approximately Rs. 500. It is \$15 in the United States.

I wish to thank the *Indian Book Chronicle* for giving me space to argue" with my reviewer.

yours,
Maureen L.P. Patterson

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Arterburn, Yvonne J. *The Loom of Interdependence : Silkweaving Cooperatives in Kanchipuram*. Delhi, Hindustan Publishing Corp., 1982. xviii, 205 p. Price not given.

The everyday life of silk handloom weavers in the neighbourhoods and homes of Kanchipuram in India is painted as a backdrop to their successful fight for greater control of their work life through co-operatives.

Bond, Ruskin. *Tales and legends from India*. London, Julia MacRae Books, 1982. 153 p. £ 6.50.

Here are gods and demons, youngest sons and princes, intrepid princesses and cunning merchants, wise men, rogues and fools—a rich parade of characters to enthrall, in stories full of ancient wisdom and excitement. Notes at the end of the book provide valuable background material.

Dhawan, R.K., ed. *Explorations in Modern Indo-English Fiction*. Delhi, Bahri, 1982. vii, 256 p. Rs. 75.00.

Makes an intensive study of the works of the novelists who have helped in shaping modern Indian novel in English : Mulk Raj Anand, R.K. Narayan, Raja Rao, Manohar Malgaonkar, Bhabani Bhattacharya etc. etc.

Gupta, L.C. *Financial Ratios for Monitoring Corporate Sickness*.

Delhi, Oxford, 1983. xiv, 144 p. Rs. 70.00.

Presents a scientific approach evolving financial ratios to predict corporate sickness at a sufficiently early stage to reverse the process of economic degeneration by realignment of management policies and plans.

Karan Singh. *Heir Apparent : Autobiography*. Delhi, Oxford, 1982. xi, 171 p. Rs. 80.00.

Covers the first twenty two years of his life, deftly evoking the changing times and places in which he matured and the collapse of a feudal order. Politics apart, the volume brings alive aspects of several eminent figures like Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel, Lord Mountbatten and Jawaharlal Nehru.

Mathew, K.K. *Three Lectures*. Lucknow, Eastern Book Company, 1983. 58 p. Rs. 35.00.

Contains the Cochin University Public Law Lectures, 1979. The first law examines the reconciliation of traditional judicial function with judicial activism; the second explains how natural law helps evaluate positive law, and the third treats of topics like right to rebellion and the limits of obedience to superior orders.

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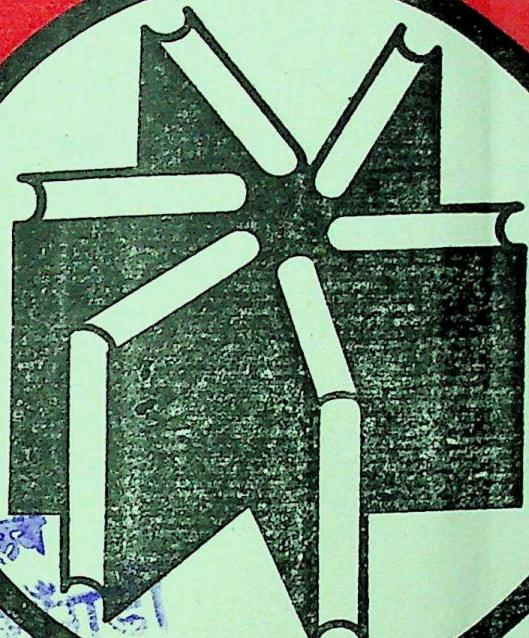
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NEWS AND REVIEWS



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प्राप्ति दिनांक 21-3-83

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Suresht Renjan Bald

Selected Works of Motilal Nehru: Volume One (1899-1918)

Urbanising Poor: A Sociological Study of Low-Income Migrant Communities in Delhi

New View Points on Nineteenth Century Bengal

Perspective on Agrarian Bengal

Lost Dimensions

The Language of Philosophy

Towards a Theory of Import Substitution Exchange Rates and Economic Development

Novelists and Political Consciousness

New Publications

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by G. Sundaram

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1983

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AGRICULTURAL PRICE POLICY IN INDIA

by Dr. A.S. Kahlon & Dr. D.S. Tyagi

viii+510 pp.

Rs. 150.00

1983

Agricultural price policy intervention has become a common component of economic management in both the developed and the developing countries. This work meets a long-felt need for a comprehensive analysis of agricultural price policy in the context of the situation of developing countries, with special reference to India. The authors have made liberal use of the relevant price theory to find solutions to the practical problems of the agricultural price policy. It is also the first book which discusses price analysis in the broader framework of price policy. It combines both the theoretical and practical aspects and makes an invaluable contribution to the subject. It will prove essential reading not only for academics but equally for planners, policy makers and government

CONTENTS : Preface; I. Agricultural Policy : Its Role and Functions; II. Basic Concepts in Agricultural Price Policy; III. Distinguishing Characteristics of Agricultural and Industrial Pricing; IV. Agricultural Supply Response Studies : Their Relevance to Price Policy; V. Agricultural Price Indices : Statistics, Sources and Limitations; VI. Analysis of Seasonal Variation in Prices; VII. Dynamics of Cost of Cultivation/Production; VIII. Price Determination; IX. Terms of Trade; X. Evolution of Agricultural Price Policy XI. Non-Price Instruments; XII. Efficient Market Structure and Price Policy; XIII. Management of Food Economy and Price Policy; Index.

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MAHATMA GANDHI

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by Chandra Kumar and Mohinder Puri

In this illustrated biography, which includes many extracts from Gandhi's own prolific writings, the authors have provided a study of one of the most influential figures of this century : as leader of the people, religious ascetic and statesman.

The Authors : Mr. Chandra Kumar is a member of the India Journalists' Association, Europe and is co-author of 'The Glory Of India'. Mr. Mohinder Puri is at present Chief Project Officer at the Commonwealth Secretariat. He is co-editor with Sir Alec Cairncross of *The Strategy of International Development and Employment, Income Distribution and Development Strategy—Essays in Honour of Hans Singer*, and has written a number of articles in the field of development economics.

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1982 (Published by William Heinemann, England)

19.5 cm. x 25.5 cm. 120 pp. Illus.
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Indian Book Chronicle

News & Reviews

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BOOKS REVIEWED

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An Outstanding Indian

By bringing out this beautifully produced and carefully edited first volume of the selected works of Motilal Nehru*, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has put all students of modern Indian history heavily in debt. It brings together a large collection of hitherto unpublished letters of Motilal (mainly to his son when he was at school and college in England, but also to other relatives and professional and political colleagues), publishes excerpts from the diary which he kept during his third visit to the U.K. in 1905, and reprints most of Motilal's political writings and speeches till 1918. The year chosen for the cut-off point for this volume is very appropriately 1918, when Motilal elected to remain in the Congress and move towards a more radical strategy of confrontation with the British Raj, while many of his erstwhile 'moderate' colleagues seceded to form the Liberal Federation.

BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

A forty-three page biographical essay by Ravinder Kumar serves as an excellent introduction to the documents. Although the documents themselves come up only to 1918, Kumar has covered his whole career till his death in 1931. He gives an analysis of the social milieu in which Motilal was born, and portrays the strength of character and intellectual achievement which enabled him to become, in less than twenty years, a leading lawyer in Allahabad, without having "little by way of inherited wealth, or the connections that usually went into the making of a successful legal career" (p. 11). The rest of the introduction surveys how experience of the provincial councils created under the Morley-Minto reforms gradually transformed Motilal from being a moderate Congressman to becoming an uncompromising critic of British rule, who joined forces with Gandhi after 1918.

The original writings gathered in this volume serve to illuminate four aspects of Motilal's career till 1918—a successful self-made westernised professional man of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, an affectionate father who nevertheless was ever watchful that his son learnt the importance of hard work and academic success, a Kashmiri Brahmin proud of his community and also of family ties, but never demanding any privilege that could not be earned by open competition, and a nationalist imbued with liberal and secular values.

In 1905 he was described as one of the richest alumni of Muir College in Allahabad (p. 97). He explained his own success on one occasion that year thus: "During the last 24 years I have been engaged in every First Appeal on the list. My absence from the High Court for any length of time does not make any difference in my practice. I am taken for a magician! To my mind it is simple enough. I want money, I work for it and I get it. There are many people who want it perhaps more than I do but they do not work and naturally enough do not get it." (p. 86).

He refused to do *prayaschitta* after his return from England, and

*Ravinder Kumar & D.N. Panigrahi, Editors, Selected Works of Motilal Nehru, Volume One (1899-1918), pp. xii+406, plates, Vikas, 1982, Rs. 95.00.

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EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH

March 16, 1983

defied a senior Kashmiri Brahmin lawyer thus: "I will not (come what may) indulge in the tom-foolery of *Praschit*. No, never—even if I die for it. I have been provoked and have been rudely dragged from my seclusion into public notice. But my enemies will find me a very hard nut to crack. I know what your *biradari* is and if necessary in self-defence I will ruthlessly and mercilessly lay bare the tottered fabric of its existence and tear it into the minutest possible shreds." (p. 53).

WESTERN EDUCATION

The high value he set on a western education is seen in his decision to send his only son for his last years of schooling and university education to England, even though the long separation from him was painful. At one point, when Jawaharlal was a bit dubious about the utility of it, the father wrote back, "I do not quite agree with the 'Hindu Ideal' School in this matter. I am convinced that it was the right thing for you to go to Harrow and that it is absolutely necessary for you to remain there for at least another year. I can see a vast difference already between you and the other boys now in England. It is difficult to describe it but it is there all the same. It partakes more of the Western than the Eastern ideal and therefore my friends of the 'Hindu Ideal' cannot see it. An Englishman will, I am sure, see it at once." (p. 109).

Reading the letters to his son, which, while full of affectionate endearments and concern for his health, contain repeated suggestions on how to study and prepare for examinations, often subject his school reports to detailed scrutiny (pp. 70, 95, 104 f, 169), one is grateful that such letters are now available for the post-independence generation to read. In a period when success has sometimes been evaluated in terms of short-cuts, gimmickry, and 'contacts', it is worth reminding us that the father of the greatest leader of independent India had much higher ideals. In December 1905, while congratulating his son on securing the first place in his form he adds, "I find that the Science column is left blank in the Report. Perhaps you will take it up next term. As you know I want you specially to develop a taste for Science and Mathematics. You are no doubt doing all that can be done and nothing will please me more than to have in you the first Senior Wrangler of your year. The I.C.S. will then be the child's play for you." (p. 95).

For a long time Motilal had thought of the I.C.S. as a career for his son, but a growing conviction that the Indian member of the service did not really get a fair deal ultimately made him urge Jawahar to follow him into the legal profession. In July 1907, as Jawahar was about to go up to Cambridge he wrote, "In selecting your subjects please do not forget what is required for the I.C.S." (p. 129). Three years later his outlook was different: "There are no prospects at all in the I.C.S. and the deserving and undeserving are all herded together. Every opportunity is taken to humiliate the Indian members of the I.C.S... You come back here, are posted to some outlandish district and are soon forgotten. The Bar on the other hand offers the highest position and rank to the really deserving members of it." (p. 149)

NOTE OF PRIDE

He was proud of being a Kashmiri Brahmin, but measured the achievements of his community and his own extended family in terms of their healthy exposure to the modern west. There is a note of pride in his diary entry on 10 May 1905, when on his way to Europe with his wife and children he writes about "the first Kashmiri lady and the first Kashmiri baby bound for Europe." (p. 188). In October 1912, when his son and some nephews had all qualified in foreign universities for different professions, he wrote to his brother, in October 1912, "What happiness—Imagine Dr. S.S. Nehru, B.A., B.Sc. (Alld), double M.A. (Cantab), Ph.D. (Heidelberg) I.C.S. etc. My fondest hope of seeing the Nehru name universally loved and respected is now being gradually realized. What single family in India can boast

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of such a galaxy of intellect among scions as the Nehru family. B. Nehru M.A. (Oxon) of the Inner Temple Esq., Dr. K. Nehru, M.B., Ch. B.Sc. (Edin), J. Nehru, M.A. (Cantab) of the Inner Temple Esq. and comes the great scholar and scientist Dr. S.S. Nehru. Why, we should conquer the world with these and the descendants who I am sure will be on adding fresh lustre to the family name as years go by." (p. 175).

This natural pride was however a pride that his kinsfolk had achieved their position in open competition and not through favouritism. As his evidence before the Royal Commission on Public Services made clear, he emphatically against any policy of reservations and quotas (p. 25). Sensing that the purpose of the Morley-Minto reforms was to secure the representation of different interests and the acceptance of separate electorates, a group of pliant collaborators, he wrote, "The avowed object of the so-called reforms is to destroy the influence of the educated classes but the object of the survival of the fittest is strong even for Morley." (p. 132).

Many letters (and many of his speeches) bring out his strong nationalist beliefs, a national temperance tempered by liberal and secular values. Like Surendranath Banerjee, Gopalkrishna Gokhale and others, his style of politics is moderate, his style of politics different from that of the extremists and it occasionally created differences of opinion between father and son, as for example when he wrote (in April 1908), "I was almost forced to say that I have never been really annoyed with you. I do not course approve of your politics but have on certain occasions expressed myself very strongly as you know can when I wish to. This is how neither here nor there. My love for you knows no bounds...." (p. 139).

POLITICAL CLEAVAGE

There was however nothing like the 'mendicant' in his political philosophy. He has had plenty of experience of the 'dry-as-dust' Anglo-Indian bureaucrat, of cold prejudice (p. 187 f), of toadying servile members of the traditional

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aristocracy (p. 132), and poked fun at the socalled notables by referring to them as 'not-ables' (p. 134). Even when his political stance became more radical and the Liberals split from the Congress, he retained a belief in combining radical nationalist agitation within the framework of having freedom to air differences of opinion. This comes out in the strategy he favoured when the Allahabad *Leader* openly sided with the Liberals, leaving Motilal and other Congressmen with no reputable newspaper to air their views.

Instead of buying shares in the company which owned the *Leader* and converting it into a mouthpiece of the Congress he preferred to start a newspaper of his group. As he put it, "The cleavage between the two political parties has now reached a stage when one cannot

easily ignore the other, the point of view put forward by the 'Leader' is no doubt the point of view of some of our public men. It is not, in my opinion, playing the game to try to suppress it and simply replace it by the opposite view. It is of the essence of dignified high class journalism to enter into the lists fairly and openly." (p 182). Motilal would never have thought of press censorship in independent India.

These extracts will serve to show that this volume is not only a goldmine for the historian but also provides a lot of food for thought for contemporary Indian politics. Motilal did not live to see the *swaraj* for which he sacrificed so much; his descendants should live up to his ideals.

Partha Sarathi Gupta is Professor of History at the University of Delhi.

Rich in Data

T.K. Majumdar

Urbanising Poor : A Sociological Study of Low-Income Migrant Communities in the Metropolitan City of Delhi

pp. xix+278, Lancers Publishers, New Delhi, 1983, Rs. 90.00

Reviewed by R.S. Sandhu and Jasmeet Sandhu

Roughly fifty per cent of the Indian population is below the poverty line and we have poor both in urban areas and in the countryside. There are only a few studies on the subject, which we can count on our fingertips. The present volume is a welcome addition to the available literature on the urban poor. This book deals with squatter settlements of Delhi, and is based on primary data collected in three stages. At the first stage a total sample of 103 settlements of various sizes, comprising of 20,119 households was taken and then a random sample of 1,124 households was drawn for the detailed study. The field work was done between April 1973 and June 1975. The book could not see the light of day for reasons best known to the author. After 1976 these settlements were demolished and then were relocated. So by the time the book came out there, these settlements were no more

Urbanising Poor consists of ten chapters. The first one deals with the perspective and the design of the study. Extent, growth and pattern of distribution of squatter settlements is discussed in the second chapter. Majumdar points out that the number of these settlements has increased seven times in the last 22 years and the number of households has experienced a ten-times increase. Here, the author also discusses the process of growth of these settlements and the pattern of space utilisation within a settlement.

SOCIAL ORIGINS

The third chapter deals with the social origin and demographic aspects of migrants and also with the sources, pattern and reasons for migration. The fourth chapter is about employment and occupational mobility. It tells us that the respondents are not only in the informal sector but are also working in the

modern sector of Delhi's economy. Most of them are, however, engaged in manual work. On page 85 Majumdar writes, "The detailed nature of occupations and the corresponding categories under which these have been grouped are given in the appendix". But there is no such appendix in any corner of the book. The author may take care of it during the revision of the book. He also points out in this chapter that the respondents' approach about the future of their children is pragmatic and optimistic.

In the fifth chapter, income, expenditure, saving and debt patterns of the migrants are discussed. The author says that a large portion of the income is spent on food and only one-fourth of the respondents manage to save for investment in property, social ceremonies and education of their children.

The environment of the settlements, which constitute 18 per cent of Delhi's population, is discussed in the sixth chapter. The author points out that accessibility to, and availability of, both the basic physical amenities and social services is highly inadequate in these settlements. Chapter seven is based on the process of stabilisation of migrants in the metropolis and it discusses that this is due to their well-considered decision to gain access to the new opportunities and thus to improve their social and economic conditions.

FAMILY STRUCTURE

The eighth chapter deals with family size, structure and life of the respondents. It points out that the average size of the family varies from 3.9 to 5.1 persons and that nuclear families are in a majority. Chapters nine and ten are concerned with the social aspect of the poor. The author succeeds in establishing that these settlements of the poor are wellknit, structured and organized communities. Their relations are based on kinship, caste, religion and region of origin. They interact with the metropolis socially, economically and politically.

The volume in hand lacks a bibliography and the index given at the end is not exhaustive. There are six unnumbered maps. There are

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many diagrammatic representations of the data in every chapter. These are neither numbered nor do they have any reference in the text. The author should have reviewed the available literature so as to place his findings in the proper perspective. It would have been useful for researchers if the author had reproduced his interview schedule in the appendix.

In spite of a few shortcomings and the fact that the squatter settlements with which it deals are no more there, the book contains very rich data based on the biggest sample ever drawn of the squatters in this part of the world. It refutes

certain hypotheses which considered migrant settlements as cancerous growths on the city. Anybody interested in Urban Studies, Planning and Management cannot afford to miss this volume. It will provide a new perspective for the planners and administrators because they ignore the fact that these settlements are a part of the city.

R.S. Sandhu is a Lecturer in Guru Ramdas Post Graduate School of Planning, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar and Jasmeet Sandhu is a Lecturer in the Department of Sociology in the same University.

Significant Contribution

Chittabrata Palit

New View Points on Nineteenth Century Bengal

pp. viii+188, Progressive Publishers, Calcutta, 1980, Rs. 40.00

Chittabrata Palit

Perspective on Agrarian Bengal

pp. 116, Papyrus, Calcutta, 1982, Rs. 30.00

Reviewed by Sachchidananda

The 19th century was the golden period of Indian renaissance. It witnessed a confrontation with the West and ended with a synthesis between the East and the West. It saw the fruition of social, cultural, economic and political changes that have been ushered by British rule. The influences from the West radically changed the face of India. The period was specially important in Bengal because that region was the first to absorb the shocks which were generated by Western impact. In course of time these influences spread all over the country.

The period has attracted the attention of scholars both foreign and Indian. In Bengal there is a large stock of source materials both in Bengali and in English on which they could lay their hands on. It is on the basis of such studies that Eric Stokes and Broomfield built up their theories about the role of the elite in Bengal and their contribution to the social transformation taking place in the area. Some of the other scholars who have worked on the same theme follow the line taken by

the British and American Schools. It is only recently that some Indian scholars have been able to evolve a line of their own which is more in conformity with the social realities.

It is good to note that the present author has slightly shifted from the stand he held earlier. Since a number of other scholars like Rajat Roy and Ratnalekha Roy have also worked on a similar theme, it would have been better if their point of view could also have been highlighted to provide a comparative perspective.

In the first book there are 15 essays written at various points of

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time. They have been put in three sections. The first section deals with changes in the socio economic structure both in rural and urban areas. One of the essays deals with the emergence of the class of jotedars or rich peasants. This phenomenon led to acute differentiation in the rural society in Bengal. Another essay highlights the career of Bengali entrepreneurs to show how Indian business enterprises that period was never given a fair trial. Has there been no discrimination against businessmen could have met the first Western challenge. In a third essay the emergence of the middle class has been traced by stage. It was the product of Western education. It did not suffer at preparing personnel to the administration. With few exceptions jobs to go round most of the people of this class became frustrated and turned into agitators to further cause of nationalism.

ELITE COMMITMENT

The second section deals with social issues and the elite commitment. In this the author highlights the contribution of George Thompson to the birth of political organisation in Bengal. He shows how Thompson inspired Indian elite to protest against the lapses of government and to demand political reform and betterment of the lot of the peasantry. In another essay deals with the activities of the various factions among the Bengali intelligentsia around 1830, the landlords and young Bengal. In this connection he examines as examples the role of Pyare Chandra Mitra and Harish Chandra Mukherjee while sympathising with the peasants. He did not show any personal involvement or identification with the already different classes. He examined two movements with Ranade and peasants lines. It can also take the rights. Regarding an

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deals with peasants as such. For the first time urban middle class was acting as spokesman for the peasantry. Although they could not be regarded as radicals, the process that he and his friends had set in motion in the not too distant future.

The last section deals with crisis of identity which was faced by most of the middle class intellectuals in that period. In three essays, Palit has examined the role and contributions of William Adam who for the first time championed the cause of mass education, Derozio the high priest of Young Bengal and of Bisheshwar Chandra Sen who was suffering from a crisis of identity. In another essay the author examines the Pareto's concept of the circulation of the elite with reference to the people situation in 19th century Bengal. He has also shown how the elite could not be identical with Bhadralok. Bhadralok according to him is not a class but only a category. All the reforms at that time were designed to give a distinctive identity to Bengal. As a matter of fact it was the foundation on which the edifice of nationalism could be built.

INDIGO REVOLT & PABNA UPRISING

In *Perspectives on Agrarian Bengal*, the author brings together number of essays dealing with agrarian problems with which rural Bengal was faced in the 19th century. Some of these problems exist even now. The author has tried to find a continuity in the entire process. In one of the essays he shows how social differentiation existed in the villages since their very inception. With the passage of time under British rule legislations were enacted and the peasant growth of commercial agriculture took place. This only accentuated the already existing trend. In two different chapters he deals with the Indigo revolt and the Pabna uprising. He examines the nature of these two movements. He does not agree with Ranjit Guha that the indigo revolt was primarily the work of peasants and was organised on class lines. It did, however, show that the peasants were capable of asserting their rights and striking the enemies. Regarding the Pabna uprising he also takes on the earlier interpretations and brings fresh light to bear

on the issues involved. He does not feel that the Pabna uprising could be treated as an anti-colonial movement. It was, in fact, a struggle between the zamidars and the jotedars for rural hegemony which came in the wake of the expansion of market economy and ultimately led to the pauperization of the actual tillers of the land. It, however, showed that under proper leadership rich and middle peasants could combine. The Pabna uprising can be regarded as an anti-colonial movement since the colonial rulers supported the landlords against whom the movement was directed.

In some other essays the author deals with the problem of sharecropping. This brings him to the realm of contemporary history. He

also makes a plea for applied history and claims that the essays in the volume have been written from this kind of commitment. It is true that the present situation cannot be fully understood except with reference to the past. To do so we have to delve deep into available historical materials and see how it could be helpful not only in understanding the socio-economic reality but also in finding a solution to eradicate the existing inequities. The two volumes constitute a significant contribution to socio-economic history of Bengal.

Sachchidananda is Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at the A.N.S. Institute of Social Studies, Patna.

Locating the Centre

Sisir Kumar Ghose

Lost Dimensions

pp. 247, Biblia Impex, Delhi, 1982, Rs. 80.00

Reviewed by Manorama Trikha

It has never been such a teasing exercise for me to review a book as in the case of *Lost Dimensions* which was sent to me more than six months ago. During this period I read it thrice with the earnestness becoming a student who had to clear a test rather than a reviewer and felt that I don't have the far-reaching expertise to assess and comment on the book that covers a subject of "infinite wideness". The problem did not exist at all if a small mind would try to touch the "infinities". It was much less baffling if an average mind would have tackled such a serious matter but here it turned out to be a colossal problem as a profound mind like Sisir Kumar Ghose has concentrated on a profound subject.

However, my attempt is simply an untutored response to the book at the command of the editor to whom I cannot but be grateful for providing me an opportunity to know my limitations and experience a "Voyage Within" along with the author through the mystical landscape of myths, cross-current cultural values as they existed in various

ages and their literatures, and levels of consciousness and its social co-relative. To comment in general about the book, I am afraid, would lead one to knew certain "probable primeval truths" which may not be a proper introduction to a book of this class. Hence, I propose to locate the centre of everyone of the seemingly unrelated chapters with a view to arrive at the epicentre of the book that contains an overall vision of the author, which is Aurobindean in essence—futuristic and holistic—and promises the glorious possibility of the "Return of the Gods".

In the age of 'non souls' many things within and without must have stirred the soul of the author before he takes the responsibility of finding a solution for the ills of mankind by re-enacting the old insights of the western and the eastern philosophies and establishing the greater significance of the latter which includes the wisdom of Veda, Tantra, Samkhya and Yoga. Thus, the book offers "a persuasive plea for an integral approach" to the problems of man who, above everything else, is a free thinker. Sisir Kumar Ghose's

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metaphysical speculations and ironic introspections, with a subtle fusion of sensibility and thought, reveal a deep impact of Aurobindo's philosophy. In an age like ours, which can boast only of a technical civilization, the book like *Lost Dimensions*, is of immense value as it makes us aware of "the quality of loss" as Emily Dickinson would phrase it and suggests how to retrieve the loss.

WISDOM & KNOWLEDGE

The opening chapter of the book "The Lost Wisdom" is a very sensitive study of the present society where "the ethics of civilization are in shambles" (p. 4) and man is oppressed by the "law of struggle and complications" and is troubled by "dualism and separateness". The author saddened by this "ontological vacuum" says, "where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge? The life in the living?" (p. 5). The only way out is to develop self-determination and values based on sacrifice as it may guide mankind to focus his attention on the science of beyonding, "the endless further"; it may fulfil the need "for integrity and the urge of self exceeding" (p. 9). Ghose sums up his point of view thus: "The community needs both how-men and why-men... Man is the meeting ground of levels of reality...the new life will be a unity of opposites of science and spirituality... You are the life you pray for" (p. 10-12).

The next chapter "Myth: Old and New" affirms that "myth defines man" and the power of myth resides in "a more-than-historical reality" (p. 14). "Man as he is today is the direct result of these mythical events" (p. 15) and is obviously many dimensional. Myths make us draw on the oldest memory which awakens our consciousness and somehow assures us that there is a possibility of "transformation and sublimation". The chapter ends on a beautiful poetic note: "For the whole singing, the myth is a must, unless we choose to go beyond myth—into the Silence" (p. 31).

"The Symbol Is a Phoenix" is a review of Peter F. Fingeston's book *The Eclipse of Symbolism*. Studying the significance of various recurring

symbols, the author criticizes the modern age that prefers "dehydrated language of analysis" (p. 48) to "multidimensional language of symbols" which is truly speaking "a link language" (p. 43). Fingeston's approach invariably shares the characteristics limitations of the western thinkers while the author emphasizes that the symbol "Sacramentalizes and does not destroy matter" (p. 45). Hence, to re-establish our relationship with society symbol is a means which imparts "a sense of holy", socializes and spiritualizes man from within as well as without; briefly "the symbol is phoenix" (p. 50).

THE GRAND DESIGN

"Mysticism: What it is" confirms that man is "the possibility" and inspires him to discover "a hidden truth" that "might lead to the union with the divine or the sacred".

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cyclic as well as the historic view of life as "The architecture of the sacred is not...one of humanism but trans-humanism, not of science but magic" (p. 68). It fills man with "messianic hope". Ghose summarizes the discussion thus: "The little understood minority, liberated soul can... be the only redeemer of history"; only the sacred makes life a continual worship's rite of Everlasting Fire" (p. 73).

"Existentialism and Art", which takes into account the fundamentals of one of the many existing schools of thought, portrays man "in situation" and studies the "existential reality". Under the influence of its tenets even art, which otherwise presents "the logic of imagination", carries the wider ranges of experience and makes them 'worthwhile and memorable', becomes "once more a dialogue with death" (p. 78). However, the artist is "the paradigm of humanity" as "works of art invariably modify attitude if not action" (p. 84). To be exact, existentialism itself is "a link language between self and Self", but Ghose who has strong reservations about the western philosophical school reiterates a harsh truth: "Existentialism is a disease, Vedanta is health" (p. 86).

POETRY & LIBERATION

"Poetry and Liberation" suggests another way out from the present predicament when we are oppressed by the industrial inhumanity causing spiritual decay that, in turn, has made us lose "a genuine feeling for poetry". Poetry leads to self discovery and alters human perspective that can change physical reality into "Sacramental reality". In other words, it transforms human personality by expanding our awareness that gives us "a peak experience", admits to "dualism" and makes us realize that we are "evolution. Evolution is holy" (p. 95). As usual, the author's comments on the issue are very revealing. He says: "Liberation poetry...If man is a possibility, poetry is the promise of a new heaven and a new earth, and the never 'promised dawn'...freedom the last forlorn hope". "Medieval Aesthetics" gives a

clear outline of what the author proposes to cover in the chapter. He surveys briefly the aesthetics of the middle ages, especially its aesthetic of beauty and its relevance to the present age. Beauty, which is, precisely speaking, "an intelligible form" has attractive power of truth and perfection, and has integrity, proportion and clarity as its three characteristics features. If the negative side of Christianity—the dismal view of life-dominated human life, the positive side of Christianity recommended not to "disown the classical heritage" and taught that "matter should receive great honour under the cross" (p. 110). Ghose points out that "The world is God's poetry, he is the supreme poet, *adi Kavi*" (p. 111). Here religion and art become one and this "mysterious oneness" can be described by "the cosmic cord of symbolism" (p. 116). Considered thus nature is but God's art and uniting love creates order. Ghose suggests that the mysticism of the body should include the machine, for the machine is but an "extension of the body". Through the revelation of the power of beauty the middle ages play a significant role in the living tradition of humanity.

In "Forgotten Ecstasy", which is Ghose's seminal contribution to the philosophy of the book, he discusses Sri Aurobindo's "world-view" that grows out of the mythical, metaphysical and aesthetic imagination of the seer-poet and professes that we can advance beyond "materiality, and can attain the fourth dimensions" harmonising various "levels of being and reality" (p. 123). This vision, obviously, is futuristic, directs us from "perishable activity" to "imperishable consciousness", i.e., to the source and thus provides a radical remedy to a "formidable challenge to the systematic uglification of a plundered planet" (p. 124). What makes Sri Aurobindo's contribution to humanity unique is the fact that he has given us "a choice of destiny", a possibility of that experience which combines "Delight, Oneness and Harmony"—the essentials for making an "upward journey". Ghose's final verdict is "A return to Sri Aurobindo would be a return to sanity and spirituality" (p. 132).

ADEQUATE IMAGE OF MAN

"The Human Destiny" accepts that "one of the greatest human passion" is to present "an adequate image of man" but ironically today he lacks "nothing but myself". All the three modern myths (a) Of Economic Growth and Conspicuous Waste leading to "the confusion of means for the end", (b) Of men's Separation from Nature leaving him denatured and alienated and (c) Of Scientific Efficiency exposing that its findings are "premature", have failed the more sophisticated minds have realised that "Evolution, the becoming of man, is not ended" and "the world stuff is mind stuff" (p. 137). Here emerges a new concept of man "the whole man" with "a cosmic consciousness" (p. 138) which is the product of "freedom in, for as well as from society" (p. 139).

"Voyage Within" states that an awakened man dwells in many dimensions. Different systems and schools of thought like Yoga, Buddhism and Tantra provide ways for self-education, for the proper development of the focus of mind. Ghose also suggests "Don't stop Meditation". He recommends three paths: Work, Knowledge and Devotion, as they finally lead to integration. In the end he affirms the simple but subtle truth that "the art of contemplation is really another name for the art of living" (p. 145).

Continuing with the central thought of the previous chapter, in "Celebration of Consciousness" the author opines: "the more consciousness the more self" (p. 146) as it causes "a change of human nature"—transformation that saves us from being "non men" in a world of "insensate culture". It reveals to us the significance of the values of "Silence and Sacrifice" and thus challenges the existing system. The knowledge that the "change of consciousness is a process" prepares us for the "pangs of rebirth"; no doubt, "we shall be glad of another death" (p. 151).

"New Age Consciousness" reveals that the "transpersonal experiences" are the proper subject of human inquiry as they reflect the possibility of "Ascent of Man"

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contrary to the Darwinian idea of descent. Such wisdom-oriented point of view that man is "more or less than rational, the universe is other than a think-tank" (p. 154), combines in it the "unity and serenity of the east with the dynamism and science of the west" and is bound to influence the whole society. Blending the "transcendence and technology"—the twain forces into one—it promises "the harmony of nature, self and society" "at once new and ageless" (p. 156). To achieve this end, "Not only determinism but self-determinism becomes the ethics of a new life" (p. 157).

THE BIRTH OF THE SOUL

"The Proper Sphere" shows that the total confusion, which we experience all around us, is created by the mind of man that creates "the paradoxes of reason" causing thereby "our profoundest humiliations" (p. 158). If the "correction or catharsis" is possible at all, it is through "an integrative human potentially" (p. 159). Ghose visualizes such a possibility because the greatest human passion is for "self exceeding"; because "The most improbable of events, the origin of life and mind in an apparently material and meaningless universe has happened" (p. 162). Nothing can deter man, not even the present chaos, from advancing on the chosen path guided by "a fixed inner milieu". The author closes the chapter on a notable note: "Only in psychic storms is the soul born. Only so we discover what it is to be human now" (p. 163).

"Consciousness and Culture" focuses attention on the wider canvas, i.e., Indian culture and Sri Aurobindo's philosophy which is "futuristic, holistic and evolutionary" (p. 164). He insists that one must have higher aim than mental life and must take "inview" if one wishes to attain on earth the kingdom of heaven. There lies a great relevance of Sri Aurobindo's metapsychology for society as it teaches that "Inwardness is not inactivity, but mainly a shift of levels" (p. 165). Reminding one of the message of Browning's Rabi Ben Ezra, Ghose summarizes his very lucid thought thus: "Poised on

the freedom of the heights beyond reason, religion and revolution, the play of an evolved consciousness and culture will be a miracle, a "complete manifestation", the last of things for which the first was made" (p. 168).

ALIENATION & AFTER

"Alienation and After"—takes up an age old problem of identity and modern man's "standing quarrel with culture", that has shattered completely the meaning of 'man' and has segregated him from himself and his society. According to the author, the primary cause of man's alienation is science: "the lower controlling the higher...and a man is victim of his *manasputra*, the mind born machine" (p. 176). The fact remains that, "the complete individual is the cosmic individual ... The present organisation of consciousness is surely not the limit of our capacities. If and when that happens alienation may find its rationale, as a prelude to a new cycle of civilization" (p. 177).

"Towards a New Image of Man"—confirms a promising future as "man is a project and a possibility and his salvation lies, perhaps, in losing himself in quest of a perfection beyond realisation" (pp. 179-180). Only man allows "evolution to evolve" that enables him to attain "a transdisciplinary image of himself" in a future-oriented society which combines in itself the characteristic qualities of religion and perennial philosophy holding a balance between "technology" and "transcendence". Thus the new image of man would be of homototus, who "will have a holistic perspective as well as a respect for alternatives or complementaries" (p. 185). Its ethics would be ecological and self-realising; Ghose emphasises

sizes only such a faith in the f. can save us.

The chapter "Psychology and Social Development: A Modern Indian View" borrows its heading from the original title of Sri Aurobindo's collection of essays, *Human Cycle*. Actually man's search for integrity demands the "psychological cure, one that can correct the dialectics of other-worldly this-worldly bias" (p. 187). According to Aurobindo's hypothesis the author believes that there are three essential stages of human evolution: the rational, rational and super-rational or spiritual for the self-realisation at the individual and the collective level. However, the major value of human subjectivity, which is creative precisely because prophetic of further possibility and "prophetic of further possibility future" teaches us that "we have a higher self than our ego, and we are in our life and being only ourselves but all others" (p. 190). Besides, it is relevant to understand that "the real sovereign is the spirit of man...Reason is limited", it is the dynamic that awakens our higher consciousness for which freedom is essential.

The opening statement of "Toward Tomorrow—the Coming to Come" ascertains that the quality of our life depends on our ideal of man and "Like man, like society". The "birth of psyche" is the important event for the personal development of consciousness which makes transformation possible. Perfect self-discovery; but to establish the "world community" the work of the "astronauts of awareness", the modern myth who instil hope of an integrated approach by creating "the sense of communion of All-Being" (pp. 207). We advance from a reaction to a responsibility with faith "in wholeness" for which

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columns through formal trade channels may write to us

directly. We shall assist them in every way we can.

determination but self-determination becomes the grammar of its creativity" (p. 210). In a new world where one may achieve "the deep human longing to belong as well as for the Beyond" we can build a new civilization that is "a continual discovery of our transcendental humanity", and a society fit for immortal souls.

"Kundalini: The Key" is the source to realise the value and urgency of the serpent power hidden in every man. The author has based the discussion about the "all-sufficing Kundalini" on the findings of Gopi Krishna who pleads unweariedly that "Kundalini is the way, the door, the key" (p. 216). He feels sure that "all the disciplines of Yoga (a new form of knowledge) are aimed to accelerate the process of evolution already working in the body, "with the help of an organic lever known as Kundalini, the bridge between the material and the divine, the link connecting the Cosmic Life-Energy with the individual organism" (p. 220). In other words, Kundalini which leads man towards a higher consciousness, has contributed tremendously to the historical and human evolution; but, to be true the evolution of consciousness has been "a solo as well as a minority concern" (p. 229); it resurrects "immemorial insights and the racial consciousness".

LANGUAGE & CONSCIOUSNESS

"The Return of the Gods" briefly views Ram Swarup's book *The Word As Revelation : Names of Gods* and surveys its fundamentals of life, language and thoughts. It points out that "the secret of both God and the world is psychological, even meta-psychological" (p. 233). There are definite "links between the levels of language and levels of consciousness. Till one arrives at the higher reaches of the subjective Self and the God languages (deva Bhasa) proper to it" (p. 234). Precisely, words, which change their power and significance radically, exist not only at the material but at a subtle level also. And "language that grows out of the fulness of man's heart must express that fulness". The key to explore the higher word potentialities is medi-

tation. "Then, refined, and intensified, the words tremble with deific energy and we have the Word as revelation, as names of Gods. Rare, but real" (p. 236). By meditating on the names of Gods we also change our being and the environment in the divine likeness" (p. 238). Unfortunately we have under certain pleas exiled the "mantras" that convey "undying wisdom", but the "Return of the Gods" is the only "answer to the ruins of reality".

In short, *Lost Dimensions* is a truly educative and thought-provok-

ing book. There is an unfailing source of strength in it for an honest self who wishes to realise the higher consciousness. If the publisher, who got an opportunity to bring out a book offering the "wisdom of the age", could have done his work a little efficiently, he could have avoided more than a hundred misprints; the pages wrongly placed in binding irritate a serious reader.

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Philosophy, Imagination & Language

Margaret Chatterjee

The Language of Philosophy

pp. 137, Allied, 1982, Rs. 50.00

Reviewed by Ramakant Sinari

How clear or scientific can philosophical language manage to be? Is "doing philosophy" possible without the use of metaphors and equivocations? What warrants the figurative idiom in philosophical literature? Are analytic language philosophers, who claim to have gotten rid of metaphysical and metaphorical expressions in their prose, so clear and rational as they are supposed to be? These are some of the questions that form the preoccupation of M. Chatterjee's book.

Chatterjee maintains that a large amount of figurative language inevitably enters into philosophical writings and eventually forms their inseparable element. This happens in the works of even those contemporary philosophers who prescribe to philosophy the strictest task of precisely and unambiguously verbalizing the concepts. But reason, Chatterjee argues, cannot just be denuded of the power of imagination. It is the latter that supplies a thrust to the former. If we examine the varied nuances reflected in the

language of philosophy, she maintains, we will see that the so-called "rational" language in which the concepts and conceptual frameworks are expressed is never free from a figurative mould, "a kind of gilt-edged coinage."

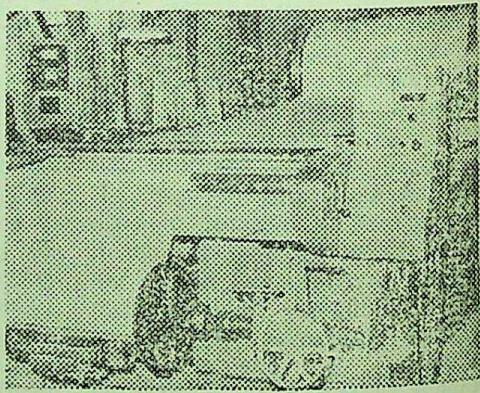
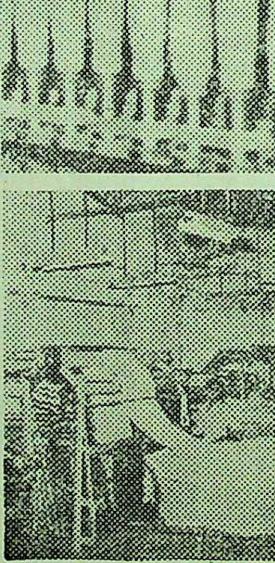
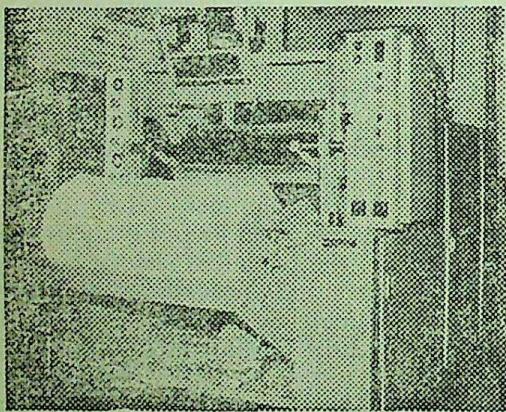
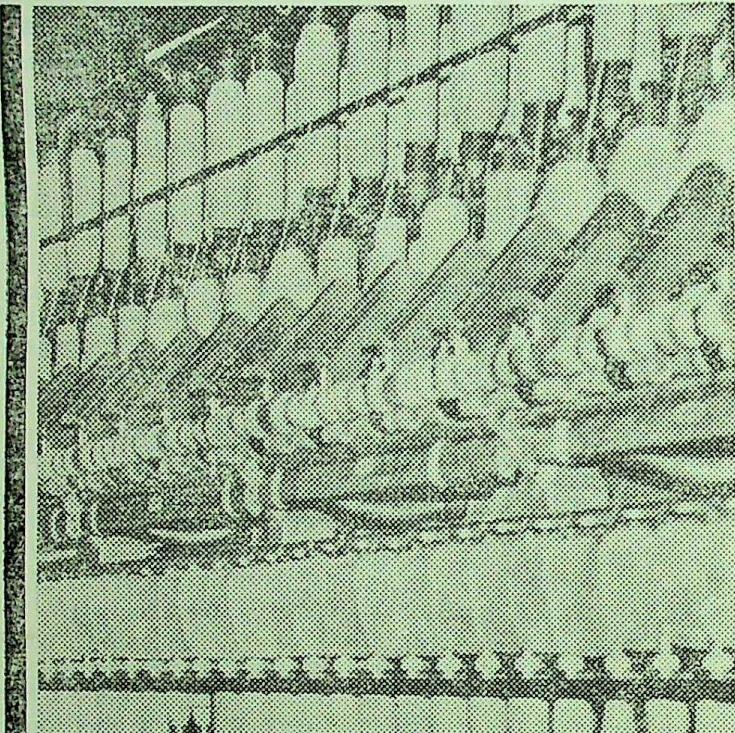
Defending what she names as the universality of "linguistic imagination" Chatterjee tries to establish that one of the best instances of language philosophers using metaphors (called by Mundle "similes" and by Max Black "extended senses") is Wittgenstein himself. One knows that Wittgenstein, while describing the activity of words, compares them to tools such as the hammer, saw, pliers, etc. Again when he talks about the idea of the boundlessness of language he says that the boundaries of language cannot be shown—"we bump our heads" against them.

IMPRESSIVE

Chatterjee has an impressive sense of the history of European philosophy, of the history of philo-

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sophical language, both from the camp of analytic language philosophy and from phenomenology and existentialism. She does not deride the entry of poetry into philosophical discourse. She certainly recognizes the fact that philosophy and poetry are two distinct ways of saying things. Her problem is to explain the meeting point between philosophical discipline implicit in any philosophical prose and the poetic creativity which is somewhere behind philosophical ratiocination. "In the greatest philosophical writing (and I am here thinking of metaphysics)," she says, "ideas incandesce and concepts become images infused with mythic power."

Chatterjee's is the unique attempt to rebut the generally prevalent view among Anglo-American philosophers that philosophical language has to be "scientific". Since one cannot philosophize without being imaginative, inventive, creative, and without having flashes so to say, the language of philosophy cannot afford to be neat scientific prose. And this is evident from the fact that "even though analytic philosophers lay much store by examples, hypothetical cases and models, they are also quite free in their use of metaphorical expressions, some of which throw considerable light on how they regard the philosophical enterprise." In fact the contention underlying her whole book is that when too much rational restraint is brought on the language of philosophical discourse the naturalness and authenticity of the philosophical perception suffers. The discipline of language in natural sciences is unsuitable in philosophy.

The book is a very persuasive endeavour to bridge the gulf between two seemingly irreconcilable approaches to philosophical language—the analytic-linguistic and the phenomenological-existentialist. It should invite the attention of all those who aim at the broadening of the concept of language in philosophical communication to make it incorporate even the sub-rational or trans-rational experience.

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Shifting the Discussion

Vinay Bharat Ram

Towards a Theory of Import Substitution, Exchange Rates and Economic Development
pp. 193, Oxford, 1982, Rs. 120.00

Reviewed by Manmohan Agarwal

In the recurring debate on the role of import substitution in a strategy of economic development, attention has usually been focused on the macroeconomic aspects of import substitution. Vinay Bharat-Ram's book makes a useful contribution to shifting the discussion to the individual firm level, and thus placing import substitution activity of the firm in the general context of optimising behaviour. In this framework he proposes two main hypothesis : (a) Import substitution leads to a higher capital output ratio and (b) a higher exchange rate, namely a devaluation, will encourage import substitution.

The author argues that a firm has the choice of importing intermediate products at different stages of fabrication and undertaking the further processing to transform them into final products. Importing an intermediate product at an earlier stage of fabrication and doing more processing in its own plant is the essence of growth, argues the author, and this is import substitution. Import substitution is defined as the ratio of foreign exchange value of items deleted from intermediate import list to total foreign exchange value of product.

Import substitution entails more of the processing being undertaken in the firm's plant and this will require additional capital. However, the additional capital is producing only intermediate goods and is not contributing to the value of the final product. So during this process of import substitution the capital-output ratio will rise. This procedure does not seem entirely satisfactory to the reviewer as no weightage is given to the additional processing done. Perhaps the sum of the gross value of output at different stages of production rather than the gross value of only the final product would be the more appropriate concept of output as the additional capital is being used

to produce more at an intermediate stage of production.

INDIAN EXPERIENCE

The author then examines these hypotheses by looking at the Indian experience. In an analysis of 53 manufacturing sectors during the period 1960-61 to 1971-72, using an input-output table, he shows that import substitution has been accompanied by higher capital-output ratios. Also when the period is divided at 1966 there is an increase in import substitution and capital-output ratios after the devaluation. The author recognizes that identification of a higher capital-output ratio with increased import substitution is only true if there is no change in technology, skills, relative prices of capital and final output, capacity utilization, etc. No evidence is presented to show that such changes did not occur. To the extent that other studies analyzing the impact of India's licensing and protectionist policies have shown a declining industrial performance in India since 1966 resulting in poorer capacity utilization and higher capital-output ratios the correlation found by the author could be either coincidental or due to other common causes.

The author had found that the 1966 devaluation had encouraged import substitution. That a higher exchange rate encourages import substitution is also confirmed by the three case studies he examines. The relationship between the exchange rate and level of import substitution is however not so unequivocal and at one point Bharat-Ram recognizes that. On page 50, he acknowledges that a higher exchange rate makes imported raw items more expensive and so encourages import substitution, but makes imported capital equipment also more expensive which discourages import substitution, and the net effect would be the outcome of these two forces. A few case studies can-

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not shed much light on the conflicting effect of an higher exchange rate on flow and capital items and its resolution. It is unfortunate that the firm model set out in Chapter V is not solved analytically or used in simulation exercises to bring out more clearly the optimal level of import substitution and to delineate critical values of the parameters which would determine such choice.

The book makes a useful beginning to analysing the microeconomic nature of the choice of the optimal level of import substitution. The view it adopts of the growth process shows that import substitu-

tion in the sense of the ability of a firm to undertake production from an earlier stage is intimately connected with economic development irrespective of whether the overall development strategy adopted may be in favour of import substitution or export promotion. While developing an appropriate framework, the author does not carry the analysis far enough to provide completely satisfactory answers to the questions he posed.

Manmohan Agarwal is a member of the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Literature and Nationalism

Suresht Renjen Bald

Novelists and Political Consciousness: Literary Expression of Indian Nationalism, 1919-1947
pp. 175, Chanakya Publications, Delhi, 1982, Rs. 75.00

Reviewed by Sudhansu Mohanty

The title of the book is at once striking. You do not run into many volumes dealing with novelists and political consciousness. And yet the sub-title is still more esoteric : literary expression of Indian nationalism, 1919-1947. And sure enough what jolts one to wake up is the ever polemical question of whether the novelist—aloof, detached, sort of a recluse—writing in his ivory tower truly succeeds in depicting the real picture of his contemporary society ? Or is his portrayal marginally influenced by his ambience or ‘nurture’ while the predominant strain remains essentially personal and hence ‘nature’ ?

Perhaps the novelists gamut of inner meaning and subjective truth is a far cry from the social scientist’s search for objective truth and historical veracity. Yet the novelist suffused with an ideology and weaving his novels around it is a knight errant possessed with a mission and is a little removed from the stratospheric novelists churning ideas out from his fertile imagination. He writes in the No Man’s Land where pure imagination has ended and the social scientist’s quest after objectivity has not yet taken off.

The book under review is an attempt to gauge the depth of political consciousness among the educated Indians from the writings of seven novelists during the most volcanic phase of freedom struggle, 1919-1947. Running through their strands of writing, Suresht Renjen Bald illustrates four phases of nationalism : 1. the dependent native and assimilationist phase; 2. reaction against colonial influence and the rise of revivalism; 3. politicization and the expansion of nationalism from an elite to a mass base; 4. transcendence of nationalism.

ADVENT OF GANDHI

By 1919 Indian nationalism had travelled a long distance from the refrain of John Beames in 1883 dismissing nationalism as an agitation of a group of “place-hunters and power-hunters” or from Lord Curzon’s hollow boast of comfortably assisting Congress to a “peaceful demise” in 1901. Mahatma Gandhi had entered the stage in a big way although the masses were yet to be stirred into action. The hang of the prejudiced Utilitarian historians’ writing as also the Evangelicals had coupled with the

nineteenth century pseudo-scientific thinking of the Social Darwinists to leave a long shadow on the national psyche. Gandhi galvanised the masses, and the gradual spread of western education and liberal ideas saw in a slow awakening. Jallianwala Bagh massacre, the khilafat movement, the Gandhian concept of Satyagraha followed in rapid succession. Soon Indian nationalism was to gain maturity and confidence and this correspondingly saw the steady erosion of Pax Britanica throughout the world.

The Indian intellectuals of this generation were witness to a quick-changing era. They themselves were caught in a dilemma. Exposed to western ideas and Liberal-Humanist tradition imparted in the British educational system, they were confronted in their own home with its very contradiction : cultural hubris, racial prejudice and sheer high-handed imperialism. The novelist who belonged to this educated lot found themselves in an incongruous position; they were products of both Indian and western culture and yet belonged completely to neither. Their social origins combined with their education in a language and thought alien to the experience and tradition of the common man of India intensified their alienation from the masses.

Suresht Bald agrees : “The novelists’ education questioned the legitimacy of such a system, raising doubts about their own ascriptively derived status and authority. Under the impact of new values, their traditionally accepted exclusiveness became an embarrassment and a burden. Rejected by the Raj, and separated from the ‘people’, the novelists, like most of the western educated Indians, occupied an uncomfortable and undefined space. They fitted in a peculiar double category—the privileged—underprivileged—privileged because of their education and caste, underprivileged because of India’s subjection to Britain.”

COLONIZATION & DEPENDENCE

The author takes up firstly the dependent native and the assimilationist phase—a phase marked by the colonized peoples’ dependence

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on, and admiration of the colonizers. O. Mannoni, the French social scientist taking the Malagasy-French relations as an example, offers a psychological explanation of the colonizer-colonized syndrome. Mannoni assumes that "dependence and inferiority complexes are mutually exclusive : rearing patterns in the West tend to repress the dependence complex thus developing feelings of inferiority which seeks compensations in aggressive individualism, competitiveness, and activities which place the individual in a position of superiority; in a static, close-knit society which emphasizes dependence on familial, tribal and supernatural symbols or figures, the individual's infantile dependence complex is perpetuated, thus repressing his/her inferiority complex."

When these two different types meet, Mannoni observes, the outcome is colonization : "the colonial, like Shakespeare's Prospero, is always on the lookout for Ariel, just as Robinson is in search of Man Friday. But if Prospero is not careful he creates Calibans of the good Ariel : the dependent native when abandoned by the European turns into the bad native Caliban, who resents the colonial for abandoning him and seeks revenge by rebelling against the once-loved and respected master."

This colonized peoples' sense of abandonment led to a revival of traditional values to offset the humiliating experience of racial and cultural denigration at the hands of alien rulers. This was the second stage of political consciousness, clearly a reaction to the first. The third stage was marked by a renewed confidence in their cultural values—sustained by the upsurge of mass participation under Gandhi—and led to mass political mobilization. The fourth and the last stage of nationalism is its very rejection, transcending the narrow confines of nation-states and aiming at global humanism.

A. Madhaviah's *Liet. Panju : A Modern Indian* epitomised the first stage of dependence who accommodated the English rulers and dreamt nothing beyond India enjoying a Dominion status and a respectable membership in the

British Empire. Although published in 1924, this book was written during the first world war and typified the early mood of the Indian National Congress, when all Congress resolutions assumed that the English people are just and fair, and that if properly informed they would never deviate from truth and the right, that the Congress was essentially loyal to the British throne. J.N. Mitra's novel *Towards the Dawn : A Contemporary Political Novel* written in 1921-22, tried to blend Vedantism with the Indian brand of pre-Gandhian liberalism. Instead of a whole army of non-cooperators, Mitra's novel offered "a whole army of devoted missionaries" to win self-government for India. There was much of Gokhale in Mitra's Jogesh, the hero of *Towards the Dawn*.

"I (Jogesh) know and I can never forget what Great Britain has done for my country. An Indian nation was a dream, but England is making it a fact. It would have always remained a dream had it not been for noble-hearted England, the beautiful and snow-white goddess who sent her heroic children to India to give her the life-long remedy of unity and organization and deliver the glorious and hopeful message of dawning 'Liberty' to our diseased and paralysed Motherland. Beautiful England's magnetic touch has raised the soul of India. English literature and History have electrified a vast country...There was no sign of hope of political life. The English literature has stirred the dry bones of India and made them instilled with life."

In sharp contrapuntal to Madhaviah's and Mitra's novels, the tone changed in K.S. Venkataramani's and A. Subrahmanyam's. Their voice concerned the nature of Indian society, leadership and the identity of the Indian nation although their South Indian Brahmin background imparted a Brahmin bias to their thinking. However their paths differed: whereas Venkataramani, a Samartha lawyer from Madras, used his novels to revitalise this tradition by advocating a break with

the British institutional and intellectual life that Jogesh had considered unthinkable, and extolled the natural leadership of the Brahmins and promoted an economic and political system based on the ancient Indian concept of self-sufficient village communities, Subrahmanyam's was a trenchant attack on anti-Brahminism to protect the Hindu tradition. While Venkataramani used Theosophy to support his position, Subrahmanyam resorted to slander and fear tactics. In Venkataramani's *Murugan the Tiller* (1927) and *Kandan the Patriot* (1932) there was the touch of astral and pastoral; in Subrahmanyam's *Indira Devi* there was the frenzied hysteria against incipient anti-Brahmanism and the voice is that of a distincete inveterate Brahminist. They visualized a renascent India but this India sans the British was nonetheless tainted by their own narrow sectarianism.

THE LEAP FORWARD

With Premchand as the novelist, there is the leap forward in ideas. Premchand's heroes and heroines did not speak in the urbane Oxford accents of a Kandan or a Jogesh, nor did they indulge in the shrill hysterics of a Moropant; they spoke the language of the oppressed and voiced adroitly their concern. His novels mirror the growth of political consciousness with its collateral socio-economic and modernizing tendencies. His own mixed experiences in familial and rural-urban continuum is reflected as is his concern for the women and the peasant. His writings spread over the period 1905-1936 and echoed every bit the societal milieu—its pangs and laughter, its ecstasy and gloom.

Soze Vatan published in 1907 was as strident in its voice to sing to the greatness for the love of the mother country as *Karmabhumi* (1932) attempted to capture the atmosphere of the second non-cooperation movement. In between, his writings betrayed his concern for the downtrodden; *Nirmala* (1923) exposed the banes of the dowry system, *Pratigya* (1927) aimed to further the cause of widow remarriage, while *Govindi* in *Godaan* was Premchand's ideal Hindu woman who epitomized the virtues of the

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epic heroine Sita. The peasant received sympathetic treatment in such novels as *Premashrama* (1922), *Rangbhumi* (1924), *Karmabhumi* (1932), and *Godaan* (1936) while almost all his novels depict the urban-rural dichotomy: the simple community life in the village confronting the crass materialism, loneliness and anonymity of the city.

Premchand was a true representative of the transitional stage of Indian society for whom humanness scored over learning, refinement over scientific knowledge, and who supported morality, tolerance and dharma. As the author says, Premchand's value lies in the fact that he portrayed post world war I India changing in response to domestic and world forces, while he changed with it. "It would be incorrect to call Premchand a revolutionary of the left. He and his protagonists were too deeply rooted in tradition. Revolution to them was to be the work of their

sons, the next generation, the Balrajs, Mithvas, and Gobars."

A COMPLETE SHIFT

In contrast to Premchand who was deeply rooted in Indian tradition, Mulk Raj Anand was alienated from both the Indian as well as the English world. His western education cut him adrift from the masses while his quick sensitive mind rebelled against British imperialism and cultural arrogance. Mulk Raj was, however, a politically committed writer of the Left. Like Premchand his novels attacked social injustice; unlike Premchand revolutionary change was to him inevitable to bring about a meaningful change. By 1935 when Anand began his literary career he was already committed to Leninist Marxism and his aim was to link himself with the disinherited, the weak and the dispossessed; as an artist to help transform society. His novels followed a stock pattern:

"each describes a principal figure who brings to focus the injustices of society; his abortive and misdirected attempts for a better life in the existing unjust state; and the appearance of the revolutionary hero, who shows him that realization of good life is only possible after the destruction of the present order. The novels end on a note of hope in the anticipated revolution."

In *Untouchable*, *Coolie*, *The Big Heart* et al Anand externalized the solitary, poor, nasty, brutish Hobbesian man flaunting the resplendent objective reality of the Big Jolt of revolution—tenderness, brotherliness, creativity and all. Yet Anand's "revolutionary messiahs in the novels preach revolution not to the wholly alienated proletariat, but to unemployed artisans of 'The Big Heart' who have never worked for the capitalist system, the unskilled labourers of 'Coolie' and the peasantry of 'The Sweeper and the Sickle'. Mulk Raj's writing skipped the stage of estrangement

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of self, while hoping for de-alienation in a Marxian utopia. Though his novels presented Marxian visions, his protagonists hoped to realise these visions by following the elitist Leninist route.

The last stage of the national movement as depicted by the author-transcendence of nationalism—is represented by D.F. Karaka, a Parsi, writing when the second world war was on. Belonging to a highly westernized minority lying outside the ken of traditional Hindu society, Karaka spent eight years studying in England; at Oxford he was elected President of the Oxford Union. His two novels, *There Lay the City* (1942) and *We Never Die* (1944) written at a time when the western world was engaged in a life-and-death battle against the Nazi and Fascist dictators out to swallow the world, stressed the common base of cultures and religions and appealed for unity among Indians and also among all human beings. For Adul, the hero of Karaka's *There Lay the City* the Congress attitude to the war is hopelessly wrong. Whereas England had forgotten her own antagonisms and allied with Russia to defend democracy, India continued to shout "silly slogans" and indulged in "puerile acts of demonstration" overlooking the "human aspect" of the War. This was coupled with his rather belated effort to put the clock back on the fragile Hindu-Muslim solidarity—alas an abortive attempt to bring the cementing drops back after it had sorely evaporated. To Karaka Congress appeared to letting the "common man" down and it was the common man's weal that he chased, mirage-like. His internationalism further made him critical of the Congress attitude.

A streak of partially assumed folly runs through the theme of the book, Bald claims that the political importance of the novelist tends to increase significantly in periods of socio-economic, political and moral turmoil and the novelist reflects the despairs and hopes of his times. This is true but only so upto a point. What Karl Mannheim would call the "Collective Unconscious" doubtless

goes into the novelists' writings for he is as much conditioned by personal experience as any. What is ignored is the other half of conditioning : the personal psyche which lets seep the experience and which is largely conditioned by the upbringing, the education, and the intensely personal feelings arising from intensely personal experiences. The last mentioned particularly is an important variable and if at all modified to any extent, it is only marginally. We can see this factor stymieing the outlook of almost all the novelists dealt with here.

VARIATIONS ON THE THEME

If Madhaviah identified himself with Panju—quite a modern Indian then—and highlighted the positive gains under the British rule, it was perhaps as much for his western education as for his gratitude to the exposure to the British educational model. This is amply demonstrated in his preface to the novel where he expresses his gratitude to his father for introducing him to the West and to the British for the benefits of their rule. Mitra in his novel likewise captured more his personal experience—of his romance with Vedantism and liberal constitutionalism—than the prevailing scent of violence in the air. For the novel written in 1921-22 at a time when the frenzy against the British was on the uptake betrays a lack of the touch of aggression and paints rather an antediluvian air of liberalism. It was plainly because of the personal-personal experience.

The wedge becomes broader as we go over to Venkataramani and Subrahmanyam. For Venkataramani, instilled with Theosophist doctrines and beliefs, love of Theosophy was a subtle contrivance; a contrivance to help the high caste Brahmin Venkataramani to fight a dual battle against the inescapable feelings of alienation from the illiterate mass, and the British hubris which precluded identification with the ruling class. He longed for a feeling of 'relatedness' which would enable him to chalk out a definite relationship with the 'mass' and the 'colonizer', but it was hard for him to forget his own 'aloneness'. This is,

of course, not to dispute his love for Annie Besant and his Theosophical thinking. With Premchand his obsession for the upliftment of women, widow remarriage and his attack on ill-matched arranged marriages and the dowry system had the echo of his own personal failings and experiences. Although Gandhi was there to be the ubiquitous lodestar, Premchand doubtless was actuated more by his own experiences than by Gandhi's high-falutin homiletic exercises.

Mulk Raj Anand wholly betrays Bald's presumption. Anand's hatred of the British Raj and his concern for the hoi-polloi had more to do with his western education in general and his exposure to Marxian writings in particular. If he became an ardent revolutionary, a stormy petrel of sorts, to disturb the calm of literary equilibrium it was indubitably due to his faith in Marxism as the Open Sesame to limitless good. His readings of Marxism left him in raptures : "All the threads of my past reading, which had got tied up into knots, seemed suddenly to straighten out, and I began to see not only the history of India but the whole history of human society in some sort of inter-connection. ... And, of course, the happiest thing was that Marxism was no dogma of a church militant—in spite of the critics who declared it to be only another religion with Marx as its prophet—but a scientific and rational method for the study of society, a hypothesis which was leading to new discoveries."

Karaka, Anand's near contemporary, however, had his own perceptions and world-view. To say that the western world's fight against the fascist dictators coloured his thinking would be too simplistic. Closer to truth would be the acceptance of his close identification with the western ideas and society stimulating his universalistic writings. Without stretching one's imagination one can say that Anand too went through the same mill as he, experienced the same cataclysm, dreaded the same macabre outcome, and yet spoke a different vocabulary. Perhaps Karaka's own family background coupled with his active involvement in foster-Mother

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England's bosom (the allusion here is to his Presidentship of the Oxford Union) found a quicksilver solvent in his universal humanism in the face of the world travail.

Lastly a word as to the printer's devils : one's none too eagle eyes

could with alarm note any number of them. A serious work could have been also proof read a little more seriously !

Sudhansu Mohanty works for Defence Accounts and is currently posted at Siliguri.

INDIAN BOOK CHRONIC

Traces Spender's development and changing poetic sensibility over a period of about half a century. A select bibliography is also added.

Sen, Anima. Transfer of Training, the Mental Retardate. Delhi, Surjeet Publications, 1981. ii, 180 Rs. 50.00

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Attar Chand. Nonaligned World Order: Ideology Strategy Prospects. Delhi, UDH Publishers, 1983. xi, 262 p. Rs. 150.00.

A bibliography of books and periodical articles published during 1961-82 on non-aligned movement.

Beteille, Andre, ed. Equality and Inequality: Theory and Practice. Delhi, Oxford, 1983. xii, 302 p. Rs. 85.00

Topics dealt with include income distribution, agrarian class structure, protective discrimination, equality of educational opportunity and liberal and socialist theories of equality.

Karlekar, Malvika. Poverty and Women's Work: A Study of Sweeper Women in Delhi. Delhi, Vikas, 1982. vi, 158 p. Rs. 75.00

128

Using macro-level baseline data as framework, it views the impact of independence, rapid urbanisation and a mixed economy on a specific category of urban poor. It deals with women employed in a traditional occupation in a fast changing environment, and the impact of these changes on their social system.

Mook, Byron T. The World of the Indian Field Administrator. Delhi, Vikas, 1982. 194 p. Rs. 95.00.

Describes Indian bureaucracy, explains how it works and sets the stage to answer why it works the way it does.

Pandey, Surya Nath. Stephen Spender: A Study in Poetic Growth. Delhi, Arnold Heinemann, 1982. 191 p. Rs. 50.00

Explores the possibility transfer of learning among the mentally retarded to discover some of the variables which might be operative in bringing about optimal amount of trans-

Sharma, Basudeo. The Victor Novel: Problems and Portrayal of the Child. Delhi, Heinemann, 1982. 196 p. Rs. 50.00.

Analyses the sociological and psychological factors that make the child character important in works of fiction. Emphasises the philosophical origin of this in Locke and Rousseau and traces the phenomenon from early 19th to the 20th Century. Dickens, the Bronte Sisters and George Eliot are amongst authors analysed in detail.

Sau, Ranjit. Trade Capital and Underdevelopment : Towards Marxist Theory. Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1982. xiii, 162 p. Rs. 80.00.

Integrates various writings of Marx, and follows them in order to construct a theory of international trade that is distinct from the prevailing one.

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Indian Book Chronicle
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EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH

India's Changing Rural Scene

Controversies surrounding the socio-economic effects of green revolution on India's rural economy have generated more heat than light, more passion than reasoning, more rhetorics than empirical evidence to prove the contention on either side of the debate. The book* under review is an exception in the literature on the subject and comes as a breath of fresh air to those interested in knowing the change that India's rural economy has undergone over the last two decades.

The author who is Professor of Development Studies at the Graduate Institute of International Studies and at the Institute of Development Studies, Geneva, first came to India in 1952. Since then he has returned several times to this country to carry out field work in rural areas, spending weeks and months in villages and districts all over the country. He speaks Hindi and that facilitated his conversing with the villagers in North India directly. In the Southern States, he employed interpreters. Most of the journeys were done in his own self-driven car. He has surveyed the same areas of the country at an interval of 10 to 15 years so that he is able to perceive the change the Indian countryside has undergone or is undergoing.

MEETING THE FARMERS

The present book consists of two parts. The first part entitled Meeting the Farmers is a comparative study of the conditions prevailing before the green revolution and twelve years after the beginning of that revolution. The author undertook a survey of conditions at the village level in selected districts first in August 1963 to August 1964 and then in September 1978 to February end 1979. The districts selected for the enquiry fall into three broad categories: (i) three districts which have experienced relatively rapid growth involving a substantial process of economic diversification, viz. Bulandshahr in Western U.P., the irrigated part of Guntur district on coastal Andhra, and the new delta of Thanjavur district in Tamil Nadu; (ii) two districts, viz., Varanasi in eastern U.P. and Muzaffarpur in Bihar which are examples of those that started late and did not have particularly agricultural castes. Nowrangpur in Assam and Puri in Orissa were two other districts belonging to this category which were surveyed briefly in 1979; and (iii) Satara district in Maharashtra and Jodhpur in Rajasthan in which progress is hindered by the existence of inhospitable natural conditions. Here no matter how clever the farmers may be the agricultural progress of the area is constrained by the adverse climate and soil conditions.

Within each district one village was usually selected for systematic interviews with landless labourers and small, medium and large landowners "in order to have a representative sample of various classes and castes, as well as different incomes". In addition, the author "took care through visits to other neighbouring villages, to select places which typified area. At the same time, local authorities from the village, block and district were interviewed". They supplied him with statistics quoted in the book and with local records.

For a vast country that India is, the sample is, of course, statistically speaking too small to permit generalisations for the country as a whole.

*Gilbert Etienne, *India's Changing Rural Scene 1963-1979*, pp. x+231, Oxford, 1982, Rs. 90.00
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Moreover, the method of personal interviews adopted for investigation and collection of information from local district and village authorities may not be perfect to provide meticulously accurate statistical information about the area, classes and families studied. But that should not detract from the value of the book as the first empirical study of its kind with country-wide coverage on the subject of economic and social change that has occurred in rural India over the last two decades.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions reached in the study are of considerable general interest. The first and foremost conclusion is that the green revolution has benefited all classes of rural population including small and marginal farmers and landless agricultural labourers. In the areas of green revolution, the small and marginal farmers have gained from the use of high yielding variety seed and chemical fertilisers whereas the landless labourer has gained from rise in the real wage rates and increase in employment. Income disparities between the rich and the small farmer have no doubt increased as a result of the rise of new agricultural technology but the incidence of absolute poverty has gone down as a result of the progress of agriculture.

This progress has, however, been linked to the availability of irrigation which in the author's view is the key factor in the whole process of agricultural development in this country. Where irrigation is available, farmer has taken to use of the new-technology inputs and has thereby raised production. In these areas "a plentiful supply of inputs is more essential than credit and automatically reduces corruption and other mal-practices, the victims of which are usually the small and medium farmers" (p. 213). A sound infrastructure in terms of roads and electricity, small industries and trade is also essential for making agriculture progressive.

However, in the areas where natural conditions are inhospitable for farming on modern lines, primitive cultivation still continues and yields still remain extremely low. In these areas little progress has been made in raising living standards and eradicating poverty.

The picture of the country as a whole, thus, does not permit of clear-cut conclusions on the impact of green revolution on India's rural life. As the author puts it (p. 212) : "Instead of clear cut conclusions, easy to define and to grasp, one finds a world full of nuances. In practically all regions of India one can perceive indications of economic and social change, but the great problem is that conditions are so diverse. To describe the last thirty years as those of total success or failure, would be equally wrong. One would nevertheless be inclined to emphasise the positive aspects of these years because, too often, pessimistic and overcritical assessments are made, especially among people who live at several remotes (both mentally and physically) from the villages."

As for the future, the author expresses cautious optimism. "The progress to be made in the last two decades of the present century can now be speeded up, and can involve more and more poor people, because the period of trial and error of the early phase of post-independence India is clearly over. If the lessons of the large stock of experience accumulated in all fields—economic, social and technical—are taken seriously, overall development policies should continuously improve".

FARM PRICE POLICY

An important policy issue in this connection is the price policy. "The author repeatedly points out the importance of our taking another look at the farm price policy that we have pursued in the past. After talking of the "remarkable" expansion of agricultural production, trade and other economic activity in Unchagaon in Bulandshahr district of Uttar Pradesh, the author notes that (pp. 26-27) in keeping with all these changes and developments, farmers in our area have gradually become more price conscious and today prices play an increasingly complex role in their lives. The farmers have to take into account both the prices of inputs such as

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electricity and fertilisers, and of outputs. In the 1960's, for example, the rather high prices of wheat helped the promotion of the yield varieties. Later...in 1971, farmers bitterly complained about the prices of fertilisers.

Similarly in 1978-79 they were concerned about two things. The previous year had seen bumper harvest in sugarcane and there was a glut of sugar in the market, the result that prices of sugar fell sharply. Farmers thought in terms of reducing the acreage devoted to sugarcane but the question was...what they could grow instead? Again talking about the country as a whole, the author's remarks in the concluding part of the book (p. 185): "Money plays an increasing role in rural development: more wages in cash, greater use of cash inputs, a growing share of agricultural production entering the market, rising investments in increasing purchase of goods. The relationship between money, production, costs and prices of agricultural produce has become a very sensitive issue which requires constant watching. We have cases where farmers need more better price incentives to induce them to push certain crops." The conclusion need to be underlined that the benefit of the policy makers lies with the Union Ministry of Agriculture.

PLEA FOR PRAGMATISM

Part II of the book is entitled "New Strategies or New Rhetoric". The part contains general conclusions reached by the author on the basis of his investigations on questions of rural development, agrarian reform and attack on poverty. Here the author comes out strongly against rhetorics mouthed by armchair critics of the green revolution and by the ideologues. The policy conclusions reached by him, he rightly points out, are based on "a fair amount of concrete evidence" which cannot and should not be easily disregarded. The dogmatism of the diehards, warns, spreads further, "it cannot but have a serious effect on the understanding of development and on the design of adequate policies". "New labels on old bottles,"

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rhetorics of armchair planners and armchair revolutionaries—more common in certain U.N. agencies and universities than within the governments and administration, in the countries themselves", the author continues, "will lead to further disillusionment".

The governments in the developing countries like India must follow more realistic and pragmatic farm policies if they want food security and eradication of poverty from their midst. The experience gained in the past should prove a valuable asset in formulating such policies. It is no more necessary to go by theoretical framework and growth theories put forward by western writers who are quite unfamiliar with conditions prevailing. "We have now reached a point",

as the author rightly points out, "where it is becoming possible to see development issues in a clearer light than at the beginning of the 1950s. Instead of looking for inspiration from Western ideas, liberal or Marxist, it is now possible to gradually evolve development theories based on actual practice in a manner which best suit conditions in a country like India. The links between economic growth and social progress are also more clearly evident." This is an advice which the growth economists and policymakers of this country can ill-afford to ignore.

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A Political Perspective on Crime

S. Venugopal Rao

Crime in Our Society : A Political Perspective
pp. vi+153, Vikas, 1982, Rs. 75.00

Reviewed by G D. Khosla

Venugopal Rao, with his vast and indepth experience of crime and criminals, as a police officer, has written an admirable account of the quality and the pervasive nature of crime in present day Indian society. As Justice Krishna Iyer says, in his commendatory foreword to the book, Rao "has a grasp on the raw life of the Indian criminal, our criminal system in action from police investigation to final disposal by courts". But there is no bitterness, no unmitigated condemnation of the wrongdoer, nor any maudling sympathy for the rebel in society who takes to a life of crime because of his deprivation and frustration.

Crime in Our Society is a balanced and authentic narrative of (to use a Chinese expression) the interesting times we live in, when for the humblest and lowliest as well as for the highest and the most powerful, corruption has become a way of life. It is the end which matters, not the means, and often the end, the objective, is little more than a sadistic indulgence in a base and vicious impulse. Society looks upon

this horrendous spectacle either with cynical indifference or with unconcealed enjoyment and even a touch of envy.

These prevailing attitudes of our society are illustrated by a long list of criminal acts of various types and dimensions. There were, for instance, the Hindu Moslem riots of April 1979, at Jamshedpur, when the stubborn obstinacy of the Hindu organisers of the Ramanavami procession to take it past a Moslem mosque, resulted in communal riots in the course of which large scale mass killing, looting, arson and police firing took place.

The story of Charles Sobraj, one of the most accomplished murderers in the annals of modern crime, is another case in point. A well-planned robbery in a five-star hotel in Delhi, an abortive attempt to rob a tourist in Bombay, followed by his arrest, escape, rearrest and (surprisingly) release on bail, after which he committed several murders at Goa, Varanasi and Calcutta, and finally his arrest a third time, leading to his trial and incarceration

when he wrote his memoirs for a very handsome price, all go to show the manner in which a criminal who displays ingenuity and daredevilry in perpetrating a series of the most heinous offences is glorified, instead of being condemned and despised. The Mafia-type gangs, operating at the Dhanbad collieries, fostered and protected by corrupt people in power and the "maladroit policies of the government" have played havoc not only with the supply and distribution of coal, but have also taken and continue to take a heavy toll of human lives.

Student violence, disputes about forest rights, resentment caused by the policy of reservations of seats in educational institutions and the public services for members of scheduled castes and the backward classes, large-scale smuggling in which "some personnel of the Indian Airlines, transporters, fruit-traders, close relatives of ministers and bureaucrats, exporters and those who are in the tourist trade are involved", gambling and vice dens patronised by affluent urbanites, the gigantic swindle of public money in the construction of public works, and above all, the corruption of politicians and those wielding political power have infected the entire Indian society with the vicious germ of corruption and the pervasive existence of black money with all its evils.

WHITE COLLAR CRIMES

In a chapter devoted to white collar crimes and black money, Rao relates several instances of how professedly respectable individuals, businessmen, academicians, film stars, distributors of medicinal drugs make illegal gains. He asks, almost in despair, "Are these manifestations merely an aspect of our normal values or the consequence of economic development or the inevitable adjuncts of an exploitative society? The power factor has, no doubt, played and continues to play the most important part in this near total devaluation of our social and moral beliefs, in the half-hearted enforcement of our laws and the steep decline into criminality by an increasing number of individuals.

So far so good. But when Rao

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tries to state the sociological perspective and search for remedial measures, he seems to get lost in the polemics of aspirations and the means available, culture conflicts (whatever that may mean) and theorising about sub-cultures and economic pressures. Statistics of violent crime in the Western countries have shown that economic progress does not bring about a quantitative decrease in the incidence of crime, though its nature may undergo slight modifications and changes. Rao suggests that practical restructuring of our criminal law and procedure will meet the realities of today and the forbidding challenge of tomorrow. This, however, seems to me a forlorn hope.

The present day criminal law and procedure are quite adequate to deal with crime and criminals of all types, if the will to enforce the law exists. But this is sadly lacking, because of the imminent corruption of power-hungry politicians and of those who profit by the illicit use of this power. There is no nostrum, no immediate remedy for this sickness, except a realisation (through actual experience) of the fact that, in the ultimate analysis, dishonesty does not pay, and honesty is, alas, the best policy. Benevolent monarchy, public-spirited oligarchy, chauvinistic despotism, well-meaning autocracy do not provide the answer. They may, for a short period, suppress the symptoms, but none of them will cure the disease. Persistent democracy, alone, can preserve and nurture human values.

We have seen hopeful signs of this in the recent rejection of dishonest and incompetent politicians at the polls. There is an object lesson in this. In the meantime, people like Rao should continue to raise their voices fearlessly and meaningfully against the corruption and the misdeeds of those in power, and keep the flame of human values burning. As Edmund Burke very truly observed, the march of the human mind is slow, but all that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that the good men remain silent.

G.D. Khosla, a well-known writer is an ex-chief justice of the Punjab and Haryana High Court.

The Search for Indian Socialism

V.K.R.V. Rao

Indian Socialism : Retrospect and Prospect

pp. viii+168, Concept Publishing Company, 1982, Rs. 70.00

Reviewed by Ramaswamy R. Iyer

V.K.R.V. Rao's *Indian Socialism: Retrospect and Prospect* is, as its author says in the preface, a slim volume; but it is an ambitious undertaking. It attempts nothing less than a synoptic view of the whole course of the Indian effort at planned socio-economic development. Whether one agrees with the diagnosis and prescriptions or not, this is a stimulating, thought-provoking book.

The book is in two parts. The first is really the background to the second, and in the first part again the first chapter is a kind of introduction to the rest. Indeed, one gets the impression that the contents of the last three chapters represent what the author really wanted to say, and that the rest of the book is a deliberate fleshing out of what could have been an extended article or paper into a book. However, that is perhaps somewhat uncharitable. Taking the book on its own terms, one can say that the whole of Part I and the first two chapters of Part II provide a background leading to the discussion of issues in the last three chapters of Part II.

EMERGENCE AND EVOLUTION

The first chapter in Part I outlines the emergence and evolution of socialism and poses certain questions. It points out that both in the manner of its emergence and in its subsequent evolution the history of socialism has followed a course somewhat different from the Marxian prognosis. The collapse of capitalism and its replacement by communism has not taken place. Communist states in fact emerged in feudal, agrarian and under-industrialised societies. It would appear that it was surviving feudalism and inadequate capitalist development rather than the disappearance of the former and the maturity of the latter that created the conditions for a successful revolutionary take-over. The influence of

some great leaders on the course history was also immense.

Further, communism is taking national orientations and deviations, and ceasing to be the world force which could evoke a loyalty transcending national barriers; and divisions based on the divergence of national interests have emerged among communist states. Thus both capitalism and communism have travelled a long way from the original philosophies and ideologies. There seems to be no imminent prospect of a break-down of capitalism, and capitalist societies have tended to move some distance towards the welfare idea. On the other hand, the international movement centred in Moscow has declined rather than gathered strength.

There has also been a loosening of tensions between the capitalist and communist powers for a number of reasons, not the least among them being the sharing of nuclear power between them and the virtual impossibility of using it. Thus, the prospect for the foreseeable future seems to be the co-existence of two systems, neither of them pure monolithic, but with diverse forms and variations, and each having achieved a measure of success in growth and development. However, this does not mean that the two systems are converging towards each other and that a compromise system is evolving. It is against the background of these two main existing systems (with a number of diversities and variations) that the developing countries of the Third World are setting out on their journeys towards economic development and social justice.

Having set the background in this manner, Rao proceeds to consider the strengths and weaknesses of the capitalist and communist systems. He finds that as a result of centralised national planning and the comparatively greater discipline and austerity, communist societies are

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able to achieve a higher rate of capital accumulation than capitalist societies with their liberal and democratic values and their abundance of consumer goods. In his view, the communist system is more capable of mopping up the investible surpluses whereas the capitalist system has a higher efficiency of operation. However, he adds that each is trying to adopt some of the other's features. He finds further that in so far as the attainment of social justice is concerned, the communist system with a minimum of unemployment, inflation and inequalities in income and wealth offers a better alternative, but at the cost of suppression of individual rights and freedom of expression, which are basic for human development. He then proceeds in the next chapter to expound 'democratic socialism' as an alternative which seeks to combine the features of both communism and capitalism. This is followed by a chapter on Gandhian socialism, which closes Part I of the book.

GANDHIAN SOCIALISM

This may be the appropriate place for a comment on the contents of Part I. In so far as Part I aims at providing a theoretical or doctrinal background to the Indian developments which are dealt with in Part II, one wonders whether the chapter on 'The Democratic Socialist Alternative' should really find a place in Part I or whether its contents should form part of the tracing of the Indian experience in Part II. This is not merely a pedantic point regarding the structure of the book. The doubt concerns the description of democratic socialism as an 'alternative' in the sense of a system or doctrine to be placed alongside of capitalism and communism. (I use the word 'alternative' as it has been used by the author himself, though one wonders how there can be four alternatives : this I hasten to admit, is a pedantic comment!) 'Democratic socialism' is surely a description given to the Indian experiment, the course of which has been traced in Part II of the book; and it has been argued there that the experiment has not been markedly successful.

Surely, the two 'alternative' systems are in fact only capitalism and communism; and the kind of 'mixed economy' or 'socialistic pattern' that India has attempted could be regarded either as communistic with some features of capitalism retained, or (more accurately) as a variant of capitalism with some features drawn from the communist system. At any rate one cannot, in this case, easily distinguish between a doctrine or philosophy on the one hand and practice on the other: the former has largely to be inferred from the latter. (I shall revert to this later). If this is correct, it is misleading to include in Part I a chapter on 'democratic socialism' as a separate system forming part of the historical-doctrinal background to the Indian experiment : it is the Indian experiment and need therefore have been dealt with only in Part II.

What about Gandhian socialism ? That is indeed a separate philosophy : it is perhaps the real 'alternative' to both capitalism and communism and not a compromise between the two. It is fundamentally different from both, and for all the apparent absence of 'system' or structure, it is a real philosophy. But alas, it has not had much practical consequence. The Indian effort at planned socio-economic development has been only marginally influenced by Gandhian ideas. The chapter on Gandhian socialism at best serves the aesthetic purpose of giving the appearance of completeness to the account of the theoretical background in Part I.

INDIAN SOCIALISM

Chapters 5 and 6, which are the first two chapters of Part II, expound the approach, set forth the characteristics and trace the history of "Indian Socialism". Rao points out that the socialistic pattern of a mixed economy that tries to combine the best from both the capitalist and socialist forms of development, with centralized but largely investment and indicative planning (This is a rather curious description of Indian planning; the kind of detailed capacity-targeting of even minute sub-sectors of industry and the attempt to enforce this through an elaborate

machinery of industrial licensing and registration is not what is generally meant by 'indicative planning'.) was adopted; that socialism became a word of common currency; that India was trying to combine a parliamentary democracy, fundamental rights of the individual, private property and private enterprise, with a large public sector, planned economic development, social justice and concern for the abolition of mass poverty, in an approach to socialism.

He then proceeds to define the features of Indian socialism : according to him, it is a socialism that does not believe in violence and class-hatred but "relies fundamentally on education and persuasion, and if necessary, self-suffering for sponsoring the establishment of a socialist order"; and it "involves socialism with democracy, with human dignity and creation of opportunities for the development of each individual and not the destruction of the individual". He asks what a socialist society means in positive terms in the Indian approach and lists the following : (i) assurance of work and a minimum standard of living in terms of housing, clothing, food, education and health, ruling out both poverty and unemployment; (ii) equality of opportunity; (iii) political democracy, decentralization of economic activity, a mixed economy and increasing reliance on domestic resources both physical and financial, and on domestic skills, technology and enterprises; and (iv) perfect social equality.

The chapter concludes with a ringing peroration : "Indian socialism is rooted in respect for human dignity and human equality. While imposing restrictions on the right to private property...it permits private enterprise in economic activity...It abhors violence and class war and pins its faith on non-violence, sacrifice and dedication to the service of the poor. And as a natural consequence, its implementation is envisaged through parliamentary democracy...rather than through a violent revolution...While Indian socialism has certainly been influenced by the writings of western socialists, its roots are derived from Indian thinking and adapted to

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Indian conditions... Indian socialism is, thus much more mixed and pragmatic, if not eclectic, than what one found in the west during the early days of its socialist movements."

THEORY AND PRACTICE

One is brought up short by the rhetoric. What is this 'Indian socialism' of which these glowing attributes are predicated? One finds it hard to see in contemporary realities any reflection of the virtues enumerated by Rao. He would of course say that he was describing the theory of Indian socialism and not its practice, and that he deals with the latter in a subsequent chapter. Leaving aside for a moment the validity of the distinction between theory and practice, the question which troubles me is: Is there in fact such a thing as 'Indian socialism' in the sense of a recognised body of doctrine or school of thought? In what sense is it 'Indian' and in what sense 'socialism'?

This may seem a curious question, and may be met by the counter questions: Isn't the socialist pattern of society enshrined in our national Plans? Didn't Nehru who was its proponent enjoy a unique and commanding position in this country, and did he not have national backing for his ideas? Has not 'socialism' been put even into the Preamble to the Constitution? Well: it was certainly 'Indian' in the sense that the Plans and policies were those of a duly constituted and democratic Government of India; and it was 'socialism' in the sense that the Plans and the Constitution so describe it; but there were other views and dissenting voices in India. The communists would not have accepted Indian planning as socialistic: Rao himself points out that the communists missed the opportunity of backing Nehru and strengthening the forces of socialism.

Even others, who could not be called communists, had their serious reservations about Nehru's path to socialism. Once again Rao himself quotes Jayaprakash Narayan to this effect (page 141). The course of Indian development has also been criticised, not always cogently, and sometimes disingenuously, by self-styled

Gandhians. Indeed, if one wishes to identify a genuinely Indian contribution to socio-economic thought, something distinctive and *sui generis*, one should perhaps point to what Rao calls 'Gandhian socialism' that was truly Indian, and it was socialistic in some essential senses, as the author points out. Some of the characteristics and features which he has predicated of 'Indian socialism', such as non-violence, absence of hatred, self-sacrifice, dedication to the poor, and being rooted in Indian traditions, are perhaps more applicable to Gandhiji's thought.

I do not wish to be misunderstood. I am not offering a critique of the path of planned economic development which has been adopted by the Government of India and the Planning Commission under Nehru's influence; nor am I endorsing criticisms of that path made by either 'socialists' or 'Gandhians'. I am making a more

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limited point, namely, that Rao's account of the features & characteristics of Indian socialism gives the misleading impression that he has described a clearly defined system of thought and belief called by that name.

Chapter 6 is headed 'India Experiment in Socialist Transformation': that, if we substitute the word 'social' for 'socialist', would be a truer description of the subject matter of the book than "India Socialism". It was a formidable effort, which, in spite of setbacks and disappointments, need not be written off altogether. It is to be honoured the less for being eclectic and pragmatic rather than doctrinaire and systematic; but it is misleading to treat it as a system or a body of doctrine. I have perhaps rather laboured this point, but its importance will become clearer as we go on.

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THE IDEAL AND THE REAL

We now come to Rao's account of the failure of the effort at socialist transformation. He finds that economic growth has not been up to the expectations; that reduction in economic disparities has been negligible; that unemployment has increased, as has poverty in both rural and urban areas; and that on the whole, what has emerged is a dual society with a small minority of the population enjoying a good standard of living, urban amenities, economic power and political influence, and the vast majority continuing to remain poor with low consumption standards and high levels of unemployment, a low level of opportunities and amenities and no participation in or control over the power structure, political and economic. He concludes that the thirty-year Indian experiment has failed to effect the socialistic transformation laid down by Nehru in spite of the economic development which has taken place, because of the deficiencies, distortions, disparities and class alignments which accompanied it.

In Chapter 7 Rao tries to diagnose the malady with a view to formulating workable prescriptions. He points out that the mere extension of state ownership or even the introduction of a full-fledged state-owned economy does not ensure the automatic realisation of a socialist society, and that in fact, in the absence of certain other conditions it could easily degenerate into a vast bureaucratic empire, a paradise for power-loving politicians, bureaucrats and technocrats.

He proceeds to distinguish between two alternative patterns of mixed economy, Type A and Type B. In Type A the State agencies and the public sector provide external tax concessions, loan finances, and a host of incentives to the private sector, and enable it to grow at a fast pace. In doing so, they take no account of the social or kinship or ideological elements in those who are thus assisted to grow in the private sector, do not ensure an equitable distribution of the dividends from such growth or take account of its effect on inequality of

incomes and wealth or offer any effective opposition to the concentration of economic power in private hands. In effect, the public sector, far from operating from commanding heights, becomes an adjunct to the private sector. It is also hampered and enfeebled by its operational inefficiency, largely from self-created causes.

On the other hand, in Type B, the State uses the public sector, including State power, to determine the main directions of the country's economic development, and effectively influence the investment pattern in the private sector, its ownership and operation and its product-mix in terms of basic consumption goods and luxury goods. It takes effective steps to prevent the concentration of economic power in private hands. It extends its production activities beyond infrastructure and capital goods into consumer goods, so as to mobilise resources and accelerate the tempo of capital formation. It acquires effective control over stock exchanges, markets in land and real estate, trading in gold and jewellery, banking and the wholesale trade in crucial commodities. It also prevents private capitalist interests from controlling the Press and other mass media. For its own part, it sets an example in operational efficiency, profitability and viable pricing policy. Rao goes on to say that the Indian experiment in mixed economy has tended to conform to Type A rather than Type B.

But is this really a piece of analysis? Is Type B really a type, or is it a utopia postulated by the author; and is Type A really a type or is it a deviation from or the degeneration of Type B? In other words, do we have here two contrasting types of mixed economy, or is it a case of "look here, upon this picture, and on this", i.e., a picture of the ideal and the real, or what the author would have liked the Indian economy to be and what in fact it has tended to become? The entire thrust of these two pages (pages 122-123) is merely the expression of the author's regret that the Indian experiment in mixed economy has failed to approximate to the ideal as he sees it, but it is presented as an analytical contribution.

A LIST OF PRESCRIPTIONS

The next chapter entitled "Did India Miss the Socialist Bus?" virtually comes to the conclusion that it did, and that the stage seems set for a violent upheaval, but this sombre assessment is somewhat lightened and an element of hope introduced in the last chapter "Quo Vadis?". This is the weakest part of the book. Rao finds that though we have missed the opportunity of socialist transformation, yet the basic framework has been established, and that with some effort this goal can still be achieved. In his view, there is no need to change over to presidential system of Government; but some basic reform in the working of the Parliamentary system is required.

His prescriptions include the following: the acceptance of the normative structure of society by the people as a whole, making it an inviolable and unchallengeable part of the social ethos, treating dissent or deviations therefrom in the same way as attempts to question national integrity and sovereignty; the functioning of political parties within the framework of such a consensus; the toleration of private property within limits; the decentralization of the selection of candidates for election and the adoption of some variant of the American system of primaries; party cadres enrolled on the basis of commitment, skill and experience; election expenditures to be regulated and financed from public revenues and subjected to audit; the Cabinet system to be retained but elements from the presidential system added, including the induction of technocrats and experts; the governmental system to operate on a federal basis with extensive decentralization; the Rajya Sabha to be retained but drastically changed in composition and functions, so as to include the representation of professional and economic organizations; the bureaucracy to be imbued with social awareness and a commitment to the accepted normative structure; officials to be put through proper training and orientation programmes and given an exposure to the problems of the poor at the 'grass root levels', while at the same time paid adequate

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salaries to neutralize inflationary pressures and provided with incentive payments for special efficiency, innovation, etc.; the machinery for the operation of the public enterprises to be streamlined; worker's participation in management to be an integral feature of all public enterprises; the autonomy and independence of the judiciary to be ensured, while at the same time the legislature to be enabled to pass necessary legislative measures to see that the normative structure embodied in the constitution is not diluted or violated by judicial decisions; the three wings of the Government, the executive, the legislature and the judiciary to work in coordination and also to act as checks and balances on one and another; and lastly, the people who are the ultimate sovereign in the democratic system to have a positive feeling of national identity, religious harmony and secular mutuality, equality of human dignity and individual worth, a national outlook and scientific temper, pride and self-reliance, a cooperative spirit and commitment to the work ethic, production efficiency and economic growth with social justice, ecological and population balance and environmental health.

That is an odd assortment of the novel and the commonplace, of the significant and the inconsequential; and in its platitudes and wishful thinking, and in the simultaneous assertion of conflicting propositions, it is rather pathetic, inasmuch as what starts out as a prescription or a blueprint ends up as a wistful enumeration of the characteristics of the kind of society that the author would wish to see. How such a society is to be brought about and what grounds there are for hoping that efforts in this direction will be more successful in the future than the past, is not clear. Dare one suggest that this chapter is a kind of afterthought, and an effort to end on a note of hope and confidence which the author does not really feel; that the energies which directed the writing of the book flagged at the end of Chapter 8 but that he forced himself to go on and add one more chapter so as to close the book on a 'positive' note? It is almost as if Rao is whistling in the dark to keep

his spirits up.

DIAGNOSIS AND PRESCRIPTION

The weakness of the prescriptions arises from weaknesses in the diagnosis. It will not be an unfair summary of his position to say that his thesis is that Indian Socialism was a perfectly sound and viable system but that it failed in practice for a variety of reasons. By postulating a doctrine or faith called 'Indian Socialism' and presenting an ideal portrait formed by putting together a number of highly desirable features (one might call it a kind of 'identikit' picture), and then dealing with the actual course of Indian socialism and its failure to bring about the intended results, the author is able to distance himself from the latter, and at the same time retain his faith in the former intact. But is this clarity or delusion? Rao regrets the deviations and the distortions, but were these escapable? Were we perhaps trying too delicate and difficult a balancing feat? Was the hypertrophy of the bureaucracy the inevitable consequence of the kind of mixed economy that we were trying to establish?

Given the following factors, viz., (a) parliamentary democracy, a multiplicity of parties, the federal structure, and experiments in local self-government, with election at the local, State and Central levels, generating enormous requirements of funds, (b) the substantial presence of the private sector pursuing its own *dharma* of profits and growth, (c) massive State intervention in the economy and the ubiquitous presence of the governmental machinery whichever way one turns, with enormous powers entrusted to the bureaucracy at diverse levels, and (d) a large

public sector, intended to be the instrument of social and economic policies, but capable of being used as the instrument of patronage or of political purposes. should we assume and expect that their interaction and coexistence and the efforts of conflicting forces and interests to work out a *modus vivendi* and to bend the system to their own diverse purposes, must necessarily lead to corruption, inequities, a dual society, black money and the like? These are not intended as rhetorical questions the answers to which are clear and obvious. They express in fact the perplexity and bewilderment that many of us feel when considering the course of events and the current situation. These agonizing and debilitating doubts are not squarely faced and dealt with in the book.

I do not suggest that the answers are bound to be of a kind that would be damaging to the cause of socialism; but it is surely at least necessary to consider explicitly and carefully whether the kind of mix and balance that we chose was unstable, and whether J P's criticism (quoted on page 141) has perhaps some force. This kind of examination would have greatly enhanced the value of the book.

THE LOGIC OF THE ARGUMENT

I am not accusing the author of complacency or a failure to see the gravity of the maladies afflicting us. Indeed, I had drawn attention earlier to the gloominess of Chapter 8 and the dispiritedness of the 'positive' final chapter. My point is that he fails to pursue some of his insights and perceptions far enough. He goes up to a point and then shies away from a consideration of the full implications of his recognitions

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We welcome it. So do our readers.

For instance, referring to the mixed economy he distinguishes between a right mix and a wrong mix: the right mix being a mixture of the genuine socialist and of the progressive capitalist elements, the wrong mix being a combination of feudal and mercantilist-cum-usurious capitalist elements on the other (page 151); but how is the right mix to be brought about, and how is it to be prevented from declining into the wrong mix? He refers to the neglect of 'political economy' and the tendency to take a narrowly economic rather than a politico-economic and macro-sociological view of the process of socialist transformation; but can it really be said that our planning has been entirely 'economic'? Have not successive Plan documents referred to sociological and psychological factors and the need for a social transformation? What has been wanting is surely not awareness but the ability and will to transform that awareness into action.

Rao bewails that while we have all the paraphernalia of socialism such as a large public sector, nationalised banking and insurance, restrictions on monopolies and business houses and so on, we do not have a socialist society. He recognises the need for a high level of social consciousness in every section of society and for institutions to be manned by people dedicated to the socialist cause. As against this, he perceives the overwhelming reality of the non-social and anti-social values that prevail in the country. It is because of this that he calls for the inculcation of a 'normative structure of society' to be accepted by the people as inviolable and unchallengeable. He advocates 'the grand idea of a natural cultural revolution' and tries to forestall the criticism that it is either a utopian fantasia or an exercise in regimentation. But by what means can such a pervasive socialist consciousness be brought about? There is no clear answer in the book.

NEED FOR IDEOLOGY

The kind of dedication and loyalty and the harnessing of the energy and enthusiasm of an entire

people that Rao longs for really call not for a cultural revolution but for a moral revolution or rather a quasi-religious movement. It is a commonplace that the Puritan work ethic was a powerful engine of the first industrial revolution in England. In the early years of the growth of capitalism in America, the pursuit of the accumulation of wealth as a positive good was a kind of religion. As for communism, it is obvious that it offered not merely a politico-economic theory but a surrogate for religious faith. The idealism which characterised the independence movement in this country and the national cohesion and dedication of spirit which it brought about, were again the results of the moral fervour inspired by Gandhiji. We have distanced ourselves equally from the path of Gandhism which could have provided a moral basis for the effort at socio-economic development; from communism which could have provided an ideological underpinning to the socio-economic programme; and from capitalism which could have released powerful individualistic forces of enterprise and initiative. Instead we have tried to make an eclectic combination of elements drawn from diverse sources; but eclecticism is not a religion which can generate enthusiasm or command passionate loyalty.

This is not necessarily a plea for ideology. If the path of Gandhian socialism was an impossible one for the country as a whole to follow,

and if we had to pursue industrialization and economic growth on western lines as the national objectives, and at the same time wished to avoid the evils of unbridled individualism on the one hand and regimentation on the other, perhaps there was no other course open to us except the one which was chosen. That brings this argument full circle; we return to the question: how then could the distortions and deviations have been avoided? The modest aim of this paper is not to find answers to such large questions but only to raise them, particularly those which the book either does not raise, or fails to make explicit, or stops short of pursuing far enough. However, just as Rao did not wish to end on a pessimistic note but added a positive and relatively more hopeful last chapter. I too should like to end on a positive note. The book clearly reflects the author's deep concern for the future of India. His arguments and analyses take the reader a good deal of the way and then push him forward on his own. If this leads the reader to ponder inadequacies in the author's explanations and prescriptions and formulate his dissatisfactions and disagreements with them, he owes a debt of gratitude to the author for forcing him to think about issues of the utmost importance.

Ramaswamy R. Iyer is Secretary, Economic Administration Reforms Commission. The present article has been written by him entirely in his personal capacity.

In Search of Faith

V.S. Naipaul

Among the Believers

pp. 399, Penguin Books, 1982, £ 1.75

Reviewed by M.C. Gabriel

There are possibly two ways of looking at Naipaul's new book. One is (as the book itself suggests) as a book of travel through Islamic countries during which a preoccupation with the religious zeal of the peoples visited was a particular

concern. It is journey undertaken with that concern in mind. In such a way of looking one need not look farther than where Naipaul points. If one did that and was satisfied, one should feel amply rewarded, for taken even on the minimum level

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of an account of a journey, it is fascinating and beautiful! And this is hardly surprising since it comes from an acknowledged 'modern master', 'one of the greatest living writers in the English language.'

SUSTAINED BRILLIANCE

One more reason is its sustained brilliance. You can open at any page and read without disappointment; not for a moment does he let the tension drop. But to say that is as good as not saying anything at all. With Naipaul brilliance is habitual; it is almost something he cannot escape. One is grateful that he bears it so lightly and as easily as he bears his great knowledge of people and things. And yet one cannot resist remarking that in Naipaul more than in any other writer the brilliance is literal in that it shows like an incandescent glow on his prose. It is difficult to describe the richness and rhythm of the language that Naipaul uses with such ease and fluency. Unlike Flaubert it seems he does not have to sit from morning to evening waiting for the right word; he is hardly ever at a loss. The words come pelting and appropriate to act, scene and thought with an order and arrangement that can rarely be improved.

Even amidst so much brilliance one must notice the peaks which are the word pictures he makes when he is talking of places. In these he excels himself. And he comes armed to the task. When he enters Iran or Pakistan or Malaysia, he enters an area already fully mapped out in his mind in terms of its territory, its history, its culture, its problems, physical, political and developmental. All that is left is the physical contact and this he commits with a sensuous exploratory anxiety very much like a sculptor's bringing the texture, range and tone of the place to life.

"Now the floating memories focussed. There were Africans in Karachi, dock-workers. Away from the motor traffic of main roads there were camel-carts. The camels trotted with their long heads held high. Their flapping mouths and big, round,

cleft feet, picked up clean, gave each camel a triumphant air, as of a similing athlete perpetually breasting a tape."

This is one way of looking; the sheer delight of such writing, Naipaul's brilliance, the informed, keenly observant and intellectual travelling companion he makes, the journey as a journey. But that is to make light of Naipaul's serious concern. We must, therefore look at it another way less unfair to Naipaul. We could start with the title itself—*Among the Believers*. It is a title that defines and excludes, and excludes most of all, as perhaps it is meant to, Naipaul himself as a non-participant. As is usual with him he is anxious to mark out his neutral territory of some elevation, his point of vantage, from which he regards the world and its many sillinesses. So writing about believers, he chooses to define himself.

"...And Behzad added on his own, 'He wants to know what your religion is.'

"'What can I say?'"

"'You must tell me.'"

"'I said, 'I am still a seeker.'"

Then a few lines later,

"I said to Behzad, 'Can you tell him I never had any belief? Tell him I was born far away, in the Americas, and wasn't brought up to any faith.'"

"'You can't tell him that. Say you are a Christian.'"

"'Tell him that.'"

Almost at once he regretted that for some more lines later,

"...it would have served my purpose better—to get Shirazi's response to me as a man without religion, and as a man with an idolatrous-mystical-animistic background."

This is true. Especially in terms of religious faith the truth here has the ascertainable accuracy of fact. But there is kind of belief. If only inferentially it can be said that Naipaul presents an attitude close to belief in his acceptance of the purpose and drive, order and

nationality, of western civilization. More simply perhaps a very Protestant ethic of work as virtue. This virtue and its drive have made this civilization grow to its present status of what Naipaul calls 'universal civilization' as compared with its earlier medieval wayfarer forms closer to tribal cultures and so close to the eastern cultures where Islamic fundamentalism had found a place.

In these there is a rejection of growth and Darwinism—The bright future, and only what has once been can be—precedent in all, only the past is real. "In the fundamentalist scheme the world constantly decays from the glorious days of the prophet that is and has constantly to be re-created. The only function of intellect is to assist that re-creation. It re-interprets the texts; it re-establishes divine precedent, history has to serve theology, law is separated from the idea of equity, and learning is separated from learning". To the old wayfarer with his peasant background and aimlessness faith comes more easily than any new-fangled academic discipline. He takes the faith to the universities and soon "to deny education can become the approved educated act."

NATURE OF FUNDAMENTALISM

How true and yet the rejection is not absolute for fundamentalism is parasitic and assumes that 'there will always exist out there a living, creative civilization, oddly neutral, open to all to appeal to'. Thus "...the emigrants pour out from the land of the faith : 30,000 Pakistanis shipped by the manpower exports experts to West Berlin alone, to claim the political asylum meant for the peoples of East Germany." "It is an acknowledged part of the fantasy that the world goes on, runs itself, has only to be inherited." What it all finally amounts to is that the Islamic fundamentalist wishes to work back to 'a God-given whole' with "the tool of faith alone..., to re-create something like a tribal or a city state that except in theological fantasy—never was." And considering that that part of the cycle of history had gone for good perhaps it never will be either. The suggestion comes through though not explicitly stated that history has

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something of a linear development and we are in a new phase of it or if in a spiral at a higher bend of ordered purposive existence. In the world as it is the two phases do not stay apart. This makes the inconsistencies which he notes in all the Islamic countries inevitable. So Maulana Madoodi—"he felt that God should be the law-giver; and, offering ecstasy of this sort rather than a practical programme, he became the focus of millenarian passion"—goes looking for health in a Boston hospital and dies there—"he had gone to his well-deserved place in heaven by way of Boston; and ..at least part of the way by Boeing."

So much brilliance and argument. Yet for anyone who picks up this book in the hope of gaining a closer understanding of nature of faith there must be disappointment. Naipaul's interest as a man without religion is aggressively secular. He is as we have seen interested in explaining what faith means in terms of attitudes and the way these attitudes adversely affect the institutions by which the people live—*institutions borrowed from or established by the proponents of the universal culture.* "Step by step out of its Islamic striving, Pakistan had undone the rule of law it had inherited from the British and *replaced it with nothing.*" (emphasis added.) No, nothing. Surprisingly not even a clear ethical sense but discrimination guided by opportunism and exigency. "The first four caliphs were rightly guided. After that the caliphate becomes a dynasty; the Islamic ideals of brotherhood are betrayed. Sind, therefore, was conquered by the Arabs in the bad time; but Arabs brought faith, so the bad time becomes a sacred time. The Mongols were bad. But the Mongols became Muslims and established the Great Mogul empire in India, so that becomes a wonderful time. The Turks displace the Moguls, but the Turks also become Muslims and powerful, and they cease to be bad."

OVER SIMPLE

For all the element of fact here (for there is some) this portrayal

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of a confused idea of history looks suspiciously over-simple. But the contradiction and oversimplification stem from a view of Islam which Naipaul refuses to assess on the terms of the believers because they are not part of his frame of reference or because he is without religion. In their view there is no inconsistency. In it the triumph of faith and the Muslim sense of an identity that goes across various purely physical boundaries unite purposively. As he himself notes in one place, 'No religion is more worldly than Islam. In spite of its political incapacity, no religion keeps man's eyes more fixed on the way the world is run'. Though differently made this is a re-statement of the view that Islam is a most practical religion. In Naipaul's view when the Arabs overran Persia they were perpetrating an act basically parasitical but they made it their own, cleansing it in the processes and it is the fundamentalist view as much as the heretical Ahmadis' that they will take over the world including the 'universal civilization' and shape it closer to the Word of God, i.e. the Koran.

The muslim view has never been an ascetic view. It has never enjoined withdrawal. It has claimed and demonstrated active involvement in all worldly matters. The only qualification it has uncompromisingly required is that they be subordinated to the recognition of Allah and an unquestioning acceptance of His word. Naipaul knows that in the total view that Islam gives its believers all contradictions are comprehended and resolved. The total view precludes dichotomy; no Christian conflicts exist. Islam does not see the world as a battlefield where the flesh and the spirit strive for supremacy. Islam is here to take possession of the world; that is its mission. As the Lahore man had said, "A hundred years before there was only Ahmad, one man. Now there are ten million Ahmadis all over the world. In a hundred years from now why not ten million times ten million?" Indeed why not.

Islam in spite of fashionable claims made for it has not been known for any sponsorship of non-

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violence. It has granted grace and merit to those who raise the sword for the faith and it has granted grace to those who lay down their lives for the faith. It believes in 'holy wars'. But if conquest is not possible the world can still be persuaded to see the light if not by force, Ahmadi casuistry perhaps. fundamentalist is not a mission by choice; he is a missionary by being a Muslim. All this and that Naipaul writes about in such poignantly beautiful prose, sometimes in amusement, sometimes in bafflement too, talking of places and people and telling us about the lives and their sudden involvement like ambushed innocents in revolution—the Islamic revolution often with a barely articulate understanding of what is happening in their own individual lives except that it is in the service of their faith make little clear about the world of faith except that it does fit in.

Naipaul's observation is that deep down these men of faith are divided between the two worlds in which they live. "It was in the division of the mind—as much as the excesses of the Shah—that the Islamic revolution had begun. And it was there that it was ending. This is like talking of a dead-end. It must then be roused to face the fact that "...in Iran and elsewhere (it will) have to make peace with the world they knew existed beyond the faith." This world beyond faith is, of course, the world of the universal civilization. He could be right. The idea is attractive because it is manageable and will obey the rules of logic. It is possible to explore the universal civilization in terms of science, technology and a growing mastery of the world—a bright certain future. Faith, confused, confusing, horrifying and so widespread as it goes on without an explanation, stewing in its own mess striving for a bygone glory. Still it would be nice if some one could tell us why.

M. C. Gabriel is a Hyderabad-based free lance writer & novelist.

April 1, 1983

Understanding Library Procedures

Krishan Kumar

Library Manual

pp. xii+386, Vikas, 1982, Rs. 95.00 (Hard Cover) Rs. 30.00 (Paperback)

Reviewed by J.K. Anand

Present day libraries have come a long way from the outmoded concept of preservation of reading materials. A modern library is a social institution, charged with the most enviable function of dispensing knowledge to one and all. Libraries are gaining increasing recognition as the most powerful media of mass education, research promotion as well as indispensable organs of national development programmes.

The importance of a modern library is determined, not by the staggering number of volumes it has, but by the extent of use to which its materials are put. Thus a library is essentially a service institution. A librarian can perform his onerous responsibilities only by attaining proficiency in library principles and techniques so that he is able to help the readers to obtain their requisite information and reading materials. Unfortunately, our professional courses lay more stress on theoretical aspects of library science and miserably lack in imparting knowledge of library routines and techniques needed by practising librarians.

PRACTICAL ASPECTS

Though a large number of books have come out dealing with theoretical aspects of library science yet practical aspects of library service have generally been neglected. Leaving aside the original classical works like Ranganathan's *Library Manual* and *Library Administration*, little has been written on practical library routines and techniques which enable the librarians working in various kinds of libraries to give efficient service to the users. Therefore, *Library Manual* by Krishan Kumar is a welcome addition. The author has made notable contributions to Library Science in the areas of Classification, Cataloguing and Bibliography. The present book is aimed at

acquainting the students of library science and librarians with the routines in various kinds of libraries.

The manual seeks to provide an overall view of the field of library science. It has been divided into six parts as given below:—

- (i) Library and Society,
- (ii) Administration and Management,
- (iii) Classification,
- (iv) Cataloguing,
- (v) Bibliography and Book Selection, and
- (vi) Reference Service.

In the chapter entitled Library and Society, a very good attempt has been made to describe the objectives, functions and services of various kinds of libraries such as school libraries, college libraries, university libraries, special libraries and public libraries. Keeping in view the requirements of various kinds of libraries, the author has given greater emphasis on description of administration and management. The intricacies of library finance, library budget, book selection, book ordering, accessioning, processing, circulation, charging systems and maintenance work relating to various kinds of libraries have been lucidly described.

MODES OF CLASSIFICATION

The special features of the book include a chapter on need and purpose of classification and interesting description of the major general schemes of classification, i.e., Dewey Decimal classification, Colon classification, Universal Decimal classification, Library of Congress classification and Bibliographic classification. Helpful examples of class numbers prepared according to Colon classification (6th edition) and Dewey Decimal classification (19th edition) have also been provided. The examples are clear and exhaustive.

A lucid attempt has been made to describe the theory of cataloguing. The book also contains various kinds of catalogue entries prepared according to Ranganathan's *Classified catalogue code* (5th edition) and *Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules* (AACR 1 and AACR 2).

A list of further readings, given at the end of each chapter, will stimulate the interested readers to make a detailed study of the subject. The index at the end of the book is also adequate. It is good that the price of the paperback edition of this valuable book has been fixed at less than one-third of the price of the hard cover edition so as to suit the pockets of the students of Library and Information Science.

Though the "manual" is quite exhaustive and unique in originality and clarity of presentation, yet its value would have been enhanced if, in addition to library finance and budgeting, the author had also described the accounting procedure adopted in various kinds of libraries. The chapter on 'maintenance work' could become more useful if some information about care of books was also given. In the light of the latest stock-taking methods being adopted in the libraries, details regarding stock-verification need further elaboration. Some information regarding weeding out and withdrawal of books, which is generally not available to working librarians, would have further enhanced the utility of the book.

The necessity of a book, that could impart knowledge about the routines and techniques in various kinds of libraries in a simple manner, was long felt. The present *Library Manual* satisfies that need admirably. The publication, produced neatly and with a pleasant look, should be of immense help to the students of library science and of practical use to the staff working in various kinds of libraries.

J.K. Anand is Librarian of Shyam Lal College (Evening), University of Delhi.

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Guru Tegh Bahadur

Harbans Singh

Guru Tegh Bahadur

pp viii+148, Sterling, 1982 Rs. 40.00

Reviewed by Fauja Singh

The present work is a valuable addition to the religio-historical literature on Guru Tegh Bahadur. Harbans Singh is an established writer and has to his credit a number of standard works on Sikh religion, Sikh history and Punjabi literature. This book provides yet another insight into the writer's understanding of the Sikh faith and its doctrines.

Guru Tegh Bahadur (A.D. 1621-1675) occupies a unique place in the minds of the Sikhs. His *bani* forms part of the Sikh scripture and is read with great devotion. It is held in such great esteem that it is invariably recited at the *bhog* (concluding) ceremony of any *path* (reading) of the scripture. His martyrdom gave a new turn to the Sikh movement which in the years to follow became so powerful that neither the Mughals nor the Pathans of Kabul could prevent the Sikhs from becoming a sovereign power in the Punjab. For the Sikhs the Guru is a permanent symbol of resistance to unrighteousness. However, his importance is not confined to Sikh history. He is a world figure and ranks with the greatest of the great in the annals of mankind. The author rightly says that "his life and message have simultaneously a wide universal meaning". He made the supreme sacrifice to uphold human dignity and freedom. He uttered poetry of eternal truth and beauty. He was, is and will ever be the voice of suffering humanity.

RELIGIOUS BIOGRAPHY

The book is of the nature of a religious biography which endeavours to highlight the significance of the Guru with the help of his *bani*, old Sikh writings, corroborative references in contemporary Persian works, and a newly discovered source, *Bhat Vahis*. References have been given wherever needed to indicate sources of the evidence used. The inheritance in Chapter I gives the

background of the origin and development of Sikhism under the preceding Gurus, without which the full significance of Guru Tegh Bahadur's work would have been impossible to comprehend. Chapters 2 to 7 deal with the life and travels of the Guru, making the account as authentic as possible on the basis of historical evidence. Chapter 8 explains the consequences which flowed from the Guru's martyrdom in 1675 and the powerful impact it made on the subsequent development of the Sikh community. Chapter 9 provides a mature and balanced appraisal of the Guru's mission and teaching. The last chapter gives an English rendering

of some of the compositions—*sabads* and *slokas*—of the Guru.

The style of writing throughout the book is marked by elegance and succinctness. The English rendering of the *bani*, whenever given, is beautiful and close to the original. On the whole it is a nice little book erudite, and well brought-out.

However, the value of the book would have been more enhanced if the author had avoided bringing in the supernatural elements. The prophecy making and miracle working incidents attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur do not seem to accord with the Guru's forthright denunciation of miracles at Deoband at the time of his martyrdom. But perhaps he has included them because he considers them essential to the genre of religious biography.

Fauja Singh recently retired as Professor of History from Panjab University, Patiala.

A Repeat Performance

Md. Abdul Wadud Bhuiyan

Emergence of Bangladesh and Role of Awami League

Vikas, 1982, Rs. 125.00

Reviewed by Chittabrata Palit

Already much has been written on the emergence of Bangladesh and a new book will grip attention only if new documentation or a fresh insight into the subject is offered. The book under review does not come up to such expectations. It reads like one more reportage after the usual date-line Bangladesh. Still the author has done well to demonstrate that the so-called 'irreconcilable Hindu-Muslim antagonism on the basis of religion' which created Pakistan could not bind the two wings of the Islamic state for long. Considerations starker than religion soon surfaced and their conjunction led to the historic role played by the Awami League in liberating Bangladesh under the Indian umbrella.

Geographical autonomy, language barriers, economic colonisation of the western wing over the east, military despotism of the western high command to stifle the electoral majority of the east in the

national assembly created a deep chasm between the two wings of Pakistan. Islamic solidarity was too thin to paper over such irreconcilable contradictions. The political, administrative and economic hegemony of the east reduced east to a subaltern position.

UNFAIR TO EAST PAKISTAN
As Bhuiyan piquantly puts it, 'East Pakistan was treated more or less as a colony and the Bengalis second class citizens.' He laments that if the Lahore Resolution of 1940 for creating two 'independent states' under a federal structure were honoured by the Muslim League, the genocide could have been averted. The regional autonomy was never recognised, and the resolution was suitably amended to foreclose any such recognition of plurality. In the provincial election of 1954, the Awami League (AL) rode the crest of popularity for the first time. As the major partner,

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the United Front, it expected a fair share of power at the Centre. But intrigues there baulked AL's ambition.

This was followed by the decade of Ayub Khan's military regime dashing its hopes to the ground. Sheikh Mujibar Rahman plunged in the alleged Agartala Conspiracy in 1962 in desperation to win the support of the Indian Government but in vain. This brought him back to the constitutional path. The 1965 war with India brought out the vulnerability of East Pakistan and queried credibility of Pakistan as a viable state. The Awami League started the six point programme for regional autonomy of the east—political, economic and linguistic—in 1966 which the landed, military and business interests of the west would never concede. Nor were they prepared for any share out of central power. From Ayub to Yahya, it was the same grim story of denial of justice. After AL's massive victory in the general election of 1970, Yahya and Bhutto conspired in their strategic ways against its coming to power, followed by a military crackdown. This was the setting for Mujib's historic declaration of independence.

MODERATE LEADERSHIP

What is not clear from the analysis is that the AL which was convinced of the bipolarism of the two wings and their natural exclusiveness over the years and thought of revolution as early as 1962, should veer round to a constitutional, mendicant approach to a hostile centre to share power at the top. It leaves one to guess if AL's spokesmanship of Bengali nationalism was a counter for political bargain. The other explanation is hinted at by the author himself. The AL leadership was moderate and subject to pressure from radicals within and outside the party. In case of an earlier showdown, the para-military, left and student groups would have taken charge of the liberation movement over whom the Awami League could not hope to retain control. These were the activists who fought the liberation war and the early decline of the Mujib cult points to the dilemma of the Awami League.

As in cases of all Asiatic nations emerging independent from colonial rule, regional and linguistic autonomy of East Pakistan was foremost before any class war to the benighted people of the region. Bhuiyan's explanation of the success of the AL as a middle class party with the former manifesto carries conviction.

Has the emergence of Bangladesh made the Islamic bond brittle and placed secularism above religion. From the turn of events in Bangladesh, this does not appear to be self-evident. The nation is hovering

between an Islamic and a Bengali identity and perhaps pitching on a Bengali Muslim identity. This quest for an identity should have been germane to such a study. Bhuiyan could have taken the cue from Rafiuddin Ahmed's seminal work and brought his analysis to recent times.

The high price tag (Rs. 125.00) has inflated the value of the work.

Chittabrata Palit is Professor of History at Jadavpur University, Calcutta.

Letters

Sir,

Please refer to your series 'Publishers and the Libraries' published in *Annual Number 1983* of your esteemed fortnightly.

I was a librarian of a Delhi University College from 1972 to 1980, and I feel that Girja Kumar's mention about the role of 'Jobbers' is perfectly right. There is no clear book selection policy in college libraries. We find utter lack of coordination among subject teachers, librarians and book-suppliers. A librarian thinks that the book selection is his province, but this notion remains no longer when he faces a practical situation. He finds little role to play as a professional for which he possesses technical acumen.

The jobbers have made a book selection procedure a mockery. They sell books like vegetables. They bring those books which they want to sell and not those which libraries want to acquire. The jobbers are illiterate, rude and sometimes dishonest. They do not miss an opportunity to cheat libraries. In Delhi University Colleges, it is these jobbers who are dominating the scene. They can be seen on the roads carrying books on their cycles from one library to another. The jobbers acquire books from who-salers and publishers which fetch maximum discount. It is not their concern to know the needs of academic libraries.

It is shocking for a young and

inexperienced librarian to know that his technical knowledge has no relevance in book selection and acquisition. Mostly text books are acquired in the College libraries. The number of copies acquired does not depend on the number of students but on the whim of a teacher or his department. Duplication of titles is never checked against a library catalogue and in some colleges we find as many as 80 to 90 copies of each title in spite of the fact that subject courses change every 4th and 5th year in universities. Imagine the fate of such books! On one side we have budget cut and on the other side a huge amount is wasted on buying number of copies and selecting useless books.

Book selection is an art and science both. But whereas it is an art for teachers it is both for librarians. Librarians base their judgement on actual use, users' demand, good book reviews and other related aspects of book selection. Unless librarians are given freedom in matters of selection and acquisition of books, libraries will grow more as a jungle of books than a healthy library for the future.

Yours
S.D. Vyas

Sir,

I read with much interest Raji Narasimhan's review of nine volumes of poetry in *Indian Book*

April 1, 1983

Chronicle, February 1, 1983 under the title "A Wide Spectrum".

Narasimhan appears to base her arguments, which go mostly against the poets discussed, on the poets' "battle with words". True that the poet is "an immigrant in the world of English", yet it is difficult to agree with the statements she goes on to make—that the poet is "dazzled by its richness and proven virtuosity". Narasimhan takes up the poem "Bombay" by Manohar Shetty and says that he "has not yet liberated himself from the clutch of words". She indicates that the making of a poem (in English) is a sort of "fray" that could "end happily, the kill made well, etc. etc."

One finds it hard to agree to her point of view. Shetty's "Fireflies" (the very first poem in his book) is a simple, lyrical piece—and it is a pity that the reviewer has not mentioned it at all. And there are many such poems in the book, which are exquisitely written. Man Mohan Singh gets similar treatment, and Narasimhan finds fault with the usage of words in Singh's poems. And then, studiously perhaps, proceeds to conclude that the "frequent fall from quality in Man Mohan Singh's poetry is.....that the English writer in India is exposed to the danger of the cliche and the ready made word in a way that his fellow writer in the Indian languages is not." All very fine. But has the reviewer nothing to say about the feeling in these village poems?

The medium of poetry is language, a language separate from that of fiction. Most poets realize this, and so poetic diction is a different thing. I should merely like to stress here that *poems are made with language plus* (not plain language), and therefore when a poet like Arvind Krishna Mehrotra writes "Turns up like an unexpected/Visitor and gives refuge..." or "The land/ Cannot sign its name..." he is aware (intensely aware) of what he is saying with the words he has made use of in the poem.

Sorry, Narasimhan, you have not done justice to some of the finest poems written in English by Indians. Not a real good word for the three poets I have mentioned?

Yours
Jayanta Mahapatra

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Attar Chand. Nonaligned States : A Great Leap Forwrd. Delhi, UDH Publishers, 1983. xxi, 308 p. Rs. 150.00.

Discusses the concept of the New International Economic Order which the author feels will help forge closer and more abiding relations among the non-aligned nations than ideology or military imperatives do.

Bajaj, Ramkrishna. Challenges to Trade and Industry. Bombay, Popular, 1982. vi, 140 p. Rs. 50.00

Examines the socio-political environment in which Indian business operates and defines its consequent role and obligations.

Das, B.S. The Sikkim Saga. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. x, 166 p. Rs. 75.00.

A first hand report of the period of turmoil in Sikkim from 1973 till its merger with India in 1975, when Sikkim became the 22nd State of India by the 38th Amendment Act of the Constitution of India.

Kapur, Tegh Bahadur. Regimental Colours and Ceremonials in the Indian Army. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. x, 208 p. Rs. 95.00.

Explores the myth of Standards, Flags and Insignias in the days of the Mahabharata, and their use in the British and European armies. Also describes the drill procedures for presentation award, special investiture parades, military etiquette, funeral and immersion ceremonies and the use of National flag.

Poudyal, Sriram. Planned Development in Nepal : A Study. Delhi, Sterling, 1983. 135 p. Rs. 60.00.

Examines the growth performance of the Nepalese economy measured in terms of GDP with particular emphasis on development of agriculture and industry, and reduction of poverty, inequality and unemployment.

Society for the Study of Regional Disparities, Delhi. Regional Inequalities in India: An Inter-State and Intra-State Analysis. Delhi, Author, 1982. xxviii, 272 p. Rs. 80.00.

Issues discussed have special significance in India where the overwhelming majority of people live below the poverty line—more so because of India's constitutional structure which is federal in nature and considerable heterogeneity exists in terms of language and culture among people in different regions.

Thota, Anand Rao. Emily Dickinson : The Metaphysical Tradition. Delhi, Arnold Heinemann, 1983. 197 p. Rs. 50.00.

Relates Dickinson's work to that of the English metaphysical divines and the American new metaphysical. Also takes a fresh look at Samuel Johnson's approach to the metaphysicals.

Trikha, Manorama B. Robert Frost : The Poetry of Clarification. Delhi, Arnold Heinemann, 1983. 259 p. Rs. 60.00.

Discovers an adroitly worked out philosophical 'design' in Frost's poetry that grows out of 'the chaos of experience' and conveys that sheaf of reactions which do not lend themselves easily to any single philosophy.

New Publications

THE INNOVATIVE BANKER

T.A. Pai : His Life and Times

by M.V. Kamath

The well-known author and editor is a contemporary of the late Mr. T.A. Pai and knew him over an extended period of time. This biography of a banker-administrator who left the imprint of his life's work on many an economic institution in this country should make interesting reading. The book is as much one man's story as it is an account of what innovative thinking can do for the uplift of the common man.

Published by T.A. Pai Memorial Committee, Manipal and distributed by Allied Publishers.

x + 246pp., 9 Photo plates

1983

Rs. 55.00

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

by J.S. Brara

Are the "new style" anti-poverty rural development strategies propagated by international development agencies suitable for alleviating poverty in the Third World? In areas where projects using these strategies have been taken up, are the stated goals of poverty alleviation and structural change being achieved? How has the application of these models fared in the Indian experience?

This study uses a critical political economy perspective to examine the above questions, applying a theoretical framework based on the dependency/imperialism paradigm. The focus of this study is the feasibility of the major current approaches to poverty-oriented rural development; the models that have been reshaped and propagated during the 1970s by international governmental organizations (JGOs) and which influence development policies in the Third World.

1983

xii + 274pp.

Rs. 70.00

THE VILLAGE BY THE SEA

An Indian Family Story

by Anita Desai

Anita Desai's latest novel has been awarded The Guardian Children's Fiction Award for 1982.

In her prize winning book, Mrs. Anita Desai gives a vivid picture of how a village boy finds a job in a city and goes back to his area with plans for its future.

This is the first time that a Commonwealth writer outside Britain has won the prestigious award.

1983

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indian book chronicle

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Arun Bandopadhyay

Sukrita Paul Kumar

Amrik Singh

Kamlesh Mohan

V V Bhide

Anjan Ghosh

Vimal P Shah

N Gerald Barrier

David Ray and Amritjit Singh (eds)

R N Sen

Sitanath Tattvabhusan (ed)

Vibhuti Bhushan Mishra

Kuriakose Mamkoottam

Uma Ramaswamy

Morris David Morris and Michelle B McAlpin

The Census in British India

India : An Anthology of Contemporary Writing

In Clive Street

Social Reform In Bengal : A Side Sketch

From the Vedas to the Manusmriti : A Cultural Study
Trade Unionism

Work Union and Community

Measuring the Conditions of India's Poor

Recent Outstanding Publications

INDIAN DRAMA

Traditional Societies in Transition

by M. Chalapathi Rau

This book of essays traces the transition of the traditional, slow-moving societies, which have inhabited the Indian subcontinent, into a modern nation state. India is still a nation in the making and the nation-building process goes on as national integration becomes closer. This process is discussed in great detail. The author arrives at the present state of Indian democracy and traces its problems to their roots in ancient and medieval India. He tries to assess India's place in the world by discussing various facets of her relations with different parts of the world.

The result of this approach is a new treatment of Indian problems in their historical, political, social and economic context. It is a book written in an easy, literary style, which should attract the scholar and the student.

'This is a book every Indian should read for it contains wisdom of an intellect free from dogma, bigotry, superstition and blind hero-worship.'

—The Patriot

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Sketch

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1981

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464pp., 14pp. photographs

Rs. 125.00

Other New Publications

NON-ALIGNMENT

Origins, Growth and Potential For World Peace

by Rikhi Jaipal

(1983, xii + 216pp., Rs. 90.00)

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COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AND THE ASSOCIATION AGREEMENTS

by G. Sundaram

(1983, 304pp., Rs. 120.00)

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

by J.S. Brara

(1983, xii + 274pp., Rs. 70.00)

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News & Reviews

Vol. VIII, No. 8, April 16, 1983

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Indian Book Chronicle
9/26, Sarva Priya Vihar
NEW DELHI-110016
Telephone : 654461

EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH

The Census as a Research Tool

The book under review* consists of papers read (and later revised) at the 1977 Conference of the Association for Asian Studies held at New York, alongwith some other contributions and has been edited by N. Gerald Barrier, Associate Professor of History at the University of Missouri, Columbia.

OBJECTIVE

The objectives of the book, as enunciated by the Editor in the Introduction is to look at the vast array of Census records produced by the British during their rule in India, in a critical manner, realizing their value and limitations at the same time. Along with settlement Reports and Gazetteers, the censuses form a very important base for getting information on socio-economic aspects of the Indian Society. Making a start towards the middle of the 19th Century, the British introduced the decadal census in all the British controlled territories by 1872 and after that they held a census regularly every ten years (in the year ending one), a heritage which has been continued after Independence.

However, this record though phenomenal in sheer size and volume, contends the Editor needs to be studied and accepted with caution as it is not without its share of bias, misunderstanding, distortions and the limitations stemming from organizational defects. All the articles contained in the volume try to bring out the value and limitation of the census data, when used in understanding varied aspects of India's socio-economic and political life.

SALIENT FEATURES

Before the reviewer attempts to bring out the salient features of the articles of the volumes, it is essential to point out that while the title of the book suggests that only the census in British India is being seen in a new perspectives, in fact, much of the discussion is highly relevant to the censuses being taken in the post-Independence period. Despite innovations in the organization, operations and focus of the post-independent censuses, much of it is still a heritage from the British tradition, and the uses or limitations of the record of that period could be of direct interest to the census authorities themselves and demographers, social scientists and other data users.

Disregarding the sequence of articles, this reviewer would like to draw the attention of the readers to a very informative but concise article by Richard B. Martin entitled "Bibliographic Notes on the Indian Census". The notes are a good starting point for going into the maze of Census literature and their availability in various libraries. Martin has considered the following two publications as most useful for this purpose—

- (1) India (Republic) Office of the Registrar General, Bibliography of Census publications in India, 1972.
- (2) Srivastava Shyam Chandra—Indian Census in perspective, New Delhi, Office of the Registrar General, 1972.

Both these publications are Census centenary publications.

*N. Gerald Barrier, The Census in British India : New Perspectives, pp. xxiv + 234, Manohar, 1981, Rs. 75.00

April 16, 1983

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Joseph E. Schwartzberg has summarized in a very pointed and hard hitting manner the sources and types of Census Error. On account of the way in which the censuses is conducted by part time enumerators amongst respondents who are largely illiterate, questions of language, occupation, land tenure status elicit under-numeration. Reporting of age is also poor, especially in the case of females. Data on economic activity and occupation also suffer from normative bias. Numerous groups use census for advancing their corporate status. Not less significant are the bias which creep in due to aggregation of responses into categories decided by administrative fiat or those created by changes in definitions. Schwartzberg has also suggested various ways by which biases and errors could be taken into account while interpreting census data and remedying them, but there are times when one cannot do anything to get a reasonably correct picture.

RELIGION & CASTE

Four articles in the present volume focus attention on Religion and Caste in the censuses taken by the British in India. In sharp contrast to census taking in England, where religion was greatly underplayed and even reports were published separately, religion and consequently caste became focal points in the Indian Censuses. In his contribution 'Religious Identity and the Indian Census', Kenneth W. Jones has vividly brought out the manner in which data on religion was first collected as a source of information and how gradually it was used by the 'subjects' i.e. the Indians to voice their demand including the battle for separate electorates which was first conceded by the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909. The definition pertaining to religion, specially the word 'Hindu' became a topic of constant debate through the censuses, as religion acquired political dimensions and finally resulted in the two nation theory by which two separate states of India and Pakistan were created out of the Indian dominion.

G.A. Oddie has tried to see the usefulness of data on religion by taking up a study of Christianity and Social change at the district level in the districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly during the period 1871 to 1901. Although the data suffers from such major limitations as incomplete information, vagueness in definitions, cultural bias, yet Oddie has been able to come out with reasonable findings about the conversion to Christianity, the impact of religion on literacy, social customs etc. of the converts etc. The author warns, and rightly so, that census data should not be seen in isolation, but as one source of information, amongst others.

One of the most interesting articles in the book, certainly giving new perspectives to census data is by Harry W. Blair "Caste and the British Census in Bihar". Using old data to study contemporary 'Political Behaviour', (census data on caste in Bihar published in the British Census reports upto 1931 and data on religion from 1961 census), Blair has tried to establish relationship between religion and caste and voting behaviour in 1967 general election, which was also empirically studied by him.

On the basis of statistical methods and projections, Blair has a finding that the "correlation for candidates of the Yadav & Kurmi castes and the Muslim community with their respective geographical distributions came out appreciably higher than the correlations for the higher castes between candidates and distribution. Though many scholars could contest the findings on many points, none can deny the pioneering nature of such a study to understand socio-political and electoral behaviour of the people.

ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

The use of census data to study economic questions of migration and labour force and urbanization has been brought out in the two articles "Plantation Labour in Mysore 1871-1941; An Historical Approach to Migration Analysis" by J. Daniel Moore and "The Census as a Tool in the study of Modern Urban Labour Forces in India: A case study from Tamilnad" by Richard Newell. Although both the writers have cast doubt on the validity on much of the economic data and difficulties in temporal comparisons, they have been able to use it to bring out some valid findings about the problems under study. Richard Newell has also attempted to

prepare his own smaller number categories for occupations for the detailed ones of the census period, a list well worth studying by the census authorities.

All the contributions in the volume do succeed in establishing the major objective of the book, which is to highlight the uses and limitations of census data, particularly the collected during the British rule, also having much relevance for the censuses being conducted in the post-Independence period. However, there does seem to be a preponderance of articles pertaining to religion and caste which seems to reflect the Western minds continued obsession with this aspect of Indian life.

Perhaps an analysis of the census data on the literacy and education development during the British period or the impact of industrialization on urbanization would have been welcome additions to the volume. Although Joseph Schwartzberg's article is indeed a valuable critical study of census data *per se*, some more contributions to this aspect of the problem would have made it a more comprehensive volume.

QUALITY OF DATA

The census organization has structurally grown more permanent over the years and much debate on the quality of data produced in particular census, takes place during the inter-censal period. Before finalizing the questions to be canvassed in the census, a number of data users conferences take place in which the census organization, government representatives, scholars and other data users participate in a debate on the data to be collected and the definition of the concepts to be used for collecting and aggregating the information.

More-over vital statistics of crude birth and death rates are collected on a sample basis, for all the years supplementing the census data to a great deal. Government organization and research bodies are making ever increasing use of data for all their planned development and a number of plans and targets have already been revised in the light of the preliminary

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

1981 data. As more and more use is made of these data and more reliance placed on them, it is essential that the data be accurate as possible and the scholars use it in its proper perspective taking note of definitional, conceptual and methodological changes. The present

volume edited by Barrier opens new and useful insights into this aspect.

Meenakshi Hooja, a member of the Indian Administrative Service, was till recently Deputy Director in the Directorate of Census Operations, Rajasthan, Jaipur.

II

Reviewed by Arun Bandopadhyay

For a wide range of subjects related to modern Indian studies, censuses are an indispensable source. These studies include such medley subjects as demographic movement, migration, literacy, sex, mortality, size and composition of rural and urban working force, ethno-religious identities as reflected in caste and community movements, along with many other things. By supplying quantitative and qualitative information at the interval of every ten years since 1871 on these and related subjects, Indian censuses are serving as a major indication of change in society.

However, the most natural and justified temptation of many scholars to use census information as their materials is marred with myriad problems and methodical difficulties. A group of experts met in a panel discussion on these problems at the 1977 Association for Asian Studies Conference in New York; and the result, in a revised and enlarged form, is the volume under review. It includes the papers of Daniel Moore, Joseph Schwartzberg, Richard Martin, Kenneth Jones, Frank Conlon, G.A. Oddie, Harry Blair, and Richard Newell, in addition to an introduction written by Gerald Barrier.

The British-Indian census no doubt had its roots in the general trend of the Raj to gather statistical information of the people it ruled, though it was influenced by the specific evolution of the census in England. Richard Martin's 'Bibliographic Notes on the Indian Census' is, however, sketchy; it neither gives a proper account of the pre-census attempts for computing population

nor analyses the multi-farious purposes of the colonial government for initiating the first census in 1871. However, Martin's account, though very short, of the evolution of emphasis in the census, with reference to each one taken since 1871, provides good reading: we know of the slip system enumeration and its relation with the presentation of the very extensive linguistic and ethnographic data from the 1911 census, of special attention given to industrial and economic information and statistics from 1921, and more markedly from 1931, and of the most huge census ever conducted in India in 1961, with over 1600 volumes. The Annotated Bibliography accompanying Martin's article is also helpful.

PROPER USE

The 'proper' use of all these census reports brings a lot of problems. As Daniel Moore writes, "The census is a sound starting point from which to begin an analysis, but it will not provide us with all the answers to whatever problem we bring to it." The problem that Moore brings or in his paper relates to migration analysis of the plantation labour in Mysore from 1871 to 1941 and he uses both the qualitative and quantitative data of the census. The qualitative data, he says, are all uneven, shallow, at times misleading and above all impressionistic. The scale and pattern of migration to the plantations of the Mysore State are not easy to determine. Three things influenced the pattern of migration: (a) the level of prosperity of the coffee industry, (b) health and mortality problems in the *malnad* or

mountain country and (c) changes in rural economies around the plantations. Initially, the untouchable, semi-bonded labourers had migrated back and forth from village to plantation on a limited basis; it was only after the Great Famine of 1876-78 that personal ties were greatly severed, and that a cyclical process of out and in-migration started, during which the labourers left the village for extended periods to work but then returned to their social and economic roles in the village.

However, this cyclical migration is highly liable to be omitted from the quantitative section of the census. Even the construction of a place-of-birth estimation, the primary source of quantitative data on migration, would not help, as a migrant could move many times within a decennial census period with at best one recorded move. Moore thinks that a plausible estimation of the quantum of inter-regional migration is possible if place-of-birth data are supplemented with additional information, but his conclusions are not definitive.

Joseph Schwartzberg's article on "Sources and Types of Census Error" covers the post-independence period. He suggests that quantitative and qualitative data in the census should be read together, that figures relating to specific variables should be judged in connection with other complementary variables in the census and that definitional changes from one census to other should be taken due note of. Yet at times one simply has to give up, when all corrective methods fail to yield a figure to be relied on.

In spite of all these errors and biases of the existing censuses, perhaps what can be achieved is reflected in two brilliant papers of Kenneth Jones ("Religious Identity and the Indian Census") and Frank Conlon ("The Census of India as a source for the Historical Study of Religion and Caste") included in the volume. Jones begins his argument that the question of accuracy connected with census data "becomes largely irrelevant if the census is studied not as data source, supporting research into other subjects, but as subjects of research itself." In this view, the census is

April 16, 1983

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not merely a passive recorder of data but a catalyst for change, as it both describes and alters its environment. The censuses try to place things in well-defined and predetermined categories, though in real world very few things do exist in these forms. Hence the process of alteration.

RELIGION AS A CATEGORY

Unlike the British census, the religious concentration in the Indian census was well-marked ever since its inception, and it increased over time. For example, religion was a fundamental category for organizing census data to understand Indians; what is more, religious questions expanded steadily and cut across much of the other subjects in the census. Secondly, the census reports gradually developed a new conceptualization of religions as communities, which had far reaching effects on the social political history of the sub-continent. Indeed, mention of a particular movement or particular groups in the census provided a sense of legitimization to these. Jones speaks of two particular socio-political movements on supportive census data, viz., the introduction of a 'Sikh' category in counting people in the Punjab in the late 19th century, and the issue of the Muslim constitutional representation based on their numerical size in the first decade of the twentieth century.

By contrast, Conlon's impression of census as a source of caste studies is frustrating, though it may be coloured by the particularity of his interest, i.e., a study of the Chitrapur Saraswat Brahmins, a numerically small caste, over time. Here, because of categorical and other confusion, it was impossible to identify this group over a wide region, and it was only when a caste unification movement stressing a common caste category name developed during 1901-31 in the Bombay Presidency that Conlon finds some usable data for analysis of educational and occupational status of the Saraswats. Hence Conlon's conclusion : lots of Tables on caste and religion in the census simply do

not clarify many significant questions on these.

Other categorical difficulties relating to 'caste' and 'literacy' occur in G.A. Oddie's "Christians in the Census : Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts 1871-1901". Harry W. Blair, in using the old caste data belonging to 1911-1931 censuses to study contemporary behaviour speaks of some achievement as well as the attendant problems. And Richard Newell's conclusion on "The Census as a Tool in the study of Modern Urban Labour Forces in India : A case study from Tamilnad"

is that no isolated statistics or gross statistics can be accepted at face value, and that they should be judged in a procedural and temporal context.

All the articles included in this volume are not of the same quality but on the whole they do contribute significantly on the use of census materials in social sciences. The new perspectives emanating from the book are only to be further developed.

*Arun Bandopadhyay lectures
History at the University of Calcutta*

India Goes Abroad

David Ray and Amritjit Singh, Editors

India—An Anthology of Contemporary Writing

pp. 266, Ohio University Press, 1983, \$ 12.50

Reviewed by Sukrita Paul Kumar

As the picturesque, heavily ornamented country girl peeps almost coquettishly through her "chunri" throwing her cheshire grin, the American tourists come flocking around her with their Nikon and Polaroid cameras. This rustic nymph of the cover page leads them to Nissim Ezekiel, Tagore, Kamla Das, Amrita Pritam and others, to *India* an anthology of contemporary writing.

ADDRESSED TO WHOM ?

David Ray and Amritjit Singh, the co-editors of this collection should perhaps have slightly modified their prefatory address, instead of being merely 'To the Reader', it should perhaps have been more befitting as 'To the American Reader'. They begin the note by saying "Our selection of writing from India has been put together primarily for the reader outside, but we hope (they add condescendingly) it will have appeal and relevance within India", one can have serious objections to this approach. Since any meaningful anthology in literature is first and foremost a product of its own native soil, it is, in fact most relevant at home. The appeal to the reader outside is an added

feather and that, not because it arouses cliche exclamations like "How sweet!" and "Oh, Boy!" but precisely because the reader actually relives the creative experience presented to him in a poem, a story; in that, the alien is mesmerised into being the familiar.

One wishes the editors had been a little more cautious in the opening remarks which suggest that the Anthology might really serve only as an Indian curio, a souvenir for the American drawing room. The reader is put on guard and the literary worth of the content presented in *India* is at once under suspicion. In keeping with the aforesaid statement of the editors, the get-up of the book is rather exotic. Enchanting photographs of the rural India, turbaned old men, women in traditional costume and jewelled women fetching water from a river and photographs of the cultural grandeur of Khajurao interspersed in the Anthology. The squalor, the skyscrapers of the urban India are totally eclipsed for Mada Mahatta, *India's* photograph. This feast of photographs further alienates the real India from the 'outsiders', the misplaced focus on the "export-value" of India does more harm than good to the country.

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

tent of the book.

KNOWN POETS

With the exception of only a few, the Anthology collects most of the known Indo-anglian poets. There is a perceptive selection of the poems which goes to make this part of the book quite comprehensive and satisfying. The six Jejuri poems of Arun Kolatkar, 'An Indian Journal' and other poems of Jayanta Mahapatra, R. Parthasarathy's poem 'Delhi' are some of the poems that are fine examples of how art can be at once specific as well as universal. The careful selection of poems accords the Indo-anglian poets a legitimate recognition and, they no longer have to be apologetic about the choice of English as their medium. The immigrant status of the English language in India has always made the Indian writer in English self-conscious. But the vitality of many of the anthologised poems calls for serious attention. A poem like "Kanya Kumari" by Lakshmi Kannan is admirable for its sensitive cross-section of a woman's sub-conscious through the symbol of "Kanya Kumari"—"the eternal virgin/frozen in history."

The inclusion of the English translations of poems from some of the regional languages add further shades and dimensions to the Indian landscape. One must put in here a special word for the excellent quality of the translation. These poems are demonstrative of the creative introspection of the translator. They prove how good translation can be used as an integrating force and the consciousness of the kinship on the national level be aroused. Jayanta Mahapatra and A.K. Ramanujan, themselves sensitive, established poets in English, have rendered great service to Indian poetry by effectively "transcreating" into English the poetry of their respective regional languages. Looking through India's poetry section, one notices the absence of A.K. Ramanujan's own, original poems.

The outsider's creative response to India is represented in poems by David Ray, A.D. Hope, Tony Connor and others who justifiably, record the specific 'Indian' images

such as "purdah", the thickly populated" Calcutta, the Indian tiger etc. James Nolan quotes "Katha Upanishad": "who sees variety and not unity wanders from death to death and flows". In his poem "The Pilgrim and the Monkey", he tries to determine his approach to India. The poem begins with an interrogative stance: "Is this the way to see India? It ends with "the monkey almost human gone mad as the mind turning over/& over the original oriental puzzle". This poem consolidates the confusion, bafflement as well as the synthesis present in a foreigner's approach to India.

FICTION

Five short stories in original English and strangely, only one from Malayalam and one from

Bengali comprise the "Fiction" section of the Anthology. In Shirsendu Mukhopadhyay's story "Dear Madhuban" there is a typical confrontation of the "wandering ascetic" with the domestically-tied, duty-ridden worldly family-men. An anonymous but familiar letter stirs the soul of Madhuban into a situation when he cannot reconcile the two in himself. It is ironical, as later in the story it is learnt, that the 'known' rebel himself, turned back to domesticity and has a large family. The protagonist ends up by writing an anonymous letter "Kunal, the hermit at home is more disturbed than the ascetic abroad". Fed on the concepts of 'Nirvana' and 'Moksha', it is in the Indian character to have such spiritual stirrings.

The brown sahib in Kushwant Singh's story "A Bride for the

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"Sahib" is a typical "Wog", a westernized oriental gentleman who acquires a unique status in the Indian society for being "an un-Indian Indian". Kumari Kalayani who is chosen as his bride comes from a totally orthodox Indian background. The honey-moon is in fact a parody of the East/West confrontation. Leaving a note for her husband ("To, Mr. S. Sen, Esq"), she commits suicide, the only path to freedom for a married woman of her background. The longings of Young ambitious man of "going abroad" in Raji Narasimhan's story is characteristically Indian: "New York...I shall also go", he said, his throat aching with longing". Shiv K. Kumar's "The Release" presents the bizarre scenes of vendetta between the two major religious sects on the one hand and on the other the hero's desire to be converted to Christianity if only to get a quick divorce from his wife.

CONTEMPORARY SENSIBILITY

Both the stories, "The Masseuse" by Malathi Rao, and "A Touch of Garlic" by Ashokamitran can be best understood as glimpses into distinctly Indian contexts. It would be extremely callous not to notice the most rewarding short-story in the Anthology—O.V. Vijayan's "The Rocks". It gives the reader evidence of the contemporary sensibility of the Indian writer. The editors ought to be congratulated for their discovery of this powerful recreation of the myth of the "primordial innocence" which is the remains from a total destruction of the "multitudes of men and devastated vegetation", perhaps through the radio-activity of the nuclear bomb. However the remains also include the sprouting of a flower in a small 'garden', and a man and a woman (the futuristic Adam and Eve), both belonging to hostile nations. A conscious choice is made not to create "multitudes and nations" through the assimilation of the knowledge of what the forbidden fruit can lead to.

There are moments of great compassion and love between the man and the woman; they decide not to become the accomplices of

God of the Vanity of Creation and the wars end within them. With their end, it's only the hardy rocks that survive and awaken with the memory of 'incipient life' unfolding through the ages in "death and slaughter". This story is at once primitive and progressive, symbolic and realistic, specific as well as universal. It almost terrorizes man into reconsidering his involvement in procreation, technological progress and the ensuing threat it has to humanity. What is reassuring however, is that he still has the choice to continue or to end it all. In contrast to "The Rocks" the rest of the stories in the Anthology appear to be merely portrayals of social reality related to the Indian context. This story could very well have been written in French, Konkani or Chinese. The language and the geographical boundaries are immaterial for such an all-encompassing vision.

It is unfortunate that most of the literary storehouses of Fiction in such regional languages as Urdu, Hindi, Kannada, Marathi have been left unexplored. The representation of India through the short fiction of some of the very outstanding writers would have added meaningful dimensions to *India*. Not disregarding the limitations of space and other practical problems while dealing with a multi lingual mass of literatures, one regrets the lack of a comprehensive survey of Indian fiction for a fair cultural apprehension.

The essence of some of the values which are particularly upheld by the Hindu have been capsuled in Yudhishtira's answers to "The Questions of the Yaksha" which is really the climactic point in the third book of *Mahabharata*. Their presence in the Anthology projects the editors' conscious effort to highlight the cultural verities of the Indian in the foreigner's mind.

The patronizing presence of the Nobel Laureate Rabindra Nath

Tagore in the form of a rather humble declaration "I am a poet" emphasizes the fundamental pre-requisites of a poet-freedom of spirit, surrender of the self and the ability to rise above the 'trivia of routine' to be in tune with the dance of life itself: In contrast to this charmingly simple piece of writing is the long philosophically heavy essay "On the Evaluation of Creative Literature" by Daya Krishna. However, with his well-developed philosophical insight and an appropriate sensibility for art he is able to define the chief concern of art in terms of 'Experience'. While no restrictive criteria for evaluation are suggested the relationship of literature with politics, moral values and science is sorted out. The essay also brings out the relevance of the 'written word', the place of 'symbol' and 'conflict' in a literary product. The intrinsic worth of the work of the writer rightly concludes, demands its own criteria of evaluation.

Raj Chengappa perhaps qualifies for the Anthology if only for the imaginative one-page long scenario he presents before a thirteen-page long sociological article on the march of "deforestation" and the threat of the resultant ecological catastrophe. The survey should most surely, be a significant sociological document. But its content is not in tune with the rest of the matter in *India*.

As one closes the book, attractive cover girl of Rajasthan recedes back into her 'purdah' while still, the outside world is tempting. So she peeps with her eye, reaching out and communicating in a rather clandestine style. She appears to say through her purdah "Trespassers will be prosecuted Trespass at once".

Sukrita Paul Kumar lectures English at Delhi College, University of Delhi.

Our reviewers, knowledgeable and perceptive as they are, need

not be allowed to have the last word. It is for you to argue

with them. Our columns are as much open to you as to them.

A Success Story

R.N. Sen
In Clive Street
pp. 187, East India, 1981, Rs. 75.00
Reviewed by Amrik Singh

This book evokes the atmosphere of pre-War Calcutta which was dominated greatly by the world of British business—Clive Street, Calcutta. After his education in India, he went to U.K. to study Accountancy. While on board the ship he happened to meet one Walter Toft who was a partner of Price Waterhouse Peat & Co., a firm of Chartered Accountants. Toft got interested in this young boy who had decided to have his training in England. This chance meeting shaped his career to a great extent on his return and that is what the book is about.

ANOMALOUS

While in England he had the usual kind of career of a student who was following a professional course. When he returned to India for almost a full year he failed to get a suitable job. All that he could get was an evening job, lecturing to students on a part-time basis. Wherever he went he drew a blank. In the end he decided to approach the fellow passenger whom he had met while going to England and that is how he managed to get into that firm. In 1940 he found himself in the anomalous position of a Senior European Assistant. This was the designation given to those who joined the covenanted service. Only one Indian had preceded him into that firm. Sen discovered that the other Indian was not getting as much as were the Europeans. Before his appointment therefore he had an interesting conversation with Toft. It went something like this :

I quite frankly asked him, 'Do you pay an employee for his expenses or for his work? Further, do you pay a higher salary to a clerk if he has a dozen children to maintain? As for the expenses, are these in any way dependent on the nationality of an individual? Aren't you aware

that there are Indians spending ten thousand rupees a month and there are many Englishmen living on doles?' Toft accepted my remarks in perfect good humour and said that he was sorry he had raised the point, naturally the employees were paid for their work and not for their expenses. Thereafter I added that, if appointed, I would expect the same remuneration as was being paid to an Englishman of my qualifications.

This was an interesting beginning but it was only a beginning. One of the first things he discovered was the institution of a Burra Babu. The institution has now become a thing of the past but at the time that it flourished it played quite a role. In the course of their stay in India, the British had evolved a system whereby these Burra Babus would keep the clerks under them in their proper position. Clerks had no direct access to their English bosses. Whenever any disciplinary action was taken it was taken either by the Burra Babu on behalf of the Burra Sahib or on their own. As he puts it, "The only contact the junior clerks had with the Sahibs was as victims of racial arrogance and rudeness". Those who know the working of the Indian Army would recall the analogy of the Havaldar. He was supposed to mediate between the rulers who led the Army in their role as officers and the soldiers who actually fought.

RACIAL ARROGANCE

The strength of the book lies in evoking the atmosphere of racial aloofness and arrogance. He gives a number of examples. One of them bears retelling. When his third service agreement was to be renewed he discovered that despite the assurance given to him in the beginning he was not being paid what the other Senior European

Assistants were getting. He took up the matter with his boss therefore and the conversation went somewhat like this :

Yonnie in quite an inoffensive manner asked me, 'Where do you intend to go?' and then added, 'You are aware that Indian offices will not employ a man with your qualifications, and there will be discrimination in every European office.' I replied, 'You know I am lecturing in a college in the evening and I will take another similar job for the day.' He then said, 'Do you think you will make more money that way?' I replied, 'No, but I will be able to retain my self-respect.' Yonnie took time to consult his partners and told me after a couple of days, 'Yes, we accept that there will be no discrimination in this office,' and added in his characteristic manner, 'So far as you are concerned, I am happy to say that unlike some of the promises made by his successors this assurance was honoured. This explains the liberal terms given to me for my third agreement. All the senior European assistants were given substantial increments at that time but I had to be given a more than proportionate increase to catch up.'

When most of these things were happening, the War was already on. It was not possible for the British firm to import people from England for most of them were required to join the Army. The War therefore altered the modified apartheid that operated in Clive Street. The firm therefore had no choice except to engage more and more Indians. Though the proportion was changing, the ethos of the place still continued to be dominated by the British.

MAN OF INTEGRITY

Sen refers to a number of incidents where some of the clients refused to treat him on par with other Europeans. Sen however always stuck to his guns and never compromised his dignity. Not only is Sen a man of dignity, he also

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comes through as a man of integrity. On one occasion one British Burra Sahib tried to influence him in his work by saying that they had known each other for a long time and had also met socially. Therefore he expressed the hope that their accounts would be passed more easily. Sen not only refused to oblige him, he stopped auditing his accounts. This is a kind of thing which not many people are capable of and evidently it earned him great respect.

Things began to change somewhat after 1947 though it is only fair to remember that Bengal Club continued to exclude Indians right till 1959. Within his firm however things began to change by 1952, that is 12 years after he had joined the firm when he was taken in as a partner. After that there was no looking back and he went from strength to strength, both within the firm and outside.

Once we reach this stage in the narrative, and that is less than half-way through, the book ceases to be all that interesting. In the remaining portion of the book what we get to

know is the remaining part of his success story. He went from strength to strength. He was given several important assignments. Amongst them was his being asked to handle the Government of India versus Sahu Jain case. During the fifties it was a sensational case in which were involved Haridas Mundra and several other people. Mr. S.K. Das, a retired Judge of the Supreme Court, had been appointed as the arbitrator and a number of other things also happened. It is not necessary to go into all these details.

MAN OF COURAGE

The fact remains that during the latter portion of his career Sen was given a number of very important assignments. For instance, he was asked to look after Jessop & Company. He was also put on the Board of the United Commercial Bank. Yet another assignment was to look after Richardson and Cruddas. Sen had integrity as well as technical expertise. Above all, he had courage. This comes through in an encounter that he had with

Lal Bahadur Shastri.

There was a seminar on public sector industries at Delhi. Lal Bahadur Shastri was then the Minister for Industry. Sen also got invited to it. In the course of his various interventions he made scathing criticism of public sector policies, especially about the selection of trainees abroad and the role of nepotism in it. At the end of the seminar he was asked if he wanted to see Lal Bahadur Shastri. He did not catch the hint. The fact of the matter was that Shastri had sent for him. He had an interesting meeting with him and that contact proved the thin end of the wedge. He got to know people in Delhi and before long he was being offered all these assignments.

As stated above, the autobiography is both strong and vivid in the earlier portion. Sen talks about a world which has now passed away. Everything is understated and in tone that has dignity as well as restraint. Once the author becomes successful it becomes a string of conquests. One thing led to another. On every occasion he was hailed

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as a man of uncommon abilities which he certainly is but then the average reader is not interested in another man's success story and that is what proves to be the principal weakness of the book.

But for all those who are interested in the world of British business and the dominant role it played in the life of the country this is an important book. The title of the book *In Clive Street* is quite expressive but then it deals only with the first half of the book. The

latter half of the book deals with issues which are more personal to him and which do not excite the reader. In a concluding chapter entitled *Clive Street in Decline*, he has ventured into some analysis of why Calcutta has declined as an industrial centre. It redeems the book to some extent but the personal note is still more prominent than it ought to be.

—Editor

Social Reform in Bengal

Sitanath Tattvabhusan, Editor

Social Reform in Bengal : A Side Sketch
pp. 155, Papyrus, Calcutta, 1982, Rs. 30.00

Reviewed by Kamlesh Mohan

Social Reform in Bengal : a side sketch, first published in 1904, is a reprint. It is a collection of articles which (excluding the last two, had originally appeared in the issues of *New India* (Madras) from 18 December, 1902 to 26 March, 1903. Even its introduction is a reproduction of the author's article, published in the *Indian Mirror*. Sasipada Banerji remains the central figure in this episodal account of social reform in Bengal whether it deals with contemporary social problems or sketches the histories of female education and marriage reform movement in Bengal up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

The author begins with the premise that social reform movements in Bengal during nineteenth and twentieth centuries are more or less revival movements in keeping with the shastric injunctions. Their basic principles are judicious versions of the ideas and traditions expounded in the ancient Hindu *Shastras* such as *Vedas*, *Upanishads* and *Bhagavad Gita*. Thus social reformers in Bengal were neither heterodox nor anti-national in their outlook. Voice of conscience was their mentor and faith in the social regeneration in India, particularly Bengal, was their badge of courage then and even now. In ancient India, efforts for removing social evils were neither

numerous nor extensive. Hence, no social reform movement came up. The author has attributed it to the scanty advancement of scientific knowledge.

A BIOGRAPHY & A TREATISE

Being a combination of a biography and a treatise on the social reform movement in Bengal, the book under review gives a crisp account of the family background, beliefs, ideals and personality of Sasipada Banerji. Through a generous sprinkling of anecdotes about the childhood and youth of the precocious social reformer, Sitanath Tattvabhusan has portrayed the essential man with deft strokes, Sasi Babu was deeply religious yet secular-minded, progressive but a man of faith in prayer and the 'overactive providence of God', self-confident but not vain. Belief in the freedom of thought and action for all was the cornerstone of his social philosophy.

Establishment of the Sadharan Dharma Sabha at Barabnagar in 1873 launched the career of Sasi babu as a social reformer. As a rendezvous of the radical-minded Bengalis, the Sadharan Dharma Sabha sought to create an atmosphere of cordiality, goodwill and enlightenment amongst various

castes and creeds for the practice of freedom. It aimed at the union and mutual cooperation of the various religious bodies in India on the lines of the Free Religious Association of America and the Theistic Society of England. Formation of the Theistic Union in 1874 served the limited purpose of consolidating the ranks of the Brahmins.

FEMALE EDUCATION

Promotion of female education and reform of marriage customs remained the life-long concern of the Sasi Babu. By integrating both these issues in the social-reform movement in Bengal, he experimented with a new approach for renovating contemporary society. Instead of confining his efforts to the education of little girls like his predecessors, the young Bengali reformer focussed attention on the urgency of educating married and grown up women in India especially in Bengal of the nineteenth century.

It was indeed a timely move as the custom of child-marriage deprived the majority of women from the benefits of education. However, this bold experiment demanded perseverance and a relentless fight against social orthodoxy and prejudice against female education. The contemporary Hindu society in Bengal associated education, cultivation of literary grace and fine arts with courtesans, called *hetairae* in the ancient Greece. Nevertheless, Sasi Babu initiated his experiment by educating his child-wife in 1864. It was beginning of this herculean struggle to release women from the *Zenana* seclusion and associate them with various public activities. Ignoring the protests and jibes of his relatives, he took his wife to a number of evening parties in honour of Miss Crapenter in 1867-68, visited public institutions like Chitpur Hospital and socialised with his English friends. In 1871, Sasi babu visited England with his wife, the first Hindu lady to visit that country.

STRONG REACTION

Sasi Babu's new fangled ideas produced a strong reaction in the

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literary circles. For example, the *Hindu Patriot* of 18 May 1868 published a poetical satire with the refrain, 'out with thy wife, my Boy' which reflected the prejudice against the liberation of women from shackles of ignorance. Nevertheless, it inspired both men and women to participate in the process of social change. Sasi babu's widowed sister-in-law Bidhumukhi and her teenaged daughter Kusum Kumari, a child-widow were the first students of his informal *Zenana* school (1864) which attracted many pupils from the neighbourhood. It led to the opening of the first Girls' School in the prayer hall of Dinanath Nandi on 19 March, 1865. But his open avowal of faith in the tenets of Brahmo Samaj reversed the tide of public sympathy. The unequal battle between the orthodox and the Brahmo samajists including Sasipada Banerji under the leadership of Kesav Chander Sen was representative of the ruthlessness of the former and courage as well as quiet determination of the latter.

Nevertheless, Sasi babu's drive for female education gained in range and breadth. It was linked with the broad issue of uplift of women especially widows. In 1867, the second Girls' School at Kutighat, known as South Barahnagar, was opened with a view to educate widows and it developed into the first Home for Hindu Widows in 1887. Half the battle was won. The next round had to be fought over the issue of higher education in terms of economic independence for women. The story of Sasi babu's success in opening of Hindu Mahila Vidyalaya subsequently named as the Bethune Female School, for training female teachers, in spite of the opposition of Kesav Chandra Sen and Ishwar Chander Vidyasagar provided a significant bearing upon the elite-conflict in the nineteenth century Bengali Society. Activities of foreign missionaries and educationists namely, Miss Carpenter, Miss Annie Akroyd, John Drinkwater Bethune and especially their collaboration with Sasi babu in promoting female education added another dimension to the ideological clash among the elites.

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WIDOW REMARRIAGE

As far as the contribution of Sasipada Banerjee to widow remarriage movement is concerned, it may not be called a pioneering effort. Earlier, Iswar Chander Vidyasagar had not only set an example by marrying a widow himself but also launched a successful movement for the legislation of Hindu widow remarriages. The Bill was passed by the Legislative Council on 19 July 1856. Keshav Chander Sen, had also actively promoted the widow-remarriage movement by arranging a few such marriages under the auspices of the Brahmo Samaj. Nevertheless, Sasipada Banerjee broadened the scope of the movement by arranging an intercaste marriage of his niece Kusum Kumari, a child-widow with Chander Nath Chaudhuri. The author's vivid account of Sasi babu's travails and his social boycott and persecution by relations and friends for giving shelter to the remarried widows of the neighbourhood is valuable for its insight into the psyche of the

orthodox and superstitious Hindu society in the nineteenth century Bengal. In fact, all traditional societies in East and West must undergo a similar ordeal, varying in intensity, in the process of reform and renovation of their move institutions and values.

As one lays this book aside, number of questions arise. Just a couple of these? What is the relevance of publishing the reprint of biographies of social reformers national leaders or public figures? Is it simply to facilitate the researcher's task by putting the contemporary writing within his reach at that too at a reasonable price? Do we expect these reprints to awake our dormant sense of duty to society? The biographical literature has certainly an inspiring and constructive role to play in a transitional society like ours. But how many of us are ready to take the cue?

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Vedas to Manu-Samhita

Vibbuti Bhushan Mishra

From the Vedas to the Manu-Samhita : A Cultural Study

pp. xiv + 186, Sterling, 1982, Rs. 80.00

Reviewed by V.V. Bhide

The book under review is an excellent addition to the works on Ancient Indian History and Culture. In this book the author has chosen the works from the Rgveda to Manu-Samhita (i.e. Manusmrti) and has discussed the social and cultural life of the Ancient Aryans. According to him this cultural study includes the society, life, ethics, religion and philosophy. It seems that he has not dealt with topics like political problems, wars, invasions, foreign relations, etc., which may be included in the study of Ancient Indian Culture. The problem of fixing the dates of Vedic texts is a controversial topic which has been variously studied by many scholars. In this connection the author remarks in the preface, 'The

age of these works cannot be determined with precision'. However, a few remarks about the date of the final redaction of Manu-Samhita have been made in the preface.

RGVEDIC CULTURE

This book is divided into six chapters, among which the first one is devoted to explain the Rgvedic culture. On the basis of different hymns from the Rgveda, the author has well-explained the social life of the Vedic people. These hymns have been mainly addressed to different Gods—the Celestial, the Atmospheric and the Terrestrial. The mythology of the Rgveda is very complicated and discussed by different scholars—Indian as well as

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foreign. The author has, however, described the characters of all these Gods in a very precise manner. This chapter is very helpful for understanding the Rgvedic culture. If the author has taken into consideration the structure of the Rgveda and the role of families like Vasista, Vamadeva, etc., it would have been better to understand the social set-up and family life of the Rgvedic people.

The second chapter deals with the society, religion and philosophy as described in later vedic literature. Here the author has referred to all the Samhitas except that of the Rgveda, the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas and the Upanisads. But here it is very difficult to accept that all these texts have been composed in one and the same period. This period has, however, extended over thousands of years. In this chapter the information about the social and cultural life has been culled mainly from the Yajurveda-Samhitas, the Brahmanas and the Upanisads. In this period the entire social life was based on sacrificial institutions. It is here observed that the author has not paid much attention to the Brahmana literature (p. 23). He has well described the social set-up, family life, marriages, the education, the funerary customs, etc., and this information reveals the prosperous life of the people belonging to this period. The philosophy, the doctrine of Action, the idea of Rebirth and Salvation, have been well pointed out on the basis of the Upanisads. While summing up the religion of the Upanisads, the author remarks "The religion of the Upanisads is the cultivation of inward morality, a discipline to transcend oneself to realise the ultimate reality" (p. 39).

The Atharvaveda has been taken into consideration in this very chapter together with other later vedic texts. However, according to many scholars the Atharvanic hymns have been composed in the period of the Rgveda and they were mainly connected with the religion of the masses and have nothing to do with the Brahmanical religion. The Atharvaveda has been associated with the sacrificial institutions in a very late period. Hence the state-

ment 'The Atharvaveda, containing 731 hymns and about 6,000 verses, was for the use of the high priest, called the Brahman who exercised overall supervision at the 'Srauta Sacrifice' (p. 22) is hardly acceptable.

ORAL TRADITION

The cultural trends in the Sutras and Epics have been discussed in the third chapter. The vedic texts were handed down through oral transmission; but in course of times it was difficult to retain the whole of vedic literature in memory. Hence there was a need to clothe the religious concepts in the fewest possible words. In this connection six *Vedangas* played an important role to preserve the Vedic texts, to extend their meaning, and to explain the performances of sacrifices. Without going into the details of other *Vedangas*, the author has referred to the Kalpasutras which are mainly divided into the Srauta, the Grhya, and the Dharma. It is very curious that he has studied the Grhya sutras prior to the Srauta sutras. The Grhya sutras lay down the procedures of the different Samskaras to be followed by an individual. Many details about the sixteen Samskaras have been reproduced on the basis of the Grhya sutras. The duties of Varnas and Asramas in this chapter throw sufficient light on the caste system and the social life reflected in this period.

Then (p. 79-90) the author has taken into consideration the Srauta sacrifices. Here he has not given any information relating to some important sacrifices like the Full-moon and the New-moon sacrifices, the Agnihotra, the Caturmasyas, the Animal sacrifice which are discussed in detail in the Brahmana Sutras and even in the Brahmana texts. He has, however, referred to the four sacrifices, viz., Agnistoma, Vajapeya, Rajasuya and Asvamedha. As the procedure of Srauta sacrifices is very complicated and technical, it seems that, the author finds difficult to reproduce the proper information of the sacrifices. As for example his statement 'the name Agnistoma was given to the sacrifice because the god Agni was praised throughout the sacrifice' (p. 80) is

hardly acceptable. In the Agnistoma, the *prayaniya isti* is performed only once before purchasing the Soma (p. 83). The three great sacrifices, viz., Vajapeya, Rajasuya and Asvamedha are related to the entire society and therefore their minute study is definitely helpful to understand the political, social, cultural and economic conditions of the people belonging to this period and this information is well provided by the author in this chapter.

THE GREAT EPICS

The Ramayana and the Mahabharata are the two great Epics of India, which have depicted a romantic picture of Indian life and preserved all Vedic traditions with all the new facets of a developing society. With the close study of these Epics the author has, successfully, described the position of woman in the society as reflected in these texts. In this connection he has dealt with topics like the marriage system, the status of married woman, the concept of Niyoga and the three stages in the life of a woman. Further he has explained very precisely food and drinks, dress and ornaments, the recreation, religion and philosophy as found in the Epics. Really speaking the social and cultural study of these two Epics forms a subject of many volumes. However, the author of the present book has initiated the scholars, the students, and the common-man to consult these Epics while developing the progress of Modern Society.

The fourth chapter describes the ethics and religion of the Manusamhita. It is clear that, in spite of the growth of castes, mixed-castes and sub-castes, Manu has concentrated his attention on laying down the duties of the four principal Varnas, viz., Brahmana, Ksatriya, Vaisya and Sudra. Thus the detailed information relating to the Varnas and the Asramas as prescribed in the Manu-Samhita have been presented in this chapter. While referring to the Order of the Householder, the author has given an account of the marriage ceremony and the duties of wife, daughter, mother and widow. In connection

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with the Order of the Ascetic, Manu has taken into consideration the Philosophy of Upanisads. At the close of this chapter the author has evaluated the importance of the Manu-Samhita by saying—"Manu's Samhita presents a combination of *Karma marga* and *Jnana marga*. It does not preach one at the cost of the other, rather, it strikes a balance between the two, recognising the importance of each in its own way" (p. 147). As long as there was harmony in these two ways, there was no perplexity in the social life of the Ancient people.

While presenting the information in many respects, the author has retained the original Sanskrit terms as far as possible, because many of them are difficult to render in other language. At many places, however, he has given the English translation of the Sanskrit words into brackets. But as these terms are difficult to

explain in English, the author sometimes falls short to give the proper meaning of the words. As for example—*Ksetrasamskara* (a sacrament for consecration) is a sacrament of fertile womb (p. 48). *Garhapatya* (domestic) fire is a Srauta fire, while domestic fire is a Grhya fire (p. 68). *Pragramsa* (sacrificial campus) is a sacrificial hall with the end of its bamboos (of a roof) pointing to the East (p. 8.).

In short, this book is very helpful to understand the social and cultural life of ancient Aryans and to guide the persons engaged in social developments in modern times. The bibliography given at the end is useful for the students of Ancient Indian culture.

I hope that scholars in this field will appreciate this book.

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highlights the anomaly between demands of 'responsible unionism' and 'union democracy'. The former entails maintenance of industrial peace and underplaying of the conflict between management and workers. This inevitably alienates the union from the workers as it is unable to respond to their needs. 'Responsible unionism' thus bears greater responsibility to the management than the workers. Unable to discharge the function of defence of worker's rights and redressal of their grievances, the internal structure of the union became faction-ridden and oligarchical. Thus instead of representing the interest of the workers it has become an instrument for the promotion of leaders' interests and control over workers. Mamkoottam says: "The removal of political interference, multiunionism, union rivalry and the introduction of collective bargaining in a labour situation need not necessarily usher in healthy trade union movement (p. 115)." The TISCO situation exemplifies this.

It was not always so. The formation of the union in 1920 was an expression of worker protest. It was the rallying point of the workers against the management. The union grew with the course of the national movement. But it was in its reaction to dissent that the union compromised with the management. In 1952, when Manek Homi posed a challenge to the union, it had little qualms about collaborating with the TISCO management to thwart his designs and have him arrested (Mamkoottam gives a brief description of the episode; for further details see Eduard Lavalle's paper "Pre-industrial and Industrial Elitist Accommodation: Seraikella and Jamshedpur" in R. Fox (ed) *Region and Region in Traditional India*, Delhi, 1977).

The vicissitudes of the post-independence period ended with the emergence of Abdul Bari as President of TWU. It was Bari who built up the union to a position of strength and compelled the management to engage in peaceful negotiations with it. After independence TWU along with TLA of Ahmedabad founded the Indian National Trade Union Com-

On Trade Unions

Kuriakose Mamkoottam

Trade Unionism—Myth and Reality : Unionism in the Tata Iron and Steel Company
pp. viii+140, Oxford University Press, 1982, Rs. 65.00

Uma Ramaswamy

Work, Union and Community : Industrial Man in South India
pp. xv+163, Oxford University Press, 1983, Rs. 70.00

Reviewed by Anjan Ghosh

Industrial development is believed to be a great enforcer of universalistic value patterns or 'rationality'. In India, in spite of the presence of modern industries for over a hundred years, the transformation remains incomplete. While it is true that the bulk of the population has not shifted from agriculture to industry, even those who have, have not adopted any singular set of 'rational' principles of social behaviour. Hence adherence to impersonal—universalistic norms remain anachronistic in a deeply hierarchised society. The social existence of the Indian industrial worker embodies this uneasy confluence.

The two books by Mamkoottam and Ramaswamy explore different aspects of the industrial workers

life, in different settings. Mamkoottam focuses on trade unionism in TISCO, Jamshedpur, while Ramaswamy concentrates on the interrelation between the social, occupational and political spheres of textile workers in Coimbatore. As part of their sociological itinerary both distinguish between the formal structures of organization and the informal network of social relations, emphasising the latter as the actual determinant of social behaviour of industrial workers. However, both locate the specificity of the industrial ethos in India in the discrepancy between the two.

ANOMALY

Mamkoottam's case study of the Tata Workers Union (TWU)

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Congress (INTUC) to maintain the Congress identity in trade unionism. Being associated with the ruling party, INTUC was keen to ensure industrial peace. In TISCO too, the management recognised the TWU as the sole representative union and engaged in collective bargaining with it.

Meanwhile the Communists had formed a separate union, Jamshedpur Mazdur Union. When they called for a strike in 1958, the TWU to maintain its representative status combined with the management and state government to quell the red menace. Representative status was more important than industrial democracy. As Mamkoottam points out: "Recognition as the sole representative of the workers has meant a great deal to the TWU and it has been able to retain this status only through the protection of the management and the State Government (p. 76)." Ironically instead of the support of the workers the legitimacy of the union became dependent on the management and the Government.

WAGES OF RECOGNITION

This shift meant that representation of workers' grievances became a residual function of the union, creating a chasm between the workers and the union. As the union remained the sole recognised representative of the workers for the management, the workers could not register their disaffection overtly by switching loyalties to another union. However, their dissatisfaction was writ large in their indifference and non-involvement towards union activities. A purely functional relation with the union developed: "Ordinarily an employee pays his dues in full only when he has a grievance of some kind and seeks redress through the mediation of the union (p. 37)". Reduced to a 'leaders union' it became incorporated into the control structure of the management. While genuine grievances of the workers were ignored, the management was at pains to accommodate the leaders. As a senior executive of the company reported, "Almost every committee member of the TWU had

received at least one undeserved promotion. In many cases the TWU committee members have been promoted in their jobs either by changing the existing 'line of acting and promotion' or by the creation of new avenues for promotion. This in turn, has deprived some other employee who was due for promotion (p. 40)." Within the union the scramble for largesse gave rise to factional alignments and the factional networks became the effective structure of power within the union. For the workers the union is a 'management union'. While for the union 'force' and 'manipulation' rather than legal-rational authority (p. 61) became the means of ensuring worker loyalty.

In other words while maintaining its form as a trade union the internal oligarchical structure of authority completely reversed the basic purpose of a trade union. The union was transformed into its opposite, an instrument of corporate control over the workforce. The exercises of workers participation in management and collective bargaining became further means of legitimising this control.

After an incisive analysis of the structure of corporatist power Mamkoottam concludes rather tamely that: "In a society which is still very traditional, where membership in caste and community are more important than in the work group, trade unionism remains more a myth than a reality (p. 124)." The reliance upon traditional ties as an explanation for the continuance of corporatist power is obfuscatory. From the evidence adduced by Mamkoottam it is evident that the management can continue its corporatist policies because of two

factors. Firstly its employment policy which gives preference to relatives of its employees, elicits compliance of the workers who prefer 'to be in the good books of the management and retire gracefully and thus secure employment for their children and relatives' (p. 95). Structurally this is related to the limitations of an underdeveloped economy and high incidence of unemployment which compels people to try and ensure succession of employment. Secondly the lack of an alternative union which could compete with TWU, a result of the corporate rather than worker-based legitimacy of the present union.

DIFFERENT FOCUS

Uma Ramaswamy's account of the textile workers of Coimbatore is addressed to a more general query. Has an integrated industrial man committed to an industrial way of life emerged in India? Do industrial workers subscribe to a universalistic set of values of industrialism or is it culture specific?

Employment in the Coimbatore textile mills is highly prized. Consequently entry into a mill job is difficult and requires the activation of multiple networks of influence. It is a phased process. Initially casual or temporary work is secured. Only after some experience has been gained as a temporary worker can one aspire for a permanent position. But to secure this the help of a union leader or management personnel is necessary.

There is also the *warisu* arrangement which is the practice of according preference to the children of retired or retiring employees in recruitment. In this way workers

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try to self-perpetuate employment among their children. But such a system functions only imperfectly in a situation of growing unemployment with union leaders willing to influence decisions for a consideration. Along with the men women are also keen contenders for work in the mills. They are more insistent about employment and once employed more conscientious in their work. They are more single-minded earners and 'would accept nothing that involved a loss of wages' (p.24). In their eagerness for work they have taken up jobs earlier considered as the male's prerogative.

However, mill employment is not the only source of income for Coimbatore workers. In Tyagipuram a settlement with a large number of milk workers, out of 116 workers, 68 engage in some subsidiary occupation or business to augment their income. These range from coolie work, petty trading, repair work, dairying brokerage to renting out rooms. The diverse range of activities engaged in by the workers to augment their wages earnings gives rise to a dispersed and sometimes contradictory interests. As a woman worker remarked to the author : "They call us *thozhilali* (labourer). I am a *thozilali* in the mill. But at home I am a *mudalali* (capitalist/proprietor) in my own right (p 146)."'

HIGHER WORK LOAD

In their efforts to earn more, the workers are not averse to taking on a higher work load. This has proved to be a boon to the mill owners who do not raise wages without increasing production. They introduce new machinery to speed up production without expanding the workforce. As a result the intensity of work increases considerably while wage compensation corresponds only to the extent of the basic pay for extra work. Commensurate allowances on this increased basic pay is not given. The workers lose both ways. On the one hand they do not get their full monetary benefits, on the other employment opportunities contract leaving more people unemployed. The increase in workload adversely affects the

older workers who find it difficult to keep pace.

Under such situations of severe exploitation the unions are quiescent. Instead of intervening they mediate with the management on behalf of the workers. In other words they serve as a protectionist institution of the permanently employed workers. Thus trade unions become a part of the industrial hierarchy. Corrupt and careerist union leaders flourish who often compromise on workloads and bonus payments and use their position to run chit-funds and engage in usury. The workers, notwithstanding their disillusionment with the modus operandi of the unions remain loyal for reasons of job security. It is not that the workers do not revolt occasionally against their self seeking union leaders. But such revolts are not directed at any basic change of the system only at piecemeal attempts at improving the bargaining power of particular categories of workers.

This mill workers work situation spills over into his community life. Caste considerations are of relative insignificance in his social interaction. But the secular dimension of caste has an impact on his life chances. Since the Harijan castes lack the spread of their kin network in different occupations, their chances of employment or mobility in their jobs get restricted. The three different Harijan castes found among the mill workers have not responded homogeneously to mill employment. While it has enabled them to

improve their situation yet the extent of their improvement varies considerably. Education as a source of mobility plays a limited role since most children of workers aspire to be workers and are too keen on continuing education.

RETARDED INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Ramaswamy's detailed ethnography projects an image of the workers quite in contrast to the archetypal notion of the proletarian. It is perhaps to be expected in a situation of retarded industrial development. But according to the author the workers do not even wish to be proletarian ! His aspiration is to be his own master. If this is so whether he can succeed will depend not only upon himself but on the unity of wider social forces. Maybe then the only way for him to achieve his goal might be to abolish this system of 'masters' altogether. However, Ramaswamy's work affords us a close look at the way of life of the industrial workers in Coimbatore. That itself is valuable. But before we come to a conclusion about the emergence of 'industrial man' in India we need to know more about the capacity to dissent. In that case do the Bombay textiles workers strike indicate the future ?

Anjan Ghosh belongs to the Sociology Group at the Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta.

How to Measure India's Poverty

Morris, David Morris and Michelle B. McAlpin

Measuring the Conditions of India's Poor : The Physical Quality of Life Index
pp. ix +100, Promila, New Delhi, 1982, Rs. 80.00

Reviewed by Vimal P. Shah

The observation of significant differences in the "quality of life" of different sections of a country, even when a substantial rate of its economic growth is observed in terms of GNP, has led social scientists to search for adequate measures that can capture the distribution of benefits of economic

activity as well as the level and rate of change of economic activity. The widely used measure of per capita GNP is not found adequate for this purpose.

Consequently, there has been during the last two decades, a considerably increasing interest in the identification and measurement of

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social indicators. The senior author of the present book had in his previous work (*Measuring the Condition of the World's Poor: The Physical Quality of Life Index*, Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1979) suggested a simple index, the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI). The present book summarizes, in the first two chapters, the analysis presented in this previous work and attempts further to demonstrate its usefulness by presenting a detailed analysis of the available data for India.

THREE VARIABLES

The PQLI is a simple average of three equally weighted variables: infant mortality, life expectancy at age one and basic literacy. On the basis of an examination of the historical data, infant mortality and life expectancy are first transferred into a 0-100 scale. In the case of infant mortality, 229 deaths per thousand is set as 0 and 7 per thousand is set as 100, and in the case of life expectancy at age one 38 years = 0 and 77 years = 100; the literacy variable is in the percentage of population 15 years & older that is literate.

The authors point out that (a) the PQLI is a limited measure; it makes no attempt to measure the broad spectrum of "quality of life"—security, justice, freedom, human rights etc., (b) it is designed primarily to measure the performance of the world's poor countries in meeting the most basic needs of people, (c) it does not assume any particular pattern of development; it is a simple, objective, culture-free measure of "welfare" reflecting results (and not inputs) and distribution of social results, and (d) it lends itself to international and intercultural comparison.

INTERNATIONAL PATTERNS

The rationale for selecting the three indicators included in the PQLI is given in Chapter I. The second chapter examines the international patterns and some of the possible comparisons among countries. In addition, the authors com-

pare the PQLI to a conventional measure of distribution, examine historical changes in PQLIs, and show PQLI can be used to measure the relative welfare of groups—ethnic, male-female, rural-urban-within a society. It is the third and the final chapter wherein the authors examine the PQLIs for India, by state, zone, sex and rural-urban residence and offer interesting observations and hypotheses concerning their variation.

1. The correlation between PQLI and calorie intake of ten states, for which calorie intake data were available, was practically zero ($r=0.08$); the correlations of calorie intake with infant mortality ($r=0.20$) and life expectancy at age one ($r=0.27$) were also very low. The authors, therefore, suggest that either the calorie intake data are bad or that they are so seriously inadequate that their use in policy discussions and programme formulations should be severely curtailed.
2. There is an extremely large variation in the 1971 PQLIs for different states, with the lowest PQLI of 25 for UP and the highest PQLI of 70 for Kerala. The PQLI is higher in urban than in rural areas, and the coefficient of variation is lower for urban areas (10%) than for rural areas (29%). Also in all states, the PQLI for males is higher than for females, and there is a fairly high correlation ($r=0.89$) between the overall PQLI ranking of states and the narrowness of the gap between males and females. When they disaggregate the rural and urban populations of different states into their male and female components, the differences are intensified. Rural females in U.P. have an even lower PQLI ($=13$) than either the state's rural population or the state's female population. Urban males in Kerala have an even higher PQLI ($=75$) than all males or all urban dwellers in the state.
3. A detailed examination of the three components of the PQLI

show an apparent link (i) between the relatively low ratio of female to male literacy and inferior performance with respect to female infant mortality and life expectancy (found in Gujarat, M.P., Punjab, Rajasthan and U.P.) and (ii) between the relatively high ratio of female to male literacy and better performance with respect to infant mortality and life expectancy (found in the four southern states—A.P., Karnataka, Kerala and Tamilnadu).

The authors offer two hypotheses in this regard. First, the desired marriage patterns in the four Dravidian-speaking states tend to keep young women within their extended families in contrast to the other group of states where marriage patterns tend to move young women not only from the natal families but also from their native villages. The authors argue that where families expect their daughters to remain either within the kin group or within the immediate social environment, they have a greater incentive to invest in their health and education than when they expect their daughters to leave their own environment after a costly marriage.

Further, where women are married within their extended families or immediate social environment, the presence of the girl's families restrains their husbands' families from harsh treatment (which may be extended to an "outsider" daughter-in-law). Second, the authors observe that in the four southern states, women tend to have more power of their own (in terms of access to public spaces and to wage-earning occupations) than in most of the rest of India. They hypothesize that relatively powerful women may be better able to care for all their children so that the sex pattern of infant deaths moves toward the biological norm of higher mortality among male babies.

4. The authors employ the Disparity Reduction Rate (DRR) to measure and compare the performance of the three components and the composite PQLI during the 1961-1971 period. During

1961-1971, period. During 1961-1971, there was improvement in both female and male PQLIs in the Country as a whole, but progress was less rapid for women than man. The most rapid PQLI gains were made in the Southern and Western zones and they were shared almost equally between men and women. However, the sources of that improvement were quite different. Females in the Western zone had a high DRR for life expectancy but a rather low rate of improvement in infant mortality, while in the Southern zone both females and males had quite high DRRs for both life expectancy and infant mortality.

PARAMETERS

In their concluding remarks, the authors emphasize that (a) the PQLI does not measure economic growth; it is intended to complement, not replace the GNP or SDP (b) the PQLI does not measure economic development; quite the contrary, it suggests that specific PQLI results can be achieved with various socio-economic structures and levels of GNP, (c) the PQLI does not measure effort; it measures the results of social, economic and political policies, (d) PQLI does not pretend to measure total welfare, but it does measure those desired qualities of life that reflect best the extent to which the society is benefitting those that other indexes tend to neglect—the poor and women, (e) the PQLI does not identify the need for, or measure the results of, specific projects, and (f) it is an index of "macro" rather than "micro" performance, the most immediate use of the PQLI is as a measure of performance; it can identify specific areas of under-development and particular groups which suffer from the neglect or failures of social policy and thus can suggest where urgent action is required.

It is not intended to summarize here all the findings, hypotheses and suggestions for needed research that the authors have very able and perceptively delineated from their analysis of the PQLI and its components in this book. The PQLI is, no doubt, a simple measure; there are some questions, however. One

wonders whether the literacy (or basic literacy) variable could be replaced by a more meaningful indicator of education, say, primary education, given the present goal of universal primary education in a country like India. The assignment of an equal weight to each of the components of PQLI also seems to ignore the relative importance or priority that a country presumably attaches to the three components in its developmental programmes.

AS A SOCIAL INDICATOR

The authors seem to rely heavily on an examination of the variation in the three components of the index so as to derive meaningful implications regarding the trends in performance. In such a situation, the additional contribution of the composite index to an understanding of the behaviour of the over-all developmental process does not become apparent. The validity of the PQLI as a social indicator still

needs to be established by showing its relations to other variables which are not included in the index.

Finally, the title of the book is completely misleading; it does not examine the conditions of India poor; it does not show how PQLI distinguishes between the rich and the poor in India. Notwithstanding such reservations, this work of Morris and McAlpin is an important further step from the initial efforts to identify a simple social indicator. With additional research efforts to generate relevant, adequate and reliable data and to identify the synergistic inter-relationship among literacy (or any other indicator of education), infant mortality and life expectancy in the development process, the work of Morris and McAlpin could further extended to make the PQLI a viable measure in social research and social planning.

Vimal P. Shah is Professor of Sociology at Gujarat University Ahmedabad.

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Bailey, Greg. The Mythology of Brahma. Delhi, Oxford, 1983. xvi, 256 p. Rs. 100.00

Gives an exposition of the Brahma Mythology, taking into account the roles he plays and all the major myths in which he appears; shows that there is a unity in Brahma's multiplicity of functions; and shows how important such value systems are as interpretative Keys to fundamental aspects of Hindu mythology.

Das, Hari Hara, Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement. Delhi, Sterling, 1983. 404 p. Rs. 175.00

In order to present Bose's contribution to the Indian National Movement in its right historical perspective, Das has analysed in this comprehensive work the evolution of political extremism in India.

Handa, R.L. The State of the Nation : Presidential Addresses to Parliament from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Neelam Sanjiva Reddy.

Delhi, Sterling, 1983. x, 299 Rs. 125.00

Each of these speeches record the progress made in economy, Social and other spheres, the tasks that still lie ahead and the difficulties that in Government must be got over for tackling them successfully. A concise biographical sketch of each President has been included, also an analysis of each speech before the main text to the speech itself.

Jawatkar, K.S. Diego Garcia International Diplomacy. Bombay Popular, 1983. xv, 360 p. Rs. 150.

Narrates the history of Diego Garcia and discusses various facts of current history and the arguments that have gone behind the American decision to convert Diego Garcia into a major strategic base. Also describes reactions of littoral countries to these developments and examines in details India's Indian Ocean Policy since Independence.

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NON-ALIGNMENT : Frontiers & Dynamics
K.P. Misra (Ed.)
512pp Rs 150

INDIA AND THE NON-ALIGNED WORLD : Search for a New Order
Hari Jaisingh
176pp Rs 75

NON-ALIGNMENT IN CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
K.P. Misra & K.R. Narayanan (Eds.)
286pp Rs 125

FOOD NUTRITION AND POVERTY IN INDIA
V.K.R.V. Rao
164pp Rs 95

THE INDIAN LEFT
Bipan Chandra (Ed.)
416pp Rs 150

ANCIENT INDIAN COSMOGONY
F.B.J. Kuiper
278pp Rs 125

MAHARAJA SURAJ MAL
K. Natwar Singh
152pp Rs 35

THE EARLY SCULPTURES OF NEPAL
Lain S. Bangdel
260pp illus Rs 295

THE AWAKENED WIND : The Oral Poetry of Indian Tribes
Sitakant Mahapatra
340pp illus. Rs 95

INDIAN CINEMA : SUPERBAZAR
Aruna Vasudev & Philippe Lenglet
400pp illus Rs 150

MODERNIZATION AND COMMUNITY POWER : A Comparative Study of Two Villages in India
Murli M. Sinha
200pp Rs 95

WITH TIGERS IN THE WILD : An Experience in an Indian Forest
Fateh Singh Rathore, Tejbir Singh & Valmik Thapar
175pp illus. Rs 495

ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION IN INDIA
P.D. Shukla
216pp Rs 95

THE ARYA SAMAJ : Hindu Without Hinduism
D. Vable
230pp Rs 125

CRIPPLED MINDS : An Exploration into Colonial Culture
Susanthe Goonatilake
350pp Rs 125

CRIME IN OUR SOCIETY : A Political Perspective
S. Venugopal Rao
148pp Rs 75

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF KHIJINGOKOTTA
Arun Joshi
176pp Rs 125

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K.N. Panikkar
324pp Rs 95

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George Kurian
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M. Jha
208pp Rs 95

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Acana Adoko
354pp Rs 150

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Krishan Saigal
144pp Rs 75

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Prakash Chandra
250pp Rs 75

ROLE OF UNESCO IN EDUCATION
J.C. Aggrawal & S.P. Agrawal
386pp Rs 125

INDIA : An Uncommitted Society
J.C. Kapur
229pp Rs 75

ISLAM IN INDIA Vol. I : The Akbar Mission & Miscellaneous Studies
C.W. Troll
230pp Rs 95



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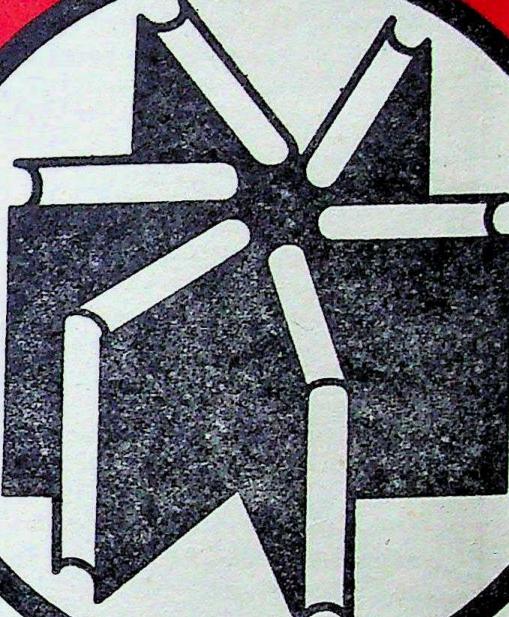
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indian book chronicle

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Economics for Administrators

May 1, 1983

and heroisms, and the upcoming poets—Philip Larkin, Charles Tomlinson, Donald Davie, among others—found poetry not in “the pity” as much as in small-time problems of creature existence. One’s own little hungers, deceptions, rationalisations, the stuck-up neighbours next door, or the pretentious pedlars of literary wares, of a ticket in heaven etc. were ‘powder’ enough for the muses. And since the protagonists were largely unheroic little Blooms drifting from crisis to crisis, and getting singed in the process, the style that came to dominate the poetry of that period was understandably colloquial and clipped, almost acerbic and tart in tone.

Not sweetness or flight, but archness was the aim, and the new experiments in prosody and diction were wholly in tune with the deflating *ethos* of the day. No wonder, irony and innuendo, urbanity and under-statement, wit and wry ‘wisdom’ became the instruments of both perception and statement. The Indo-Anglian poets who came of age around that time—Nissim Ezekiel among them—naturally ‘fell’ for that kind of verse, and sought to ‘belong’ there, if anywhere. This, is, as I see it, not a matter for disquiet, though the sociology of such an enterprise against the backdrop of a newly-free India beset with horrendous problems remains to be examined separately. In short, Nissim Ezekiel’s poetic career—from ‘the Movement’ verse through the American ‘confessional’ poetry to the late ‘intimations’ and ‘psalms’—may roughly be taken as a gloss on the history of the Anglo-American poetry since 1950. His pupilage, then, is at once a tribute and a register.

TYICAL EZEKIEL

And thus to his *Latter-Day Psalms*. Take the opening poem, “Counsel”, which seeks to render a string of philosophical ideas in an idiom of irony and cryptic comment. The gathering freight of variations is effortlessly carried over to the concluding line, ‘And bear your restlessness with grace’. The movement of the verse has an assured ease, and the style has a clear, tripping neatness about it. Even where, as in his later poetry, Ezekiel displays a metaphysical strain, there are few cerebral tugs and twists. Such lines as ‘Where you are/Is where you have to be’ give a hint of gnomic wisdom, but the poet, a congenital sceptic, is seldom taken in by larger formulations, his own or someone else’s. Again, in such pieces as “Poverty Poem” and “Healers”, we have the same observant and amused eye at work, and the irony is not allowed to harden into a lethal stance. In “Hang-over”, the ‘impressionistic’ technique wholly suits the theme of upper-class booze and fecklessness, and the *melange* of foggy and fleeting images is skilfully captured. The two irregular sonnets are experimental in spirit, whereas “Jewish Wedding in Bombay” is a longish poem in which prose has been neatly carved into unrhymed lines. The scene is rendered from the point of view of the indulgent bridegroom, and Ezekiel manages to convey the feel and the boredom of tribal contingencies and continuities.

When we come to Ezekiel’s “Very Indian Poems in Indian English”—a species of verse almost patented by him—we notice how ‘Babu’ English ‘pidgin’ English, solecisms, malapropisms and such idiomatic *faux pas* serve as grist to the mocking mills of the poet. He has, indeed, an enviable ear for linguistic lapses, and the profiles of the ‘patriot’ and the ‘professor’ in the poems carrying those titles are genuinely comic and amusing. What’s, however, not too well understood is the fact that the idiomatic mish-mash reveals not only the speaker’s cultural confusion, but also the poverty and lethargy of his thought. As Wittgenstein observes, language is a way of life, and those who abuse it are guilty of a moral lapse. The only danger here is that since such poems come ‘pat’, so to speak, they may soon turn into ‘set’ pieces, thereby losing their urgency and their sting.

In “Songs for Nandu Bhende”, Ezekiel has in a couple of ‘airs’ resorted to the nursery rhyme style made fashionable by Theodore Roethke and Sylvia Plath. When a serious subject is given a tongue-in-cheek treatment—the use of ‘gallows humour’ in the Absurdist plays is another example—the enormity of crime assumes vast, existential proportions. Ezekiel’s verse doesn’t quite take us over the brink, but the ‘pit-pat’ rhyme is effective nonetheless.

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We have our rules
made long ago
he's got to wait,
the law says so.
It's not our fault
he lives in jail.
He did something wrong
and he can't pay bail.
("Undertrial Prisoner")

And here is a harassed husband
back home from the day's chores
and miseries, facing a tidal wave
spousal froth and foam :

Shout at me woman !
Pull me up for this and that.
You're right and I'm wrong.
This is not an excuse,
it's only a song.
It's good for my soul
to be shouted at.
Shout at me, woman !
What else are wives for ?
("Song to be Shouted On")

In another little song, “Tearing”, the style has moved on to a point where language is lit with its own inner energy. The stated bare and clinical, carries its weight.

To move from the songs of ‘mocking bird’ to the ‘paintings’ of “Nudes 1978”—a beautiful sequence of 14 poems in sonnet form—is to realise the sense of unexpected levels of experience in our poet. However, even in these poems which affirm ‘the body’s rapture’ and the beauty of sexual consummation, there’s no Lao-tisan ecstasy or abandon. Even the naked body lies heaped upon the naked body, the *persoña*, now a man, now a woman, cannot shake away certain fears and doubts and anxieties that keep erupting in the heaving consciousness. Now then, the lambency of passion and its holiness do hold :

I knew each part but now I saw
the sacramental pattern, still
inviolate, within all that
pure being flowing from some

Obviously, these poems written under the influence of ‘confessional’ poets, and the

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Sonnet form, in particular, comes from Robert Lowell. The poetics of the 'bed-room' verse, however, may be left alone for the moment. The sequence does add a new dimension to Ezekiel's work.

And thus to his "Latter-Day Psalms". Based on the Biblical psalms, these modern variations on the perennial themes of vice and virtue, sin and redemption etc., constitute parables for our sorry times and sorrier folks. These are, if I may say so, St. Ezekiel's words of 'wisdom', though the manner in which he turns the hose obliquely in his own direction also shows the ingrained nature of the mocking muses.

And God remembers we are
but flesh; till he is pro-
voked further, and gives us
over to the sword.

The prosody now shows another new feature—the split-word enjambement, while the nursery rhyme is still pressed into service.

We are the people of his pa-
sture, we are the sheep
of his hand, Baa Baa Black
Sheep.

From the earlier volume, *The Exact Name*, (1955), Ezekiel has included some well-known poems such as "Philosophy" and "Night of the Scorpion", but easily the poem called "Poet, Lover, Birdwatcher" carries the palm. Shakespeare found lover, poet and lunatic working on the same beam, and here we find another trinity conjoined in overture, strategies and effects. The operative metaphor, which binds them, and puts them all in the same meta-physical street, stems from a unitive vision. I also like "In Retrospect", and its simple, flowing movement :

There is a point
in being obscure
about the luminous,
the pure musical
phrases of living
which ought to be
delicately improvised
and left alone.

Already, by 1965, Ezekiel had achieved a subtle economy of line, phrase and image. The thought is seldom deep or far-reaching, but it usually finds its linguistic correlative. And, here and there, a phrase leaps from the page to hold the eye, and to charm the ear and the imagination.

SEEKING A SIGNATURE

Oddly enough, as this critique progresses, we keep moving backwards in terms of the poet's development. For, that's the order in which the poet and his publishers have culled and collated the material from his earlier volumes. The last few poems are, then, from his first volume, *The Unfinished Man*, (1960). Well, if our end is in our beginning, and home is where we start from, these pieces, some of an apprentice nature, clearly establish the credentials of a voice seeking a signature within the poetic milieu of that time. Although his 'Indian English' poems and the poems dealing with the Indian scene as such project his Indian sensibility, the important thing to note is that, unlike so many younger poets, Ezekiel doesn't, as a rule, go whoring after Indian gods and myths and images for the sake of 'identity' and belongingness. His

is a typical modern sensibility *within* the Indian context, and is content to rest there. There's another stylistic quality evident in these earlier poems, and that's the quality of lapidary firmness and grace. Words are joined to words with a *stilus*, as it were.

The bride is always pretty, the
groom
A lucky man. The darkened
room
Roars out the joy of flesh and
blood
The use of nakedness is good.
("Marriage")

If, then, we are to see his passage down the years, we are impressed with the poet's sustained industry even where he remains imitative in the creative, *mimetic* sense of the word. Of the many weighty pronouncements T.S. Eliot made from time to time, none perhaps was so off-centre—unless, of course, old Tom was upto some prank—as the one about the good poets stealing, and the bad poets imitating to earn their poetic spurs. Nissim Ezekiel, in a small way, proves our point.

Darshan Singh Maini recently retired as Professor of English, Punjabi University, Patiala, and now lives in Chandigarh.

Nehru—The Darling of the Millions

A. Gorev and V. Zimyanin

Jawaharlal Nehru

pp. 340, *Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1982, Rs. 4.00*

Reviewed by Sudha Raman

This is an important as well as an interesting book as it is an excellent biographical study of India's prominent leader, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) who lived and died not only for his motherland but also for world peace and development.

Nehru was full of emotion when he met the first human being to have seen India from the porthole of a Soviet spaceship. Looked at from space, India is shaped like a human heart, framed in the white lace edging of ocean surf and criss-crossed by the veins of rivers.

Nehru was no longer alive when the first Indian satellite was put into orbit around the Earth.

From different points of India, aircraft mounted into the sky, bearing in their steel womb handfuls of the ashes of a man who had succeeded, by his spirit, in raising himself above human passions, and at the same time, in sharing the desires and dreams of the simple Indian toiler. His ashes fall onto Indian soil mingle with the life-giving land, become part of it, adding strength to the new seed of

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life and confirming the idea of his eternal India. This was what Nehru wanted.

Jawaharlal (which means beautiful jewel) was born in Allahabad on 14 November 1889. From that time on, on this day, the boy was weighed early in the morning on large scales. Instead of weights, they put sacks of wheat or rice, which, after the ceremonial weighing were distributed to the poor. Jawaharlal was weighed several times and was enraptured when the wheat, rice, sweetmeats and clothing were handed out to the crowd surrounding him. Many remembered 14 November and whole families used to arrive at Nehru's house the evening before and wait until the gates were opened early in the morning,

A MODEL

Wondering whether there existed in the contemporary world forces capable not only of resisting imperialism and fascism but also of building a society free from oppression and arbitrariness, poverty and unemployment, economic crisis and wars, Nehru turned hopefully to the example of the Soviet Union. He consistently followed the foreign policy and economic activity of the then young Soviet state, the "amazing and prodigious effort to create a new world out of the dregs of the old". His trip to Moscow in November 1927 had increased his sympathy for the Soviet Union, but the main thing was that it confirmed him in the opinion that Russia and India had a great deal in common, and that their peoples would have to solve similar problems. Nehru approached the history of the Soviet Union not just as an objective, benevolent researcher, but also as a thoughtful practical worker: he selected and carefully analysed everything that might be suitable for India, both then and in the future.

In later years (1947-1964) mighty industrial complexes transformed the face of India, in a historically short period taking her place among the first ten industrially developed countries of the world. Her progressive, nonaligned peaceloving foreign policy gained a firm foothold and won worldwide recogni-

tion. Founded on the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, the traditional friendly relations between the Soviet and Indian peoples are strengthening and developing. These relations have stood the test of time and proved that they are not subject to the vicissitudes of the political situation or the influence of transient factors.

The book is indeed a rich and scholarly volume besides being

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thought provoking, factual and educative. The author deserves appreciation for his efforts in contributing great knowledge to biographical literature for educating millions of people all over the world. The nominal cost gives an opportunity even to the individual buyer.

Sudha Raman is Professor of Political Science at the University of Madras.

Anatomising Sadat

Ghali Shoukri

Egypt: Portrait of a President 1971-1981
pp. v+465, Vikas, 1982, Rs. 150.00

Reviewed by Sudhansu Mohanty

Looking back, with the benefit of historical hindsight, the Middle East—or the West Asia as it is sometimes called—seems a happy hunting ground for the 'dickens'. This symbiosis of relation—as many then thought—did not end with the evaporation of the 19th century 'sick man of Europe'. The fact is that that crucial stretch of land seems to have a knack of getting jinxed. For no sooner was the 'sick man' laid to rest than another 'sick' idea caught the West's imagination; this atavism of the so-called 'Free-land' exhumed and entombed a timeless 'plague' which has appeared more intractable with the passage of time.

Ever since the West created the state of Israel, there seems to be no end to trouble in West Asia. What is more hurtful is that it has become a mire where the cold war protagonists often carry on their proxy battle royal leaving not unoften a trail of innocents massacred in its wake. What is yet more galling is that despite a sea-change in outlook leading to a rapprochement between the two major antagonists, Egypt and

Israel—the Camp David Agreement et al—the solution remains as intractable as ever. A perisopic look into the Arab problem might give one an impression that the Camp David Agreement not only condemned Egypt to the 'iciest outskirt of Gehenna' but this 'cold peace' or 'frozen peace' so vociferously lauded the world over, perhaps further fouled the already stinking West Asian ambience.

To all Arab supporters the understanding reeked of shallow misjudgement, if not downright betrayal on Sadat's part. There was tension galore in the Middle East, Egypt not excepted; the denouement came in a subtle nemesis on that fateful day of October 6, 1981 when President Sadat was killed while supervising a military parade to celebrate the eighth anniversary of the Egyptian army's fight to reclaim Sinai from the Israeli occupation. That the day chosen was deliberate and symbolic cannot be easily dismissed.

Ghali Shoukri in this book sets out Sadat's ten years as President, sets out the growing restlessness in Egypt

Our reviewers, knowledgeable and perceptive as they are, need not be allowed to have the last word. It is for you to argue with them. Our columns are as much open to you as to them.

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with the non-results of the Camp David accord, the truce with Israel, the subsequent alienation of Egypt from the Arab world and the resentment caused by Sadat's growing dictatorial stance with civilians, officers and clergymen alike. He examines at length each of the three questions asked by the West immediately after Sadat's death, and goes on to elaborate how the West's estimate went wrong.

ISLAMIC FANATICISM

To its first question, the West provided the answer by stating that Sadat was killed by 'Islamic fanaticism'. For Shoukri this can only be farthest from truth for it betrays a total lack of understanding of Egyptian politics by the West. Despite Sadat's calling himself 'the believing President' and his country 'the country of science and belief' and despite his incorporating a statement in the Egyptian Constitution that 'Islam is the only source of legislation' and even sometimes arresting priests and bishops and trying to stir up dissension among the people, the religious fanaticism had failed to live on for any length of time. "For all that, Islamic fanaticism is innocent of Sadat's blood because it does not exist. The Islamic group that he patronized were not, nor ever will be the owner of the long arm in the Egyptian streets or in the Armed Forces.

What did happen was simply that Sadat had slammed shut all doors to change in the face of peaceful, democratic dialogue which is one of the basic components of Egyptian society. The national opposition of progressive and democratic Egypt was patient for ten years, and the Armed Forces for eight years after the war of 1973. But patience has its limits, and when Sadat began his campaign to arrest all the opposition—a month before his death he condemned himself to death. The opposition had reached a high degree of organization and coordination. On the eve of arrests, Sadat himself said that it was a matter of life or death, and by arresting 5,000 important national leaders, he chose the easy way—

Yet this death was not only the Egyptian people's verdict on Sadat but on the whole regime. 'It was not an assassination, but an execution, not of Sadat but of the system.'

To the second question posed by the West—would the 'democratic regime' change after Sadat—Shoukri goes to the other extreme to dismiss outright Sadat's regime as being nothing short of dictatorial. "Sadat was a dictator not only in the last month prior to his execution, but throughout his reign and he left a dictatorial regime which will not change with Mubarak. The series of statutes issued from 1971 to 1981 under such innocuous titles as 'national unity and social peace', 'shame' and 'the suspicion' were radical intrusions on the essentials of democracy, and are not comparable with any laws except those of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and Salazar. Not even one article exists in the Egyptian press that raises a voice against the Camp David Treaties because no one who objects has the right to write, or to express himself through the radio or television. The President commanded complete authority and did not recognise any democratic constitution. He it was who created the title of General Socialist Prosecutor in an unsocialist country, in order to abolish the usual judicial obligations, and to establish exceptional military and political justice conferring the right to detain any person on trivial charges without trial and for several years."

PROSPECT OF PEACE

The third question of the West—the prospect of peace in the Middle East—to Shoukri suffers from a hollow illusion. For to the author there never was any semblance of peace in the Middle East following Camp David and only a greenhorn will fail to see it. "There is no peace in Egypt where war is now declared between the people and the regime. There will never be any settlement until the whole regime collapses. And there can be no peace in the Middle East while the declared war between Israel and all the Arabs extends its range day after day. There will also be no peace with the isolation of Egypt from the Arab

world for its amount to shearing it from its proven age-old identity. Thus coercion, forced imposition of a new lifestyle seems to have left the mass of the Egyptian people unimpressed and untouched; hence the future lies not in alienation, side-stepping but active participation in the mainstream of resurgence.

The history of modern West Asia provides us a few constants: Egypt long looked upon as a prize or a pawn by the powerful West has been always losing but has never lost' and could finally shake off this western tutelage in 1952 following the July Revolution led by Col. Nasser; Israel, on the other hand, ever since the day of the West's frantic last-ditch attempt at imperialism has been its foothold and a bridgehead while for the Arabs they are perceived as a challenge and a stumbling-block. The Arabs have stuck to the last diplomatic weapon—refusal to recognize Israel de jure—rather steadfastly; the result has been the battle of dialectics in which the world at times has been asked to participate.

Nasser who successfully negotiated the British withdrawal from the Egyptian soil was quick to realise the strategic position of Egypt in the Arab politics. Anti-west in his political outlook he quickly nationalized the Suez in 1956 and grasping well that Israel was the main encumbrance in the Arab world and the source of maximum threat to Egypt's security, Nasser spearheaded an offensive anti-Israel policy. By 1970 at the time of Nasser's death it was therefore no surprise that Egypt had emerged as a close friend of Soviet Union, an arch enemy of Israel and a leader of the radical Arab world. The Egyptian people had come to acquiesce in Nasser's policy wholeheartedly and were glad that his successor Sadat swore to even lose a million martyrs but get back the Arab land. Sadat's apostasy could be seen that the same person a bare six years hence in 1977 could proclaim that he was prepared to go to the ends of the earth to save the precious life of an Egyptian soldier. If this statement merely vindicated Sadat's earlier domestic and foreign policy postures, his visit to Jerusalem

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and the signing of the Camp David Accord with Israel and the U.S.A. woke the people up to a new threatening reality. For as Jacques Berque says in the preface of Shoukri's book: 'Mutatis mutandis, the visit to Jerusalem can be considered the reverse of the nationalization of the Canal. It was, in fact, antisuez'.

TO DE-NASSERISE EGYPT

Sadat's mistake lay in the fact what one might call—his attempt to 'de-Nasserise' Egypt. The very man who had rejected the Rogers Plan in Nasser's lifetime, negotiated with Kissinger, received Nixon, and visited Israel. The very man who had kissed Nasser's hand after his death and bowed before his photograph in Parliament, holding up the declaration of March 30th, 1968 and saying—"It was his programme, it is mine, and I have nothing to add"—abrogated the National Charter and all the other documents and measures known in Egypt for eighteen years. His regime also witnessed the conspicuous phenomenon of the series of fire in 1971-72, fires which doubtless were political in character, charging the general atmosphere with something mysterious, unknown and inescapable. The economic disastrous early years of the 1970s saw a veering away from the nationalisation measures of Nasser; the law on investment of foreign and Arab capital authorised foreign capital to move in and out of the country, granting them even customs and excise privileges extending to exemption from any liability of this type.

The consequences were shattering for the Egyptian people. Clearly this was an alliance aimed to sustain the ruling elite, no matter what it forebode for the nation. In fact, there was an absence of any truly productive project in the Arab and foreign investment plans; capital arrived very haltingly, hesitantly and cautiously; Arab capital was directed towards the hotel business, luxury building, big restaurants and night clubs. American and Western capital was generally directed towards banking while as regards

import/export, it was limited to importing consumer goods and exporting basic necessities. The immediate corollary was a sudden spurt in prices, but unaccompanied by an equivalent rise in wages, an increase in inflation and unemployment and a sharp drop in the living standards of the middle classes.

Other consequences soon showed itself: there was the over-development of commerce to the detriment of nationalised or national industry, there was an increase in unemployment and undeclared unemployment, impoverishment of the largest strata of the working class, galloping population growth and the progressive fall in the value of the Egyptian pound because of the lack of gold cover. There was yet the deficit in the balance of payments, fall in national and average individual income, and hence the lack

of a social balance which soon stoked down catastrophically on the populace. The law of quick profit imposed its social criteria right across society. There was also the steady drop in the level of services in fields of health, education, transport while there was a corresponding uptake in the realm of brain drain and emigration labour. This is not to forget the student movement also raged in 1972-1973.

REVERSAL OF POLICIES

In the realm of foreign relations Sadat's was an attempt to Nasserify Egypt's policies—politics he had resolutely clung to all through the Nasser years. There was initially a cooling off of Egyptian-Soviet relations in Sadat's "year

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"decision" (1971), then the sudden decision asking the Soviet Union to withdraw its 20,000-odd experts in 1972. The volte face had begun. The October 1973 West Asian War widened the chasm further, and positively drove Egypt to the American fold. Nixon's visit to Cairo in June 1974 and Sadat's reciprocal trip to Washington in October 1975 increased the latter's faith in the U.S.A.; concurrently the Egyptian-Soviet relations hit rock bottom with Sadat's cancellation of Egypt-Soviet Friendship Treaty in March 1976.

This was not all; this was rather merely the beginning of Sadat's Arab treachery. Not to be content with the results achieved in the realm of Egypt-American relations, Sadat went afar to replace Nasser's "philosophy of the Revolution" with his own timorously concealed "philosophy of the Negotiation". His now putative statement of travelling to the end of the world and even to Israel to bring sanity to West Asia took the world by surprise. He visited Jerusalem in November 1977 and in his address to the Israeli Parliament expressly recognized Israel's right to exist in West Asia and assured that Egypt would accept all international guarantees "that you can imagine and from whomever". This was plain adoption of the Israel attitude which the Arabs had been rejecting outright for the last 30 years.

Understandably, this was arrant betrayal of the Arab cause, for as the author is quick to rightly discern "there is no half-way house between being an Arab Egypt and an Israeli Egypt". Upto the present Egypt's independence and social progress had been consistent only with its belonging to the Arab nation. In the same way, in its new 'Israeli' phase, the country of the Nile cannot be confined to an isolating neutrality; it is bound to play second fiddle contrarily, to the U.S.A. and Israel in the West Asian politics. This "Egyptianisation of Egypt by its de-Arabisation" Shoukri observes "is only a chauvinist illusion meant to veil its submission to Zionist plans. Opposition to the treaty signed with Israel can only mean the fall of the regime

which is trying to drag Egypt along in the wake of Israel". Harsh prophecy this!

For what is the aftermath of the much-adumbrated and well-orchestrated Camp David Agreement? Without batting an eyelid it can be said that it has actually heralded a most appalling, bloody upheaval in the history of the region, with all their attendant risk of threats to peace and international security. Not that Nasser's regime did not have its own share of instability. But Nasserist instability reflected the Arabs' dominant national ambition for independence, unity and self-liberation.

STRATEGIC VICTORY

There is little doubt that, by getting Sadat to sign the peace treaty, American imperialism and the Zionist State scored a strategic victory, and deprived the Arab nation of two resolves which were an integral part of its patriotic and national sovereignty : the first, the Egyptian resolve to wage war; the second, the Arab resolve to achieve national unity. "After the usurpation of the right of free choice with regard to these two resolves, the liberation and unification of the Arab territories became more difficult than ever". Though chauvinistic words, yet you cannot fully rebut Shoukri.

Thus while Nasserist 'non-stability' was legitimate as it was preparing for true stability, Sadat by reversing that trend worsened it. 'Nasserist non-stability' did not bring stability to colonialism, Zionism or Arab reactionaries; Sadat's measures gave foothold to the erstwhile 'unstable'. Here lies the dialectic.

Sadat's newer flights alas came a cropper. His attempt at tackling the West Asian imbroglio in collusion with Israel and the U.S.A. led to a

'taut peace', if you at all call it a peace. Any amount of brainwashing by the media could not help the Egyptian man in the street to fail to see the lies behind the peace; Sadat's attempt to rule by distancing and alienation was bound to fail. Sadat would have done well to remember Lincoln : you can fool some men all the time, all men for sometime, but not all men for all the time. The curtain fell on that fateful day of celebration—October 6, 1981—when with Sadat Egyptian people condemned the death of the regime.

VITRIOLIC

Shoukri's is an impassioned study of Sadat's ten years in power. The passion and vitriol against Sadat is sometimes so pointed and pronounced that even the unwary will not fail to discern the vituperation. But what raises Shoukri's analysis above the frenzy of the hour when Cairo was rocked with Sadat's assassination is that he backs up his arguments with indisputable facts. What is still more revealing is that the book is not a post-Sadat effort but a product when the Sadat regime was enjoying an Indian Summer of glory : its first edition in Arabic was brought out in 1978. Going by what Shoukri has written in that crucial year of West Asian politics, his analysis is passionately forceful yet sober. His prophecy even comes true. But one wishes Shoukri had elaborated pointedly why Sadat suddenly decided to go renegade. Shoukri merely harps on the banal fact that is widely bruited about and easily meets the eye. Here perhaps passion overshadowed his reasoned calculation of emphatic priorities.

Sudhansu Mohanty belongs to the Defence Accounts Service and is currently posted in Siliguri.

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Dimensions of Electoral Behaviour

Bangendu Ganguly and Mira Ganguly

Dimensions of Electoral Behaviour

pp. 199, Pearl Publishers, Calcutta, 1982, Rs. 70.00

Reviewed by Pravin Sheth

The book is based, in the main, on the data relating to the voting behaviour in the 1977 Lok Sabha poll in West Bengal. But the methodological approach of Ganguly has helped them maintain their attempt at explaining the State's political life in the larger time perspective. This, the authors have completed through the hologram analysis of political behaviour which is observed, as a field of waves, from different angles of the analyst as well as the political actor. The three analytical/waves emerge from social variables, psychological variables and the environment. The 'multi-operationism' for data collection with a well documented methodological approach makes this work, on this count, a refreshing one and distinguished from the many functionalist works on Indian elections.

The poll pattern in the State is also analysed by attempting to find the nature of the relationship between economic development and partisan choice by a careful ranking of the districts along development dimensions.

The authors have tried to relate business with election; they are candid enough to do so on not on so sure a ground (pp. 55-57). They have also carefully worked out the role of radio, newspapers and television, in that order; non-formal channels like 'acquaintances' lead others in supplying information to the voters (pp. 37-38). Most parties appear to favour veterans, as their candidates, while people's preference appear to be just the opposite. 47.33% of the respondents favour new candidates.

LINKAGE

The authors have attempted to discover the linkage between behavioural and situational data by bringing out their reciprocal dependence.

The turn out of voters is highest

(93.29 per cent) among those with the highest sense of efficacy of political parties and elections. All those with a high sense of efficacy voted. The majority of the respondents (70.66 per cent) had low evaluation of 20-points programme while 13.16 per cent had high scores. Voting turn out increased with evaluative scores on this point. Caste and religion are unimportant so far as polling turn out (or non-voting) is unconcerned. No uniform pattern, likewise, emerges in respect to level of education. In case of sex, however, women lead the males in non-voting; the relationship between age and voting rate appears to follow a zigzag line. High awareness of the 42nd Constitutional Amendment was confined only to a handful of people active in political sphere. Those with the lowest evaluative scores of the Emergency government recorded the highest turn out. Those who had the highest evaluative scores on Mr. Gandhi voted the least.

The survey makes a revealing finding. Only 483 out of 881 respondents were aware of the proclamation of Emergency. 33.37 had a favourable opinion of the same. The finding is borne out by the fact that in 1977 Lok Sabha poll, 35.86 of the voters in West Bengal supported the Congress-CPI alliance. 73 per cent had not heard of any coercion in family planning in this area. The authors find that both as a national problem and as a problem facing West Bengal, the problem of food and clothing was uppermost in the mind of the respondents; unemployment took the second place and that of price rise, the third. The number of respondents aware of the problems appears to be inversely related to the level of their economic condition. The Problems having the greatest salience in their psychological world were related to the fundamental existence of human beings.

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VOTING & NON-VOTING

West Bengal politics is a partisan choice between the Congress and its allies and the CPI (M) led left forces. Though defeated since 1977, the Congress has maintained a sizeable core-support. Sustenance of bipartism is explained by relating it to the socio-economic and psychological variates of people in West Bengal.

Ganguly make a useful contribution to Psychology by showing that "the simple fact of non-voting (the profile of non-voters with party preference rejection tendency) has a positive bearing on the ultimate poll results; this should be an integral part of any study of voting behaviour. Interestingly, vote-seat distortion works to disadvantage of the Congress (its ally CPI) in this State, while it favours CPI (M) which won a larger percentage of seats, not proportionate to its votes.

Ganguly have constructed a development index out of 22 indicators, and ranked the 16 districts. They have ranked them (excluding abnormally developed districts like Calcutta, which they have thoughtfully excluded) on levels of development and related the party choice with the level of development (pp. 174-176). No definite pattern of association between the change in the level of socio-economic development and the strength of the ruling party's support-base emerges from their scrutiny of the aggregate data in relation to the Congress-CPI poll performance in 1977.

But if, as the authors claim, their aim was to understand the pattern of Indian political life in the context of political behaviour in West Bengal the aim remains largely unrealised. It is understandable that the problem of relating a macro-frame with micro-and linkage levels of analysis in a continental political paradigm which informs their work cannot be worked out in the present form.

Again, the point on institutionalisation of two-party system is well taken. But it is not as much as the carefully collected survey data which substantiates this observation as the aggregate Election Commission

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sion data on vote-seat results over time. The reference to non-conventional works on Indian elections and the theoretical discussion related to them makes refreshing reading but as one proceeds through the analysis, the tone, tenor and technique sound rather familiar frustrating the expectation of a novel method of analysis generated by the theoretical part of Psephology.

All the same, Ganguly's deserve credit for a useful body of electoral survey-data, a refreshing theoretical approach, methodological rigour and a neat analysis of electoral behaviour of a major Indian state.

Pravin Sheth is Reader in Political Science at Gujarat University, Ahmedabad.

Third World Urbanization

Helen I. Safa, Editor

Towards a Political Economy of Urbanization in Third World Countries

pp. xvi + 315, Oxford University Press, 1982, Rs. 45.00

Reviewed by V.K. Bawa

This book is the result of a meeting held in New Delhi in December 1978 in connection with the 10th Congress of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. The panel was on urbanisation in developing areas. Half the contributors to the volume are scholars who come from countries outside the United States, though some are teaching in that country. Of the thirteen contributors, nine are anthropologists. Other disciplines like Economics, Geography and Sociology were brought in to provide a fresh perspective to problems of urbanisation in third world countries.

The first four papers are concerned with labour migration, its causes and consequences. Of these one deals with Mexico, two with Africa (Sudan and West Africa) and one with Asia. The second section deals with family and kinship as survival mechanisms. One paper deals with Indonesia, one with Lebanon, and one with Delhi. The third set of four papers deals with small scale entrepreneurs and the informal sector. One of these papers deals with Calcutta, another with Ludhiana, a third with shoe manufacturers in Colombia, and the last with Nigeria (concerned with the formal and informal sectors in the town of Zaria).

The fourth and last section deals with collective action and protest in the city. The first article deals

with squatters and politics in Latin America, and provides a comparative analysis of urban social movement in Chile, Peru and Mexico. The last paper deals with neighbourhood movements in San Paulo.

The papers by Nirmala Banerjee and Paul I Singer contribute to a better understanding of the economics of the urban poor in Calcutta and in San Paulo and paper by Shanti Tangri throws light on the industrial growth of Ludhiana, a phenomenon which, he rightly points out, disproves some accepted notions of third world development. The paper by the Urban Planner (Manuel Castells) provides a valuable comparison of three Latin American urban situations. The geographer T.G. McGee has provided a broad-brush comparison of the situation regarding labour mobility in Asia.

DEPENDENCY THEORY

The Introduction tries to link the problems of the urban poor and the informal sector with dependency theory, which has become a dominant force in Latin American intellectual circles. The urban poor are keeping themselves alive by maximising their earnings and minimising their cost and consumption levels. Many members of the household are engaged in income generating activities including women and children. The competition among

the urban poor keeps down wages, incomes, and living standards. Increasing linkages are taking place between the formal and informal sector, as seen in the Tangri paper on bicycle manufacturers in Punjab. The family provides a primary source of security in Lebanon, which the writer Suad Joseph considers a classic case of a dependent economy, as it is a service centre for the rest of the Middle East.

It is argued that 'capitalist penetration' plays a major role in the urbanisation process in third world countries by strengthening the urban informal sector, increasing demands on the state for public services and infrastructure, and increasing the possibility of increased collective action and protest by the urban poor who are now demanding adequate housing, jobs, education, etc., to a greater extent than before.

One wishes that there had been an introduction to each of the sections as well as a conclusion which pulled together the findings of the studies. As it is, one is left with the sneaking suspicion that there is little justification for the kind of broad generalisations that are made in the introduction (pp. 13-14) and even in some of the papers in the collection. Is it really possible to generalise about Asia as is done in the paper by McGee (the material cited is from Indonesia and Phillipines) or on the third world, as is done by the editor in the introduction?

The word political economy has been used in the title of the book. This gives the impression that (1) it deals with the total urbanisation situation, whereas actually it deals only with the urban poor and the informal sector, and that (2) the stress is on economic policy-making, whereas in fact it is merely an analysis of the urban informal sector. The economic and political insights provided are few and far between. Nevertheless, if one takes the title of the book and its introduction with a pinch of salt, there is much of value to be learned from this book.

Prof. V.K. Bawa is an ICSSR Senior Fellow with the Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore.

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Sociology of Law in India

Upendra Baxi

The Crisis of the Indian Legal System
pp. 405, Vikas, 1982, Rs. 125.00

Reviewed by Surindar Suri

Controversy rages over the nature and effect of the prevailing legal system in India. The crux of the matter is that it is an alien imposition. The present system in India was introduced under British rule and derives from the Western legal heritage which originated in classical Rome. Over the centuries it was adapted to the conditions and circumstances in Britain and was brought to India under English imperial rule. The fact of the matter is that ancient India did not possess an elaborate formal legal structure. In this respect it resembled other Asian societies, including present-day Japan. However, Japan escaped foreign domination, except for a brief period of U.S. occupation after World War II.

India, on the other hand, suffered a series of foreign invasions and political domination. Thus, Moghul rulers set up formal courts and these continued under Sikh rule in Punjab. The British naturally wanted their own system of laws and enforcement, and the Indian elite, demoralised and alienated from the masses, was only too eager to accept the foreign imposition. Legal practice became one of the earliest professions in which Indians excelled. It was the foundation on which the Nehru family built its social and political dominance. Gandhi also started his political life as a barrister...Lawyers, along with some other professionals, are the dominant group in the parliament and the state legislature.

NOT ROOTED IN THE SOIL

Yet it is clear that the western judicial and legal system in India, despite its vast proliferation, has not become rooted in the soil of the society. Considering that there is virtually no indigenous legal tradition to speak of, Indian society faces a profound dilemma. The existing judicial and legal structures do not

articulate the needs or problems of the common people. But no other system is readily available to serve the purpose. Experience with judicial panchayats and similar experiments has largely failed to produce satisfactory results. On the other hand, the legal and judicial system itself has become virtually pathological.

For instance, the law's delays in India are notoriously long and are getting longer and longer. Courts are over-burdened with case-loads and this is also growing ever-heavier. Litigation is a favourite pastime of some sections of society and lawyers from one of the most successful professions in the country. One of the interesting points brought out by Upendra Baxi is that lawyers in fact manipulate the judicial system. Many lawyers are so busy with different cases they have taken up that often the first time they read the brief is when they present it to the court. And their inability to appear on time in the various cases is one of the major reasons for unending series of adjournments of the hearing. In fact, stretching out litigation endlessly is a favourite technique in the legal battle. The struggle is as to who would wear out his opponent. A poor man has no chance of overcoming the endless delays that his wealthier opponent can manage to inflict upon him.

Because the basic concepts and terminology of the laws is alien to India, the common people themselves do not understand what are all about. The people are at the mercy of the lawyers who are supposed to know the jargon. Because most of them also are far from mastering the basic principles on grasping the historical roots and wider implications of the laws, they develop certain rituals and operate with set formulae. At the same time, a certain kinship develops between the different specialised groups within the legal system, so that the whole operation tends to take place with

an aura of mystery. Just because the legal system is so alien to the traditions and social reality of the country, there is a plethora of laws and rules enacted every year. India stands very high indeed in the number of laws that are passed by the parliament and other competent bodies.

In fact, some legal practitioners maintain that if the various laws were enforced, the common people would obtain many benefits. But, as is clear, such is not the case. The poor cannot obtain justice through laws. Therefore enacting laws that are supposed to help the oppressed and the poor is one way of evading the issue. The political authorities soothe their conscience because they have enacted progressive legislation. The well-to-do may be assured that these would not affect their power and privileges. However, it is obvious that proliferation of black money and corruption is one way in which the so-called progressive legislation is bypassed, which not only negatives the effect of specific laws or rules but, as the over-all influence of this state of affairs, the very concept of legality is undermined.

EVASION OF LEGALITY

Evasion of legality takes divers forms. The rich, the influential and the well-to-do evade the laws through their pulls and pushes, through the services of the legal practitioners, etc. But the burden is borne by the less fortunate in the opposite direction. Torture and encounter deaths are the ways in which the less fortunate suffer from the hollowness of the legal system. The dead tell no tales, nor do those who are blinded or raped. The prison-system in India is also among the worst in the world. It would be surprising if it was otherwise. Considering the standard of living or quality of life of the average prison guard, policeman, or their immediate superiors, it is no wonder that they take out their frustrations on those who stand helpless at their mercy. No amount of self-righteous moralising or passing of laws, rules, etc., would remedy the social ailment.

The crux of the matter is the virtually unbridgeable gulf between

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the standard of living and way of life of the Westernised elite, with its alien legal system and thinking style and the mass of the people as well as the socio-cultural reality of India. Whatever the dominant elites may do cannot make sense to the common people. Similarly, the ideas and values of the masses are either unknown to the elite or are dismissed as superstitious and obsolescent. The middle and lower ranks of the bureaucracy, particularly those caught up in the maintenance of law and order, such as policemen, or those charged with responsibility for taking care of prisons, cannot help falling between the two schools. At the deeper level their ire is directed against their superiors but it finds practical expression in mistreatment of others who stand helpless before them.

It is no wonder that psychiatric disorders are growing rapidly. As Upendra Baxi points out, "...the overall national picture is not at all bright for victims of psychiatric disorders—whether labelled 'criminally' or 'non-criminally' insane. According to available information, India had in 1972 only thirty-eight mental hospitals, with a total bed capacity of 12,168. The actual admissions have been rising progressively since 1951: the estimate for 1972 was 24,342. Lest anyone should be optimistic concerning planned expansion of psychiatric care facilities in India, we may recall the sobering statistics: the number of mental hospitals was 30 in 1951. It increased to 38 in 1971: an increase of only eight hospitals in exactly twenty years!"

As against this, the number of people treated in all public hospitals for psychiatric disorders shows a very high increase. The Federation for the Welfare of the Mentally handicapped has estimated on the eve of a National Day for the Mentally Handicapped that there are nearly twenty million such people in the country. Rehabilitative facilities existed only for one percent of this vast group." However, the crux of the matter is not the lack of facilities for those who become mentally disturbed but the prevention of insanity.

PREVENTION OF DISPUTES

Similarly, the central issue for

jurisprudence in India is not the proper handling, of legal disputes that arise, nor trial and punishment of criminals, but crime and dispute prevention. Here again, as in several other matters, India has much in common with Japan and has much to learn from it. Prevalence of criminality and of mental illness in Japan is the lowest of all industrialised societies. It has achieved this enviable record by activating and mobilising the social values and social bonds, by using these for achieving new goals such as those of economic development, etc. In India, however, the legal, administrative, and political systems are directed against the social ethos without, however, transcending it in a revolutionary manner. It is no wonder that, in India, "the power to bend the rules in their operation is perceived as the *real* power, rather than the power to make rules." Hence also "the low commitment to legalism by the rulers or the ruled."

The obvious solution to the problem of the "Crisis of the Indian Legal System" is to return to the indigenous systems of social order and dispute settlement. As the author points out, "India has a rich diversity of community institutions dealing with disputes. But the professional elite—politicians, and lawmen among these—have continuously and systematically ignored them, as wayside relics destined to disappear in the great March to Progress." Baxi adds that the professional elites "maintain that development (in the sense of fostering constitutional values of equality, liberty, dignity, fraternity, justice, secularism and individualism) can only be attained by displacing these institutions of popular justice or by reducing their scope to routine and trivial matters." Generally speaking, it has proved true that the attempts to revive traditional judicial institutions, such as the *nyaya panchayats* in the rural areas, have not proved successful.

In every society, as Baxi points out, there are two main types of legal systems, namely "those organised under the auspices of the state and those organised under the auspices of the social groups other than the state. The state legal system, itself a large bundle of hundreds of

state legal systems (SLS), simplified and abstracted, provides a kind of reference group for the conceptualisation of non-state legal systems (NSLS). The NSLS in any society would have higher demographic presence than the SLS."

The statement is valid though it is a broad generalisation. Apparently there are different types of historic relations and interactions between the NSLS and SLS. On the one hand, we have societies such as those of China, India, Japan, where the traditional social relations have persisted over the centuries to the present day, and the State Legal System remains floating superstructure. At the other end we have the U.S.A. which is, as it were, an artificially contrived society, without a living organic and dynamic Non-State Legal System. Japan, at the opposite extreme, has developed its NSLS into a dynamic and effective procedure for maintenance of law, order and social harmony.

India falls somewhere between the U.S.A. and Japan. If the traditional social norms and procedures in India have become ineffective, it is because of the commitment of the dominant elites to the alien norms and procedures. At the same time, the traditional spirit and dynamism of society refuses to pass away. Hence neither the SLS nor the NSLS is effective. Illegality and normlessness prevail. With the departure of the imperial power, the Western legal system has lost its punch. But the pervasive American influence has strengthened legal formalism. In the twilight of normlessness and hyper trophy of legalism and litigation, the human beasts of prey have a field day. A real awakening of India's dormant social ethos is overdue. This is the challenge of Upendra Baxi's valuable contribution.

Surrindar Suri retired as Professor of Political Science from Panjab University, Patiala and now does freelance writing.

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

INDIAN ECONOMICS
J.N. Mohapatra
Economics
pp. x+54
Reviewed

The book borrows the first providing Economic as admitted "Economic subject," concerning almost literature style.

The Four Part Appendix Nature and Here it chooses to and Laws Economics discussion production, E Conspicuous not mentioned is now a interest. M could have administrators alike economic break-even accelerators

In Part Structure Indian Economic and Social Problems Production Problems Unorganised Sector, Industrial Policies, Exchange Items of Manpower in India.

In Part I and State Process in and Policies Mobilisation Inflation ar

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

Economics for Administrators

J.N. Mongia

Economics for Administrators

pp. x+540, Vikas, 1982, Rs. 150.00

Reviewed by S.M. Waseem

The book under review, to borrow words from its writer "marks the first and pioneer attempt in providing a reference book of Economics to Administrators." But, as admitted by the author himself, "Economics is a vast and a dynamic subject." Therefore, claims like this concerning "a small book, would be almost ludicrous," though, the book is indeed an addition to the existing literature on the subject in its own style.

The work has been divided into Four Parts. Besides, it also contains Appendices. Part I deals with 'The Nature and Scope of Economics'. Here in this Section the author chooses to discuss in brief the Nature and Laws of Economics, Scope of Economics, Customary Division of Economics including therein a brief discussion on Consumption, Production, Exchange and Distribution. Conspicuously enough, Mongia does not mention Public Finance which is now an area of ever-growing interest. Many more areas which could have been of interest to the administrators and non-administrators alike such as theories of economic growth, concepts of the break-even analysis, multiplier and accelerator etc., have been omitted.

In Part II, the book enlists Structure and Composition of the Indian Economy, National Income and Social Accounts, Population Problems and Policy, Agricultural Production and Policies, Food Problems and Policy, India's Unorganised and Small Scale Sector, Industrial Development and Policies, Foreign Trade, Foreign Exchange and Foreign Aid, Problems of Labour, Employment & Manpower Planning, and Housing in India.

In Part III, Economic Systems and State Intervention, the Planning Process in India, Regional Planning and Policy in India, Resource Mobilisation, Deficit Financing, Inflation and Economic Growth in

India, Centre-State Financial Relations, and Instruments of Economic Policy, have been included for discussion.

Part IV consists of Statistical Tools, Statistics in Administration and Data Base of Indian Economy.

While giving data and information having relevance to our present day Indian economic problems, Mongia also discusses, though cursorily, the prospects of economic development under relevant headings.

ODD FEATURES

But, to date the beginning of Economics as a scholarly discipline with the Wealth of Nations (1776) and then to say in 1982, when the book has been published (that) "... as a scholarly discipline, Economics is hardly two centuries old," (p. 3) seems to be simply a lapse of pen.

The author remarks : "Every national issue requires economic understanding to make any progress in answering it. A person who never made a systematic study of Economics, is handicapped in thinking about that : he is like a deaf man trying to appreciate a symphony." (p. 4) But, then it does not mean that Economics alone can provide all the necessary analytical tools; though conspicuously enough it does.

Mongia like the adherent to school of thought divides Economics "into four parts, namely Consumption, Production, Exchange and Distribution" (p. 8), leaving Public Finance which is now considered as an important and inseparable division of Economics.

To say (that) "India is still essentially medieval in outlook" and that : "...the achievements in the industrial sector have been impressive and India ranks today amongst the important industrial nations", (p. 143) speaks of the diversity as it exists—though the statements as such contradict each other. Mongia

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describes India "essentially medieval in outlook". Jean David Roulet, Chief of the Resident Mission of the IBRD, New Delhi, opines in the Bank's World (February, 1983) on page 5, thus: "India may be a poor country, but it is a country of contrasts. On the one hand, some part of it seems to be living in the 16th and 17th centuries. On the other hand, it is also in the 21st century : it has built and launched satellites. There is, in effect, a Part I India and a Part II India."

PERFECT MARKET

Analysis of perfect markets and free competition makes interesting reading for those who have had "a systematic study of Economics," for to Mongia "to be perfect, a market must be one in which prices react simultaneously in every part of the market to changes in supply and demand. With the improvement in communications, however, markets all over the world tend to react more and more quickly to such changes and thus become more and more nearly perfect." (p. 23) One knows that a perfect market is one where conditions of perfect competition operate and that the reaction of prices to changes in demand and supply symptomatizes the interplay of the two forces of demand and supply. These forces operate in the short as well as long run. They operate even in imperfect market. The prevalence of one price for one commodity at a given time is one of the essential but not the only characteristic of a perfect market. As regards world market's becoming more and more nearly perfect, we know that the prevailing protectionism even at the hands of the developed economies, has been strangulating a free flow of international trade.

As against the empirically tested consumers' behaviour of satisfying comforts after meeting necessities of life, Mongia argues : "If the necessities are dear in price or if our resources are low, then obviously, we can buy fewer luxuries." (p. 9) Thus Mongia, it seems, takes for granted that every one is consuming items of necessities, comforts and luxuries, and as such in the event of a rising

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price level, he would cut down the consumption of luxuries, and luxuries only.

To the author who does not mention 'enterprise' as a separate factor of production, "Production consists of four factors: Land, Labour, Capital and Organisation" (p. 23) only. Moreover, readers must build their own logic after his remark that "the essence of capital is waiting". (p. 14) To say (that) "In spite...of the fact that the Classic (al) economists have always spoken of 'supply and demand' it seems clear that demand comes first and that it is the supply which comes into existence to meet the demand and not vice versa" (p 16), is but an oversimplified statement of the market forces' behaviour. Mongia for the sake of his own analysis, attributes 'profit to organisation' (p. 23). While, as understood in the ordinary parlance of the word, profit is attributed to enterprise; though it may be added that Mongia too on page 49 admits : "After meeting all contractual payments, the remaining portion belongs to the entrepreneur; and is known as 'Profit'."

CONTRADICTORY

Mongia contradicts his own statements, first by saying on page 35 "that India must be treated as an underdeveloped country. India's economy shows all the signs of underdevelopment, and, the poverty of the Indian masses is not because nature has been niggardly but because the economy has not been able to grow." But on page 142 he declares : "In many ways, the development of the industrial sector in India, during the last 20 years or so, is one of the most heartening features of economic development in India." And, (that)... "the achievements in the industrial sector have been impressive and India ranks today amongst the important industrial nations". (p. 143)

Frequent use of 'underdeveloped country' for India itself is neither desirable nor recommended because the usage has been disapproved in economic literature. The countries are either developed, developing (less-developed) or least developed.

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author himself says (that) "understand the perilous and suicidal effects of slums, it is imperative to know what a slum is ? The United Nations has defined slums as buildings, group of buildings, an area characterised by overcrowding, deterioration, insanitary conditions or absence of facilities or amenities which, because of these conditions or any of them, endanger the health, safety or morals of its inhabitants" (pp. 233-234).

The author hastily attempts to analyse and interpret popular mind thus : "In the popular mind socialists are characters who meet in a cellar lit by a candle thrust in an empty wine bottle to plot a bloody revolution, or at least to brew bombs sent in laundry parcels to government officials and capitalists. Or, the term 'socialist' frequently used as disparaging stereotype to discredit any one who believes in social security, progressive taxation, bank deposit, insurance & free love." (p. 263) One is but forced to ponder over the deliberate choice of the words to describe a 'socialist' even though with reference to 'popular minds'.

Likewise one may feel prompted to compare Mongia's description of capital with the accepted definition of the term, when he finds him saying: "Capital means man-made and nature-made tangible things which do not directly satisfy human wants..." (p. 259) Further "The essence of the concept 'capitalism' is, therefore, economic. It refers to directing of the use of capital in providing consumer goods" (p. 259).

LETTEST INFORMATION

Nevertheless, the plus point is for those in administration taking up writing on our contemporaneous economic problems, stem from the fact that they have better access to the relevant materials and can harness data and information by giving what one usually does not get in the books such as under review. They can write without using attributes and 'isms', and sometimes without value judgement. Mongia too has given up-to-date data and information in the book.

Not at all; no welfare State would admit it ! None would agree with the foregoing idea when the

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It is indeed a useful book for those who seek to study recent data and information within two covers.

Information appended at the end of some of the Chapters pertaining to the organisation and functioning of different Ministries and institutions provides useful reading. As such the inquisitive reader finds an Annexure to Chapter 5 (Agricultural Production and Policies) giving Structure and Functions of the Department of Agriculture and Cooperation, Government of India. Annexures I and II dealing with Small Scale Industries and Village & Khadi Industries respectively, have been given at the end of Chapter 7 (India's Unorganised and Small Sector). Chapter 8 gives Functions and Organisation of the Ministry of Industry and Bureau of Public Enterprises as its Annexures I and II respectively. Chapter 9 deals with Indian Joint Ventures Abroad (Annexure I) and Organisation and Functions of Department of Commerce, Government of India (Annexure II). Structure and Functions of the Ministry of Labour, Government of India, is the Annexure to Chapter 10. Similarly Chapters 11 (Functions and Organisation of Ministry of Works and Housing), 13 (Constitution of the Planning Commission, Functions of Planning Commission, Structure and Functions of Programme Evaluation Organisation, Planning Commission, Government of India), 18 (Composition etc., of Various Indian Finance Commissions), 19 (Organisation of the Ministry of Finance, Government of India), and 20 (Organisation and Functions of the Department of Statistics, Government of India (including CSO), also enlist useful information in their Annexures (mentioned within brackets against each Chapter).

Then, there are six Appendices dealing with (i) the Forces Behind the Price Index, (ii) Role of Public Sector in a Mixed Economy, (iii) Joint Sector in India, (iv) Use of Shadow Prices, (v) Criteria for Identifying Backward Areas, and (vi) Names and addresses of some of the important Indian economic Journals/Magazines. The book also contains Subject and author Index.

Highlighting 'Sub-Regional Plan-

ning In India' and discussing districts as "the common administration boundaries below the State level", Mongia recommends : "...wherever we find extreme heterogeneity in the district boundaries for the purpose of sub-regional planning, we can think in terms of adjusting district boundaries to suit as far as possible sub-regional planning without creating effective political uproar". (p. 306) But, as is well known, political uproars in the absence of proper education and training of the masses, are in all cases almost 'effective political uproars'. Then, as after all districts and States belong to one country, that is India, would it not be possible to think and devise co-ordination and effective co-operation in-between different district administrations to help achieve results without having 'uproars' of any sort. This possibility has not been examined by Mongia.

SIMPLISTIC

The book whose title itself is attractive, contains useful data and information. The author often builds his logic with simplicity: "The industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 with some minor modifications continued to form the basis of Third Five Year Plan. Since then, India has pursued these objectives with unabated vigour. No doubt, there have been failures in certain directions. In some spheres of activity, anticipations have not been completely fulfilled. Bottlenecks have appeared in certain sectors where they were not anticipated. New problems have arisen which have retarded progress. Nevertheless, whatever has been achieved is significant." (p. 140)

Mongia's saying (that) "...perhaps the most important of all the causes of sickness is the alleged incompetence of the management", gives benefit of doubt to the management of sick units. While there are several causes; all leading to industrial sickness, Management definitely has to admit its responsibility for failures and short-comings, for if tasks are not accomplished or fall short of targets, management is to blame in a big way. However, he rightly recommends : "Clearly, the

problem of industrial sickness is an area to which Government must give high priority." (p. 145).

Dealing with the performance and cost escalation of the public enterprises, Mongia clearly states : "Undoubtedly, faulty investment planning and project appraisal have been responsible for some of these shortcomings. What is less appreciated, is the fact that these defects are partly due to the problems of having to finance these projects through foreign aid. There are two major causes of cost escalation. One is last minute changes in project design. Sometimes this has been due to a belated realization that the product-mix that was chosen originally, was inappropriate to Indian market conditions. This in turn has required expensive modifications to plant. Sometimes it has been due, however, to the need to add vital parts to the plant which had not been included in the original contract. The other major cause of cost escalation is simply a result of the lag in starting or finishing a project, which lands the projects with higher costs due to inflation in supplier countries". (p. 147) Further: "...political expediency and the lack of any clear economic strategy since the middle 1960s has led the Government to cut down development rather than non-development expenditure. This in turn has caused larger losses to be generated by the public sector industries, resulting in lower levels of resource mobilisation in the public sector" (p. 148).

However, utilising the available data Mongia also commends the performance of the public sector in India, especially the heavy engineering industries in the public sector, thus : "An important development in recent years is the rapid expansion of the heavy engineering industries in the public sector... (these) by virtue of their leadership in their respective sectors and their inherent strength, have emerged as major exporters in the engineering sector." (p. 148) "Some public sector enterprises under the Department of Heavy Industry have emerged as major exporters and this trend has been maintained during 1980-81". (p. 148)

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GENERALISATIONS

Discussing 'Industrial Policy for the Sixth Plan' on page 159 Mongia emphasises : "In order to make efficient use of scarce capital, much greater attention will have to be paid to securing greater efficiency and competitiveness in the functioning of our industry. In order to protect employment, all encouragement will have to be given to the growth of cottage, village and small industries." It is indeed a sound statement. The nation must not only care for the proper utilisation of capital but human capital as well.

The statement (that) "The advent of freedom brought with it the major problem of unemployment in the labour front, (p. 200) sounds vague and irrelevant. Though, truly, as Mongia himself says, India after independence "...had to assume manifold responsibilities in the matter of providing employment to the teeming millions of the country." (p. 200)

Discussing 'Trade Unionism among Industrial workers', the author very aptly states: "The primary function of a trade union is to protect and advance the economic and social interests of its members... It is time that trade unions improve their financial position, extend their sphere of influence and divest themselves of extraneous political pressures. The interests of the workers they serve should no doubt be of paramount importance but these should be consistent with the national goals. Trade unions are essential instruments of economic and social change; they would do well to conserve their energies for the execution of the plan schemes and for enhancing production by adopting peaceful and constitutional means for the settlement of their disputes." (p. 206) Truly, things in this world are the shadow of man, created and divinely blessed.

Touching wage policy, the author analyses: "Despite setting up of so many Committees, Commissions, Study Groups and the efforts made by the various wage-fixing authorities, distortions, anomalies, and irrationalities, have persisted in the body politic of the entire system. These abound not only between

various sectors but within each sector as well and do not necessarily reflect the skill differentials." (p. 440) He gives valuable advice when he says : "What is needed is an integrated wages, incomes, and prices policy to be evolved in consultation with various interests concerned and given the political will, it should be possible to implement such a policy." (p. 440) But the reader at this point would be within his rights to expect a clear-cut frame-work for wage policy from the author.

There are broad palliative and even the sweeping generalisations at places viz., on page 328 Mongia's saying (that) : "Poverty is not a recent phenomenon in India. Indeed, it is not a recent phenomenon anywhere in the world. Life has been brief and hard for most of the people, most of the time." Or, again: "Since the beginning of the post-war years, the underdeveloped world has been facing a recovery problem of character substantially and significantly different from that encountered by the developed nations." (p. 369). Similarly : "In point of fact, the conditions for the evoking of private investment and the conditions for the profitable use of capital are largely the same." (p. 369). These could be avoided, or, at least substantiated by relevant data within logical framework.

On page 475 Mongia confers with his readers by saying : "Statistics cannot of course run a government but they provide a basis for action and offer pointers as to a government's future behaviour." Obviously, administrators just by getting economic data

and information and that too in absence of a proper analysis approach, cannot arrive at correct and viable conclusions. In any case, they cannot take effective decisions. Though, it may be added that experience, orientation and training are helpful in grooming such a mind. This necessarily means that administrators must have experience and training, and, of course, a basic grounding in Economics. Simply being placed in the position of an administrator one cannot ordinarily be called upon to have dexterous and vision. But, it seems that Mongia an administrator is an administrator—one who knows about administration. This possibility may be the reason for not including at least the rudiments of management Economics in this book, nor a Chapter on the principles of economic administration. These, added, would have enhanced the utility of the book.

To conclude, the book contains up-to-date data and information which would serve as a good reading material for contemporary economic problems of the country. Besides giving various and utilitative information, it exhorts its readers to think in the direction of identifying, analysing and solving the problems staring in our faces in the wake of economic development of the sort taking place today in modern India. It is, therefore, recommended to administrators and non-administrators alike.

S.M. Waseem belongs to the Department of Economics at Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Parthasarathy, Indira. Through the Veils. A Novel in Tamil translated into English by Lakshmi Kannan. Delhi, Sterling, 1983. viii, 152 p. Rs. 60.00

Rustomji, Nari. Imperilled Frontiers: India's North Eastern Borderlands. Delhi, Oxford, 1983. 160 p. Rs. 80.00

Demonstrates that people, however primitive, resent the im-

position of an alien culture and that nothing gives rise to so much anger and hostility as the threat of cultural aggression. Author's central message is that while change is imperative for a community's healthy development, the pace of change must be adjusted to the community's capacity to absorb it without detriment to essential values.

New Publications

AGRICULTURAL PRICE POLICY IN INDIA

by Dr. A.S. Kahlon & Dr. D.S. Tyagi

Agricultural price policy intervention has become a common component of economic management in both the developed and the developing countries. This work meets a long-felt need for a comprehensive analysis of agricultural price policy in the context of the situation of developing countries, with special reference to India. The authors have made liberal use of the relevant price theory to find solutions to the practical problems of the agricultural price policy. It is also the first book which discusses price analysis in the broader framework of price policy. It combines both the theoretical and practical aspects and makes an invaluable contribution to the subject. It will prove essential reading not only for academics but equally for planners, policy makers and government.

1983

viii + 510pp.

Rs. 150.00

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

by J.S. Brara

Are the "new-style anti-poverty rural development strategies propagated by international development agencies suitable for alleviating poverty in the Third World? In areas where projects using these strategies have been taken up, are the stated goals of poverty alleviation and structural change being achieved? How has the application of these models fared in the Indian experience?

This study uses a critical political economy perspective to examine the above questions, applying a theoretical framework based on the dependency/imperialism paradigm. The focus of this study is the feasibility of the major current approaches to poverty-oriented rural development; the models that have been reshaped and propagated during the 1970s by international governmental organizations (IGOs) and which influence development policies in the Third World.

1983

xii + 274pp.

Rs. 70.00

REGIONAL PLANNING IN INDIA

by Mahesh Chand & V.K. Puri

The book is meant to cater to the needs of the Honours and Post Graduate Students of Economics and Geography who offer Regional Planning as a special paper and students of those University Departments where postgraduate courses and/or specialised courses in Regional Planning have been initiated. At present, Regional Planning as a paper (or as a subject) is taught only in a limited number of Universities and some Town Planning Institutes and Regional Research Centres spread all over the country. However, because of the wide coverage of the book every Economics Department and Geography Department of every University should find it extremely useful. Because of the interdisciplinary character of the work, Departments of various other Social Science may also like to have it. The book can also serve as a reference book for planners and educationists who are increasingly recognising the need for understanding the regional and spatial aspects of planning in India.

1983

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Metaphysical Tradition

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An Evolutionary View of

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EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH

Emily Dickinson : The Metaphysical Tradition

Literary critics often succumb to the temptation of placing the author they deal with in a particular 'school' of writers. Few poets have thus escaped being victims of this critical tendency that fixes them, like Prufrock, with a formulated phrase and holds them sprawling and wriggling on a pin. Emily Dickinson is no exception. As F.L. Morey states, "Attempts, mostly in articles, have been made to place her work in one school or another: namely, the romantic, the metaphysical, the classical, or even the existential. Most critics have despaired of ever pinning her down to one school, although the effort continues and probably will go on for a long time." Ever since Dickinson's work first appeared posthumously, she has been 'classified' thus with the metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century. But surprisingly, not much effort has been devoted to a detailed study and analysis of what exactly in her poetry comprises the 'metaphysical' element. In this respect, Anand Rao Thota's *Emily Dickinson: The Metaphysical Tradition* is a welcome addition to Dickinson criticism.

Thota's study is based not only on Emily Dickinson's poems but also on her letters or "essays" as she called them. Salient features of her work have been compared with the verse of major metaphysical poets like Donne, Herbert, Crashaw and Marvell. The author's aim is "not to suggest that the comparison between the metaphysicals and Dickinson will result in total identity. This kind of identity does not exist even among the English metaphysicals themselves.....Dickinson is likely to emerge in her own right as a poet resembling in technique and attitudes, (*sic*) which we normally associate with the English metaphysicals of the seventeenth century..." (p. 51).

The book is divided into seven chapters. The titles are well-chosen, being quotations from Dickinson—with one exception from Donne. The author begins with a brief introduction and then tackles different aspects of Dickinson's work: the critical responses it has evoked so far; the "dance of words" in metaphysical poetry with reference to Emily Dickinson; the "originality" of the poet; nature in her poetry; major themes like love, death and God; and the poetic technique of Dickinson.

MIXED CRITICAL RESPONSE

While discussing Emily Dickinson and her critics, the author refers to Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a leading critic of the day whose attitude to Dickinson was a dichotomous one: while reflecting a positive critical response to her poetry, he criticised the ideas it contained. Being both appreciative and critical, Higginson paved the way for subsequent criticism of Dickinson's work. Such an ambivalent response was also evoked by the poetry of John Donne. Here it may be stated that the mixed critical response evoked by Emily Dickinson and the metaphysical poets is not very different from that accorded to other poets of note: all have, to varying degrees, aroused the ire as well as the appreciation of their critics.

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Thota's effort at synthesizing important critical insights is "at best a critical mining operation" (p. 31). It needs to be pointed out, however, that the author has relied far too much on one major source, *The Recognition of Emily*, edited by Blake and Welis. In fact, out of the 56 footnotes as many as 31 refer to this book. Regarding the metaphysical poets, reference is mainly to Johnson's "Life of Cowley". Surely, there is worthwhile criticism on the metaphysicals to be found elsewhere too!

The writer analyses Samuel Johnson's criticism of the metaphysicals and relates their poetry to twentieth-century trends. The emphasis remains on "Life of Cowley": Johnson's essay presents the author "a workable frame of reference on the techniques of the metaphysical poets" (p. 50) against which Dickinson's poetry can be understood. Strangely, even though an entire chapter has been devoted to Johnson, the author on one occasion states: "Johnson is perpetually at crossroads in dealing wth the metaphysicals" (P. 48). Then why, one cannot help wondering, does he devote so many pages to him?

"ORIGINALITY"

The "originality" of Emily Dickinson is discussed, concentrating on parallels between Dickinson and Donne. Other poets like Yeats, Pound and Louis Ginsberg, and metaphysicals like Herbert and Marvell are referred to only in passing (in this connection). Eight pages are devoted to drawing comparisons "between the artistic situations of Donne and Dickinson" (p. 57). In their respective literary milieu each took up the role of a rebel, trying to sustain their individuality "against the onslaughts of the unpredictable surroundings" (p. 61). Like Dickinson, Donne aimed at being "singular under plural circumstances." Inevitably, both emphasize their personal lives in relation to which all other public issues are viewed. The author feels that the 'modernity' of these poets lies in the manner in which they portray their "tortured souls". Undoubtedly, he convinces the reader of the importance given to individuality by Donne and Dickinson, but somehow one cannot help feeling let down : it is as though the writer had prepared an elaborate background and called it a day. The originality of a poet does not simply mean making statements asserting individuality, and not just the spirit of rebellion that lurks within. This section would probably have been more substantial had more emphasis been placed on what exactly makes these poets singular in plural circumstances.

While speaking of nature in Emily Dickinson the author shifts the focus from Donne to Marvell. Nature in itself is a conventional theme but the treatment accorded to it by these poets is individual. Dickinson "surpasses all the major metaphysicals" (p. 80) and may be compared with the romantic poets, Shelley in particular. There is ample illustration from the text which could, however, have been tackled in greater detail. For example, instead of quoting small phrases from Dickinson, Thota would have done well to quote a few complete poems as several of those cited are very short. One in particular, poem 1190, is referred to as containing "one of Dickinson's major themes of nature" (p. 89). This is a poem of four lines and one cannot help wondering why the writer, who considers it so very crucial, fails to quote a single word or phrase from it.

LOVE, DEATH & GOD

The author deals with Emily Dickinson's "embarrassed Peacock" attitude to death, love and God in what is probably the best section of the book. As in the metaphysical poets, death is viewed as a promise of immortality, not to be feared as it can be conquered, paradoxically, by dying. In Dickinson the theme of death is linked with love: the two are often used synonymously. However, while speaking of love her approach differs from that of the metaphysicals: her greatest embarrassment is that the incidents of love do not culminate in 'Events' of love (p.109). The eroticism of Donne and his followers finds no place in the poetry of Emily Dickinson who relates sensual love to divine love. While she was not a

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Christian in the formal sense, there are several references to God (and Jesus) in her poems. Her attitude is not religious. In fact, like Donne's, may even be called occasionally blasphemous. This is so because both the poets undertook the task of discovering and adopting their own religion, regardless of conversion. It is this inner struggle that is reflected in their poems.

This portion of the book is not merely readable but also interesting because the themes that the author has chosen-love, death and God-are those that have always fascinated man and to which an individual response is always unique. Even though three separate themes have been tackled, this section does not break into disparate chunks: unity is achieved through a neat and unobtrusive transition from one point to another and the chapter reads as a harmonious whole.

Thota concludes with Emily Dickinson's poetic technique and her obvious preoccupation with the unification of sensibility which is a metaphysical technique. In a number of poems Dickinson has expressed her views on the poetic process. These views are taken up by the author who then discusses her use of metaphor, conceit and paradox. There is no dearth of quotations from Dickinson: the poetry allowed to speak for itself, as it were. In proportion there is a lack of adequate critical commentary and one cannot help noticing the need for buffers. The concluding note of the book is predictable: "Dickinson thus became a major metaphysical poet of the nineteenth century, without even being very much conscious of the leading metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century....."

EXCESSIVE DOCUMENTATION

Regarding Anand Rao Thota's contribution, one cannot doubt the amount of scholarship involved. The criss-cross of references provides ample evidence of the same although it tends to make the work pedantic. The documentation, in fact, is excessive that it hampers the readability of the work. The two chapters have as many as

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footnotes each. Some of the citations are facts and opinions of general knowledge which need not have been documented at all. Evidence for some could have been neatly inserted in the text itself, especially in the case of *The Recognition of Emily Dickinson* and Honig's *The Major Metaphysical Poets of the Seventeenth Century* on which the author has leaned heavily. The bibliography, too, could have been updated, considering that just a few

of the titles in the long list at the end of the volume have a later date of publication than 1970. But, all said and done, one must give due credit to Anand Rao Thota for having gone into such meticulous detail on the metaphysical aspect of Emily Dickinson.

Manju Jaidka lectures in English at the M.C.M College for girls, Chandigarh.

(Royal) Navy officers. The author writing about Admiral Parry, the then British Commander-in-Chief of the Navy brings out an interesting piece of information as to how our Government was informed by him as far back as 1951 of the construction of the Akshai Chin Road. Admiral Parry having been earlier Director of Naval Intelligence of the British Navy still had contacts with that Department which had passed on this tit bit to him.

A Sailor Remembers

R.D. Katari

A Sailor Remembers

pp. x + 179, *Vikas*, 1982, Rs. 75.00

Reviewed by A.M. Sethna

Admiral R.D. Katari was our first Indian Chief of the Naval Staff. (Unlike the Army, which had its first Indian Commander-in-Chief in 1949, the Navy had to wait till 1958). He had many 'firsts' also; distinctions which persons of his generation took in their stride, but which nevertheless are by now little realised by the vast majority of our younger people who can hardly recall what life in India, and in the Armed Forces, was before Independence, or the part our senior officers of an earlier era have had to play in creating the healthy traditions of the Services which are now taken for granted. This book is not, however, a recitation of an Admiral's story of his life in the Navy—it is much more.

The book under review covers the past sixty years or so of our recent past through the eyes of a perceptive, highly intelligent and above all a most modest and humane gentleman, who rose to the pinnacle of his profession, retiring from it in 1962, and who continued to work for the country for many years thereafter. Much of it is personal reminiscence, of journeys made, friends met, of family joys and sorrows, which create its own atmosphere.

RELIANCE ON BRITISH NAVY
Few people realise today how

little share Indians had in their seaward defence. That was principally the task of the British Navy, as "Britannia ruled the waves". The Royal Indian Marine, the forerunner of the Indian Navy was in no way at par with the British Indian Army. In this minuscule force, the British saw no place for Indians as officers. The Training Ship "Dufferin" came into being for training Indian cadets for the Merchant Navy only on 1st December 1927. Indianisation of the Royal Indian Marine was opened up in 1929, but no Indian was accepted until 1931. Ultimately only in 1939, when World War II started, and the demand for officers could not be met otherwise, Indians were accepted with greater grace. Young Katari joined via the Royal Indian Naval Volunteer Reserve having been earlier in the prestigious Hooghly River Survey as a river pilot.

The recitation of his service career is not of great interest to the general readers except for one or two important points which emerge. The first of these is the enormous reliance which we have had to have in the earlier days of the Indian Navy on the British. This was primarily so because there was no Indian officers cadre in the Navy and we had to start from scratch. It may, however, be stated that India was well served by the British

CLASH WITH KRISHNA MENON

The author recounts his stewardship of the Navy as its Chief in the chapter which he entitles "The Final Difficult Years" from 1958 until his retirement four years later.

The greatest single factor that inhibited my undiluted enjoyment of the coveted tenure as the head of the service was the near irreconcilable personality differences that developed almost from the word go between myself (and, as it happened, also my two colleagues in the Army and Air Force) and the Defence Minister.

Krishna Menon was a very intelligent man with a sharp mind and a prodigious memory. He used to frequently dip into this storehouse to make a telling point during discussions much to the discomfiture of his opponents. I was once a witness to a brilliant display of this faculty of his when he was answering questions from a group of students of the Canadian War College whom he addressed earlier. As might be imagined, the questions tended to be critical about India's political and defence attitudes, but the questions certainly received more than they bargained for, backed by precedents cited from history. He also had in abundant measure other traits that go with a high intellect—supreme arrogance on the one hand and, on the other, ill-concealed impatience with those less endowed. He was possessed of a mordant humour which was generally employed at the expense of persons who

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either could not or did not dare to retaliate. In any case, my experience was that he did not appreciate any humour at his expense."

"Actually I found Krishna Menon a complex personality whose behaviour did not fit into any recognised pattern. In spite of his many irritating traits and abrasive ways, he could be extremely kind and helpful, especially to those who accepted his ways stoically or to those who were willing to be his sycophants. In such circumstances he could be quite likeable. I also thought he was inherently suspicious of people which led him to adopt devious ways in dealing with them. How else could one explain his propensity to seek confirmation from subordinate officers of advice offered and opinions expressed by the appropriate senior officers ?

The author also goes on to write about the Thimayya episode of 1959, how Thimayya was feeling the strain of this type of humiliation and had frequently spoken of resigning. The author himself suffered from the strain of his relationship with the Defence Minister and the false front he had to put up indicating cordiality of relationship. "To have done it otherwise would have been highly damaging to the morale of the Navy". The author recounts the well known details of this incident, and how after General Thimayya had withdrawn his resignation, he was castigated by the Prime Minister next day in Parliament.

Nehru's statement was much more reproachful and vituperative than was needed to defend the position of the Defence Minister and civil supremacy and to put Thimayya in his place. It was an overkill. It attempted to put the entire Defence Forces in their place. The provocation for such extremes of vehemence was difficult to comprehend because, he knew that the Indian armed forces had always shown complete aware-

ness of their constitutional position. This was in marked contrast to the attitudes of similar forces in many newly independent—and not so newly independent—countries. I can say with absolute honesty that any idea that they should take the law into their hands, despite frustrating provocations sometimes, never entered their heads and, God willing, never will. Those who at that time, and occasionally since, spread stories about a projected coup did so out of sheer mischief and self advancement. In the process, all they achieved was to deliver an insult to the armed forces and do disservice to the country. One could understand political adventures spreading such alarms for their own ends, but what I deplored was that they were

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aided and abetted by self-seeking bureaucrats and even service officers.

DIPLOMATIC STINT

Some years after his retirement, the Admiral was appointed India's Ambassador to Burma during the difficult period of 1964. The Admiral was informed by the Ministry of External Affairs that as there had been no Indian Ambassador in Rangoon for almost nine months, the situation for the Indians there was getting very bad and that the appointment should be filled up with great urgency.

What they did not tell me was why there had been this inordinate delay in replacing the Ambassador. That I learnt later. A senior career diplomat wa

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in fact appointed and even the Burmese government's agreement was received. But the officer concerned declined to take up the appointment on grounds which should have earned him a severe reproof. Instead, he got what he wanted—a comfortable assignment to a West European capital.

The five years (1964-69) that he spent in Burma as Ambassador were not only difficult for Burma but also for India.

The author gives some interesting sidelights on the Foreign Service.

The majority of officers of the Foreign Service were not very different in their overall capability from those I have just mentioned. (High grade). There did not, therefore, seem to be any reason why the service had been attracting adverse criticism from journalistic pens or in political perorations. We have been told by them that our representatives abroad were more interested in enjoying the flesh-pots of life that a foreign capital had to offer than furthering the interest of the country; that they were callous towards the needs of the Indian nationals, whether resident or visiting; that they did not project a proper image of our country because they did not know enough about our culture and traditions or of the progress being made in all directions. I felt that much of this criticism was subjective and therefore, undeserved. With a few exceptions, the average Foreign Service officer was not only competent but alive to his duties and, by and large, his responsibilities also.

Weak administration, particularly personnel administration, was probably the one single factor that operated against the health of the service. The fault, I suspected, lay in the initial training of new officers where enough emphasis was probably not laid on leadership and administration. It was a fact that

the average young officer, alert and diligent though he was in diplomatic work and writing well-worded political reports, found administration of the mission a bore. It was just something that had to be carried out to satisfy the minimum requirements of Annual Reports and Inspection teams or to keep the auditors at bay. It did not seem to occur to them that if the mission ran like an efficient machine, its personnel would be emotionally at ease and feel secure in the knowledge that their own problems and needs would be taken care of and not lost in a heap of dusty files.

At the ministry, the fountain-head from which all dispensation flows, any weakness in personnel administration can be far more damaging. As things were, personnel matters were dealt with by a section designated by the significantly impersonal term "Establishment". This way, the all-important function of personnel policy and planning was denigrated to form part of the whole complex of administration like pay accounting, supply of stores and equipment and the like. I understand that this has since been rectified and a senior officer, charged wholly with administering personnel, has been appointed. I hope that this eminently sensible arrangement endures. Even worse was the distinct feeling among the personnel of the foreign service of all branches and at all levels, that such important matters as rendition and scrutiny of confidential reports, postings and transfers and the like were carried out in a haphazard fashion. More serious was the feeling

that appointments were made in a discriminatory manner, either in response to influence or pressure or in a spirit of just plain partiality. My own observation indicated that there was some justification for this feeling, but I was not prepared for the vehemence with which subordinate officers expressed themselves on these aspects of their service.

In the epilogue, the author says—

These reminiscences have spanned about sixty-four years of my conscious life. During this period the world has made phenomenal technological advances, far more mind-boggling than during any comparable period in the past. We also went through two disastrous global wars. We saw man conquer the Everest and land on the moon; and we also saw man descend to unimaginable depths of depravity and amorality. We now find the world a far more disquieting place to live in than we did sixty years ago.

He laments the deterioration in standards of public administration and blames this on the falling off in the principled service expected from the bureaucracy" and their inability in supporting their juniors who often found themselves at the mercy of unprincipled persons.

This is a simply written slim volume published shortly before the author's death early this year, and will be of interest not only to the readers in the Armed Services but to anyone who is interested in our recent history.

A.M. Sethna recently retired as Vice Chief of the Army Staff.

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An Insightful Contribution

Ashok S. Guha

An Evolutionary View of Economic Growth

pp. 139, Clarendon Press, Oxford, Available in India from the Oxford University Press, 1981, Rs. 60.00

Reviewed by Sourin Bhattacharya

Approaches to economic growth have proliferated over the years. Efforts have been so diversified in this field that any attempt to arrive at a meaningful taxonomy is bound to be arguable. Classical writers set the ball rolling by constructing categories oriented towards an understanding of the phenomenon of economic change. The term economic growth came to be in vogue much later. In fact the theories of economic 'growth' has been developed in the thirties of present century almost directly in response to the crisis of world capitalism. In its early development, growth economics based itself upon the Keynesian foundations. Of course, there were other theoretical underpinnings as well, notably in the early and later works of Evsey Domar. This trend continued vigorously right upto the fifties and this genre then seemed to taper itself off down to the seventies.

In this phase of model building what growth economics gained in precision it had lost in range. The classical 'magnificent' dynamics degenerated into theories of shorter-run equilibrium adjustment. In a sense it responded to the historical situation well. The depression of the thirties sent a shiver down the spines of the free enterprisers and it appeared to be all lost forever. Then came Keynes and Harrod and the concern with equilibrium continued unabated. It finally through the balanced growth mechanism of the Solows and the Uzawas that the free enterprise economy had its theoretical solace.

GROWTH & DEVELOPMENT

The above is about economics of 'growth' not of 'development'. In the post Second World War period the two terms came to denote quite different things. This

period saw the emergence of a group of countries that were formally ending their colonial ties with European powers. The nascent nationalism in these countries of Asia and Africa as also of the Latin American peoples found its expression, among other things, in a very articulate demand for economic development. The two terms of 'growth' and development' came to be reserved for their respective denotations in this period. 'Growth' referred to the process of equilibrium adjustment of advanced capitalist economies of Western Europe and Northern America. These economies were viewed not to suffer from capital shortage. Their problem was identified to be one of imbalance between labour and capital and between sectoral outputs. The major theoretical concern here was to know whether the force of market mechanism was adequate to effect this balance.

The other group of economies, currently identified as the economies of the South, had their problems of initiating the process of industrialization by way of economic progress. While a crop of literature on 'development' economics was being raised, growth-mindedness slowly yielded place to inequality-consciousness. As more and more voices were being heard from the South people were suddenly roused to a feeling that there were nasty inequalities existing between the nations of the world. Interest was focussed on why so large a part of humanity was to live in poverty and squalor. This mood was somewhat captured by Trygve Haavelmo in his *A study in the Theory of Economic Evolution* as early as 1954. Haavelmo was not a mainstream growth economist and in his work there was hardly any historical assessment of the diverse courses in economic evolution. His approach

was entirely within the framework of typical elements involved in the growth models of the post war period. It was, therefore, not surprising that this work failed to evince much interest and went largely unnoticed.

CONFlicting PULLS

Economics, in its development as an autonomous discipline, has been drawn at various times close to different sciences. History, of course, has often acted as a gravitational pull for economics and the latter has occasionally drifted away from history only at its own peril. There has been similar pull from the sciences of mechanics, psychology and biology. In fact there almost seems to be a tension in the corpus of economic thought between the mechanical and the biological way of thinking. If the classical period had shown the historical pull, then the neoclassical period had seen the development of the mechanical model of economics.

Writing in the second generation of neoclassical economics Alfred Marshall had introduced biological analogies in thinking about economic processes. But biology had remained somewhat peripheral to Marshall's thought and he was still thinking in terms of inexorable equilibrating forces. The contemporary age in economics has seen an open revolt against the well-entrenched mechanical model. Many fronts have been opened against this. There is Piero Sraffa with his rehabilitation of classical economics and the modern political economy with its accent on the historical premises of economic underdevelopment. The biological revolt has been epitomised by Georgescu Roegen in his *the Entropy Law and the Economic Process*. Georgescu Roegen's programme is to break away from the repetitive

Ved Mehta's book '*The Family Affair*' which was reviewed in our issue of 16 February, 1983 has been reprinted in India by Orient Longman and is available in hardcover for Rs. 35.00

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self-correcting mechanical model and to look upon the processes in economic societies as irreversible biological growth processes.

Ashok S. Guha's concern is international inequalities and his approach is biological-evolutionary. One should have, therefore, supposed that he would draw his inspiration from, among other sources, the work Haavelmo and Georgescu Roegen. But he himself feels directly indebted to Hicks's *Theory of Economic History* and indirectly to Marx. In his introduction the author makes a clear statement of what he accepts and what he rejects in either of the approaches. What emerges is : "I follow the Marxian method of looking for a unifying thread in a postulate about human nature and not the Hicksian method of focusing on a central theme. But I reject the Marxian postulate of the primacy of economic motivation and concentrate instead on the essential biological laws that rule the entire Living world" (p. 6).

THE IMPERATIVES OF SURVIVAL

'Primacy of economic motivation' being regarded as one of Marxian postulates sounds like economic reductionism, which historical materialism surely is not. Guha has not established his point here. He takes his unifying principle instead as 'the imperatives of survival'. Neither does it necessarily constitute a rejection of Marx nor is it easy to recognize Hicks in the application of this unifying principle. On the basis of this unifying principle Guha then builds up an adaptive model of society including its politics and economics. This is the subject matter of part one of the book. The point of departure in Guha's argument is that biology is the ultimate basis of all behavioural sciences. Man 'is a species of life and is subject as such to the general laws of life—the laws of evolution and natural selection'. Thus the foundation of Guha's approach is subject to all the standard criticisms levelled against the biological theory of evolution through natural selection. There is no attempt in the book to counter

these criticisms. The 'evolutionary' foundation is just taken as such.

I should like to point to two objections that seem pertinent to this kind of an approach to the evolution of societies. One of these relates to the ragged individualism in society, which should not be interfered with. This kind of social philosophy would result in denial of protective measures for the defence of the weak and the upliftment of the backward. Fittest becomes equated with the strongest and it may become an advocacy of the rule of the toughest. The other point is that the evolutionary viewpoint acts as a kind of mystification in that it presents social change as the working of inexorable laws of nature. This diminishes the role of social institutions as the embodiment of voluntary social choice. Things are what they ought to be seems to be the dictum that emerges from Guha's framework as also from his historical exegesis of several types of societies. Guha has also not examined the other important line of thinking on evolution that it might proceed by big jumps rather than by gradual stages. How else would he account for social revolutions ?

Working out the motive forces behind national economic development as an adaptive process the author comes to the position that the primary forces are economic opportunities due to trade and transport, population pressure on the national resources, response to military pressure and demonstration effects. In addition to these, innovations also could be taken to be a propellant of growth. The author has successfully argued why it is left out. It is not all that autonomous. The size of the market and possibly the level of other economic activities determine the rate of innovations.

PRIME MOVERS OF GROWTH

The last chapter of the theoretical first part of the book deals with the prime movers of growth on a global plane. They are essentially two according to the author—population pressure and military competition. The world economy is

taken as a closed economy. The basic instinct is for survival. This leads to the demographic and the military factor as the stimulants of economic growth. They work themselves out through 'the urge to prolong life' and 'the need for self-preservation'. The author's argument here seems less than satisfactory. Stagnant societies, he writes, control the natural buoyancy of population 'through practices like abortion, infanticide, delayed marriage, prolonged lactation, and contraception.' Are the relevant correlations here all uniform ?

Coming to the military factor the author's emphasis is on the requirements of 'military—technological parity with the foe'. This 'stimulates societies to unremitting effort in improving their military potential.' This applies all the more to the stagnant world. Is the picture really so simple ? The arms race of the superpowers and the sale of military wares to the poorer countries do not go well with this picture. Similarly, colonialism has also no place in Guha's account of the 'global economic growth' being never 'permanently damned'.

The second part is about case studies where the 'historical growth processes' have been 'interpreted as adaptations to a specific set of environmental opportunities and pressures'. The selected countries are Britain, Russia, China, Japan and India with a clear rationale for their selection. One comes out of this historical part with a feeling that the scope of the book is wider compared to its range. So many centuries of these countries' history have been compressed into a space of less than fifty pages. The result is inevitably a series of sweeping generalizations with many of which one might disagree.

MEANING AND MEASUREMENT

The book has an interesting appendix on the meaning and measurement of economic growth. This tries to develop a biological definition of growth in terms of variables like 'increase in longevity' or 'population growth with constant life expectancy', instead of strait-

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jacket per capita income criterion. This he believes 'would deprive normative economists of one of their markets'. Not real? Is this definition itself value-free? If biology captures what 'we intuitively recognize as growth', then why not culture also? The two together would surely be a better approxima-

tion of the essence. The normative economists may not have an immediate danger of losing one of their markets.

Sourin Bhattacharya belongs to the Department of Economics, Jadavpur University, Calcutta.

Indian Economy : Growth and Change

V.K.R.V. Rao

India's National Income 1950-1980 : An Analysis of Economic Growth and Change
pp. 202, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1983, Hardbound, Rs. 125.00

Reviewed by Jandhyala B.G.Tilak

"After three decades of planning for economic development naturally there is a curiosity as to how India is doing", as Ranjit Sau ("Growth, Stagnation and Fluctuation in Indian economy", *Economic & Political Weekly* 18/7 February 12, 1983) rightly reflects the general concern. *India's National Income 1950-1980* by Professor V.K.R.V. Rao is an extremely valuable study that makes a thorough analysis of this issue.

DIFFERENT PURPOSES

National income statistics are both general and specific purpose tools in that they are used for different purposes, mainly for planning, forecasting, projecting, analysing, decision-making and policy formulation. They are also used for making inter-national comparisons. In a sense they reflect like a summary statistics the effectiveness of different policy measures. So to study the effectiveness of the government's policies also, the national income statistics are very useful. In India, to a great extent, they have been prepared mainly to feed the data requirements of planning and policy decisions.

About a century ago, few people could speak about the concept, not to speak of the estimates, of national income in India. It was in 1876 that Dadabhai Naoroji made the maiden attempt of estimating national and per capita income in India. Then followed a series of,

what in retrospect can be called, unsystematic and difficult to understand but nevertheless pioneering attempts of estimating national income in India. The pioneers include, apart from Dadabhai Naoroji, Lord Curzon, F.G. Atkinson, B.N. Sharma, C.N. Vakil and V.K.R.V. Rao. Particularly V.K.R.V. Rao's two initial studies, viz., *An essay in India's National Income 1925-29* (London, Allen & Unwin 1938) and *The National Income of British India 1931-32* (London, Macmillan, 1940) are treated as landmarks in the literature on national income in India. While in the *Essay* Professor Rao discussed the history of previous estimates of national income and himself-estimated national income during 1925-29, in the later study official data were supplemented with adhoc inquiries in estimating the national income during 1931-32.

Professor Rao's revised enthusiasm and interest in the subject can be traced back to 1973 when he delivered the Professor C.N. Vakil Endowment Lectures wherein he analysed the growth of national income (NDP) and income of the states (SDP) in India during the period 1960-61 to 1976-77. The present study under review represents the most comprehensive culmination of his continued interest in the subject, where a through analysis of the growth of national income during the three decades of development planning in India has been made.

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE COMPARISONS

It is sometimes attempted to analyse the growth of Indian economy during the post independence period in comparison with the pre-independence period. For instance A.K. Sen ("How is India doing?" *The New York Review of Books*, Dec. 16, 1982; as quoted by Ranjit Sau: op. cit) analysed and found that at the time of independence India "was poor, obviously, but more strikingly, almost completely stagnant. In fact, many estimates suggest that a sizeable economic decline took place during the last decades of British rule...In these years Indian food output per head was falling, despite the rather low growth of population. Judged against this background, India's economic performance is bound to appear quite remarkable. Its national product has grown steadily faster than population".

Nobody might disagree with these conclusions of Sen, when we compare the performance of the Indian economy between the pre and post-independence periods. But an analysis of the performance of the economy in the post-independence period gives us different conclusions. While some studies (e.g. K.N. Raj: "Growth and stagnation in Indian industrial development", *Economic & Political Weekly* Annual Number 1976; and Ranjit Sau; op. cit) conclude that the performance has been very poor, some other studies (e.g. A.K. Sen, op. cit.; and P.R. Brahmananda: "The Sluggish Elephant called our Economic Policy", *Times of India*, March 6, 1983) find that India's performance with reference to the growth of national income is not only satisfactory (in comparison with the pre-independence period), but also that it has become 'internationally respectable' in recent years (though inequities in the economy increased at the same time), and even with respect to productivity growth the economy fared 'reasonably well' (P.R. Brahmananda: *Productivity in the Indian Economy*, New Delhi, Himalaya, 1982).

At this stage, a book-length indepth analysis of the growth of

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India's national income as made in the book under review will be of considerable value and interest. The analysis of a lot of data in this study leads Professor Rao to conclude: "This study of India's national income over a period of thirty years from 1950 to 1980 shows that what has been achieved is far below the potential..." (p.194).

BODY OF THE STUDY

The body of this study is organised in a dozen chapters. The first chapter briefly describes the concepts of national income and the methods of its estimating along with their limitations. The database of the study is outlined in Chapter 2, entitled "Database and Methodology". It would have been much more useful for a student in the field, if the chapter had contained a detailed discussion on the methodology of the study. A brief analysis of the growth of NDP as a whole and by sectors at current and constant prices is the content of chapter 3. The next 8 chapters present a detailed analysis of the problem—the changing structure of the economy in chapter 4, the growth of NDP by sub-sectors in chapter 5, the growth and structure of consumption levels in rural and urban areas of India separately in chapter 6, the growth in the shares of the factors of production in national income in chapter 8, the growth of savings in chapter 9, and accumulation of capital in chapter 10.

It is only in chapter 7, where growth in the state incomes has been analysed and inter-state comparisons have been made. Chapter 11 is concerned with the relationship between productivity and growth, where the concept of productivity essentially refers to labour productivity. Inter-state comparisons have also been made with respect to productivity in the same chapter. The last chapter is about the future trends in India's national income. If the reader expects a good summary chapter at the end, he would be disappointed. Perhaps it might be quite difficult to sum up the varied results and findings of the study.

Interestingly Professor Rao compares the structural retrogression in occupational terms, as reflected by the census data with the sectoral distribution of NDP. Paradoxically we find that while the percentages of male workers increased in the primary sector from 69.1% in 1951 to 70.4% in 1971, the share of NDP declined from 56.1% to 44.7% during the same period, while the decline in the percentage number of workers in the secondary sector from 12.6 to 11.2 was accompanied by an increase in the share of secondary sector in NDP from 17.3% to 22.9%. On the other hand the share of tertiary sector in NDP increased from 26.5% in 1950-51 to 32.5% in 1970-71 while during the same period the occupational distribution with reference to tertiary sector has not changed.

While analysing the growth of NDP by sectors at constant prices in chapter 3, Professor Rao also analyses the effect of price inflation on different sections of population, and finds that the agricultural labourers were the most affected class of population, followed by industrial workers and urban non-manual (lower middle class) workers.

RURAL-URBAN INEQUALITIES

Quite contrary to general belief that rural-urban inequalities in consumption expenditures have been increasing, the study asserts that the rural-urban inequalities have been rapidly coming down : "In terms of per capita expenditure on consumption, the rural sector has recorded a significant growth over the period, while the urban per capita expenditure has actually been declining..." (p. 82). With respect to poverty, the study concludes that "while there has been no marked decline in the proportion of population below the poverty line between 1960-61 and 1973-74, there has definitely been no increase" (p. 87).

It would be quite interesting to note that if we compare SDPs we find that states like Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh are much ahead of what are known as the richest states like Punjab and Haryana. However, the demographic

burden is so much that, when we rank the states by per capita SDP, the order gets reversed. A more indepth analysis of the growth and trends in SDPs, as was done in the C.N. Vakil Endowment Lectures by Professor Rao himself would have enriched the volume quite substantially.

HIGH SAVINGS AND LOW GROWTH

The paradoxical situation of high savings and low rate of economic growth and low economic justice has been analysed quite indepth in chapter 9. While "India is apparently reaching levels of savings which are associated with medium and even some large income industrialised countries" (p. 148), it is not followed by improvement in economic justice. Rao finds the reason for the malady:

"Increase in savings means increasing the average rate of saving as well as the marginal rate of saving. The latter need not necessarily mean the transfer of income to those who have a high marginal propensity to save because of their high income. The average rate of saving can be increased by raising the marginal rate of saving by a small measure for a larger numer of people as against the smaller number who already have a high marginal rate of saving. To get the latter to increase their saving is not to increase their income but to restrict their expenditure on conspicuous or status consumption. To get the larger number to increase their saving is to increase their income both positively and by stabilising the prices of essential consumption goods, and to motivate them to effect a small rate of increase in their existing nil or low marginal savings. Such an approach would truly be a policy for savings with economic justice" (pp. 147-8).

The value of human capital has rarely been accounted in the national income or national capital formation statistics. Despite the emphatic arguments put forth particularly by economists of human capital, or more appropriately economists of education like Theodore W. Schultz, for considering investment in human capital in national income accounts, very few research studies (e.g. Rati Ram & T.W. Schultz : "Life span, Health, savings and productivity",

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Economic Development & Cultural change, April 1979 : 399-421) considered this point. Rao sets a welcoming trend by including the expenditure on education and health while estimating the total capital formation in India (pp. 163-5). The human capital formed through education and health amounts to nearly one-third of the total capital formation in India. Just as the initial works of Professor Rao on national income helped a lot if not marking the beginning, for proper and continuous estimation of national income in India, the present work may be expected to set a beginning for considering the human capital in national income accounts.

ECONOMIC PROSPECTS

Summing up the results of some of the forecasting exercises in India, and based on his own evidence in the last chapter, Professor Rao finds no better economic prospects for the country. He concludes : "India will continue to be one of the poorest countries in the world in terms of its per capita product, though some of its citizens may enjoy a standard

of living on par with those living in the richest countries" (p. 194). Even those (e.g. A.K. Sen, op. cit.) who find that India is doing satisfactorily with respect to GNP, clearly noted the growing dichotomy between the rich and the poor. Rao himself recognises this trend and warns on the consequences of the growing dualism : "This duality in Indian society, which has been growing over the last thirty years, has to be arrested if an explosive situation is to be avoided." (p. 194). However Professor Rao is not totally pessimistic. He finds great scope for improvement, and forecasts : "The second India that will emerge at the end of this century can certainly present a far more satisfactory picture than today's India, if only the country and those who can lead or influence it in its various spheres of activity learn from the past and accordingly mould their action in the future" (p. 194; emphasis added).

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Planned Development in Nepal

Sriram Poudyal

Planned Development in Nepal

pp. 135, Sterling, 1983, Rs. 60.00

Reviewed by Tribhuvan Nath

Focusing mainly on the pitfalls of planning in Nepal, this slim volume belongs to a genre of development literature that is currently mushrooming in several countries engaged in securing planned economic growth. A recent World Bank report giving Nepal the dubious distinction of being one of the least developed countries prods Sriram Poudyal, Reader in Economics at Kathmandu's Tribhuvan University, to conduct a post-mortem examination on twentyfive years of planning (1956-1980) in his country.

But for a Plan holiday in 1961-62, Nepal has had an unbroken spell of planning since 1956. The

current Sixth 5-Year Plan (1980-85) was preceded by four Plans of five years each besides one of three years' duration. Each had a separate set of objectives and sectoral priorities designed broadly to create an egalitarian society, free from exploitation. By 1982, the total of Plan outlays since 1956 had touched the N Rs. 14,000 million mark. Why had the Plans gone awry ? That is the main questions sought to be answered in these pages. To cite the author, the achievements of these Plans were "not precisely known" (Preface). He tries to "overcome the lacuna" by examining the development performance of Nepalese economy over the past quarter of

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a century.

In his opinion "...Despite political stability over the last decades and the massive growth bureaucracy, financed largely by foreign aid, the real problems the country had been mostly untouched." (pp. 123-124).

AID-DONORS

As to the question, who is to be credited for development, if Poudyal's answer is bound to be flattering to the Kingdom's donors. "Whatever little development took place in certain fields has been largely due to foreign assistance." (pp. 116).

Poudyal makes a remarkable frank appraisal of the impact of the Plans on economy when he observes (p. 11) that the "emphasis on basic needs" in the Sixth (1980-85) Plan "provided an alternative to hide the failure of earlier efforts in reducing inequitable distribution of income, wealth and economic opportunities."

Apropos the planning philosophy of the home government, he does not conceal his disappointment when he remarks, "The change in emphasis in the Plans is indicative of the planners' confusion regarding their choice of relevant strategy for overcoming the problems of underdevelopment and poverty of the people." (pp.11).

Poudyal uses as his yardstick the growth-rate in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to measure the advance resulting from planned development though he is not certain if the GDP provides a reliable index for the purpose. The study only confirms what has been known long enough to the concerned administrators and economists. Nepal has had periods of negative growth-rate. Its economy was facing stagnation. Growth-rate in population was fast outstripping the growth-rate in GDP.

Two sources in the main, agriculture and industry, contribute to the growth of the GDP. That leads Poudyal to an examination of the official steps to raise productivity in either sector. The land reform programme comes up for a brief review as the author tries to find

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despite the last growth problems mostly
the land reforms legislation and its execution had succeeded or failed in raising productivity. Likewise, an examination of policy failures in industrial planning becomes relevant before he sums up his final "Conclusions." No doubt, all that is said does not come as a revelation. At places, the author's observations come as hackneyed repetitions of the findings of his predecessors. It has been known long enough that Nepal has been losing step in its struggle for survival due to faulty planning policies and lack of will and determination to execute an enterprising development programme.

DISMAL READING

The "Conclusions" chapter makes a rather dismal reading as Poudyal points out that the prospects of getting additional foreign aid were getting slenderer day by day owing to cutbacks in the aid-donors' budgets. Even if foreign aid were available, he thinks it may not be effective in breaking the vicious circle of poverty and underdevelopment.

In terms of the impact of the Plans, the author says (pp 118) the living conditions of the bulk of the population had gone below the minimum standard of food, clothing and housing (when retrieving them from a level below the poverty line was one of the main objectives of the Sixth Plan.)

What's more, he says, "the failure of the development efforts during the last two decades to modernise and diversify agriculture, and promote industrialisation has virtually limited the chances of employment." (pp. 122).

Coming to the question, who had stood to gain? he says, "The policies and programmes tended to favour the feudal class and their favourites, further aggravating the poverty of the masses."

"The privileged class because of control over national resources had disproportionate benefits concessions provided by the State," (pp 125).

Poudyal's study would have possibly gained by a reproduction of the average per capita consumption levels as obtaining

today and in the fifties along with comparative tables of the consumer price indices, in particular those of rice and dal, the staple diet in Kathmandu Valley.

PHONEY GROWTH

Of a lot more interest to the Indian reader is the disclosure that in pursuit of its fad for diversification of foreign trade, Kathmandu has managed to reduce India's share to 49 p.c. (of its total volume of foreign trade) from the level of 98 p.c. that it was in the fifties.

Unlike some other economists, he takes a more reasonable view of the eruption of the stainless steel and synthetic fibre industries in Nepal in the late sixties. He concedes that their growth could not be taken for genuine industrialisation of the Kingdom. Neither is he inclined to think that diversification of Nepal's foreign trade would have any meaning without the diversification of exports, both country- and commodity-wise when the Kingdom was facing a staggering gap in foreign trade balance.

Against this backdrop, it seemed amusing to find Nepal buying Indian

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currency with its hard currency reserves since "the shifting of exports away from India to other countries has resulted in a shortage of Indian currency to pay for imports from India". (pp. 104).

Poudyal does a good job with his tables. None can fault him if his approach is critical for all the failures proclaimed by tell-tale data. His line of approach—entering the discussion through the growth-rate in GDP—has been tried by several authors earlier.

Poudyal's references are far from being complete. At least, two authors he cites in the text—Thweatt (pp. 13) and Rostow (pp. 21) figure nowhere on his list. And his talk about Nepal being "India-locked" does not seem appropriate in an academic exercise of the kind he has attempted. It is a market-place slogan of India-baiters in Kathmandu. Poudyal's remarks seem a strain on credibility when the Indo-Nepalese borders are open for free movement to nationals of either country.

Tribhuvan Nath represented the Times of India in Nepal at one time.

Flatters only to Deceive

Chitra Sivakumar

Education, Social Inequality and Social Change in Karnataka

pp. xiii+145, Hindustan Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1982, Rs. 60.00

Reviewed by N. Jayaram

This magniloquently titled book flatters only to deceive. Based on a stale core data obtained from a stratified sample of 189 girls from two colleges nearly two decades ago, it makes an unsuccessful attempt to understand 'the nature of relationship between education and other institutions of society' as also 'the role played by education in social change and vice versa' (p. vii).

In extending the original focus of the doctoral dissertation on 'some social aspects of women students' to the intricate problems of inequality and social change, Chitra Sivakumar has faltered and failed. Neither has she been able to retain the focus on

the women students nor has she been able to grapple effectively with the problems of inequality and social change.

REDEEMING FEATURE

Perhaps the only redeeming feature of this otherwise inconsequential book is the chapter on Higher Education and Society in Mysore During the British Period'. Using secondary sources such as gazetteers, census tracts, and official records and reports, the author analyses the role of social factors in the spread of Western higher education among the various castes as also the economic

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and political ramifications thereof.

The main conclusion of this chapter, which should of course be obvious, is that in the education of both men and women Brahmins played a pioneering role and enjoyed a virtual monopoly for a considerable period of time. The spread of higher education among the members of the other castes, even among males, was late and was a consequence of the non-Brahmin movement and the policy of protective discrimination.

Chitra Sivakumar's analysis seems to indicate that in spite of various attempts, both formal and informal, at countering their predominance, Brahmins still continue to be the 'dominant' caste with reference to education. That this dominance is *not* due to any reservation or favouritism needs to be explained in terms of the Brahminical ethos. It is indeed surprising that no such explanation has been offered considering the claim that this book is a contribution to 'the limited ethnographic literature available in the field of sociology of education in India' (p. 6).

The author convincingly demonstrates that the fruits of the non-Brahmin movement were disproportionately appropriated by the dominant among the non-Brahmins, viz. the Lingayats and Vokkaligas. This is explained by the economical and political power wielded by these castes in the rural areas and their growing political power at the state level. These two castes are held to be the real oppressors of the weaker sections including the scheduled castes. Viewed in this light, the vested interest of Brahmins in projecting themselves as 'the champions of the cause of oppressed strata, especially of the untouchable castes' (p. 31) is easy to understand.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

Chitra Sivakumar's own data on the background of students proves indubitably that 'those hailing from upper castes (both the upper twice-born castes such as the Brahmin and the upper non-Brahmin castes such as the Lingayat and Vokkaliga), upper income and educational strata, and white-collar

urban background' (p.98) are the major beneficiaries of higher education. This is viewed as providing 'some insight into the role played by higher education in the maintenance of status and interest of the upper strata vis-a-vis those below them' (p.98). She also recognizes that mobility has not taken place on an expected scale even among the scheduled castes in spite of the policy of protective discrimination. Unfortunately all this does not seem to be sufficient for her to question the relevance of the concept of 'social mobility' (which appears on the title of Chapter 3) with reference to the situation she is analysing and the ideology behind this concept.

Furthermore, the author seems to recognize that 'poverty, illiteracy, and economic and political dependence on the landowning castes' are main factors inhibiting the access of 'the lower and other impoverished castes' to education and the channels of mobility it offers (p. 48). But these factors are only incidental to her analysis of inequality and social change !

Chapter four is intended to focus on student behaviour in the set up of colleges. This chapter, which is full of jejune details mostly of an impressionistic sort, is the most disappointing in the book.

On the attitude of students towards castes system and intercaste marriage, the author finds the influence of education to be very weak. Her data suggest that 'the much desired objective of imparting egalitarian values through education had not been effectively attained by the mid-60s' (p. 92). It may be mentioned in this context that her questions on the attitudes are faultily phrased, introducing an element of bias thereby. In order to ascertain students' predisposition towards inter-caste marriage, she suggestively asks 'Are you opposed to inter-caste marriage?', and follows it up with 'Will you marry within caste?' Also whether these questions are open-ended or closed-ended is not clear.

REPETITION

The book is replete with repetition of ideas. Sometimes common-

place observations are presented sociological discoveries. Consider 'that among a majority of the students kinship links and relations governed a number of important areas of their lives' (p. 92). At one point the author makes baseless statements : The Lingayat and Vokkaligas 'were less politicized than their male counterparts' (p. 17) and the more enthusiastic among Brahmins 'sold their land and settled down in towns for the sake of higher education of their children' (p. 17).

The author claims that the theoretical framework of her study rests 'on some aspects of the cultural-functional school of sociological thought' (p. 6). What these aspects are and how they bear on the problems she has set out to analyse have not been spelt out. (The note in this regard is hardly enlightening). The so called 'Conclusion' is only a summary of a summary, there is hardly any effort at presenting the main findings in terms of the chosen theoretical framework. One wonders if there was any pretension for theoretical work.

Turning to data collection, the author claims to have used the technique of participant observation in combination with interview, questionnaire and the study of historical documents. She no doubt confesses that she did not fully succeed in her ambition to be a participant observer. Nevertheless, it is not clear from the data where and how she has used the participant observation technique which would have required her to join the students and to engage in the same activities along with them while observing and recording what happened. Either she does not know what participant observation is or she is pretentious. Her 'Lessons Apprenticeship', which is appended to the book and which describes fieldwork experiences in minute details, is neither relevant nor illuminating.

The author has shown very skill in the tabular presentation of data. Data that could have been presented in one table are sometimes split and presented in two or more tables. E.g., data in Tables 7 and 12 to 15, 16 to 18, 21 to 23, and

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to 31 could easily have been presented in one table each. This would have not only facilitated the comprehension of the data but also conserved space.

In spite of her claim of the subject of 'social anthropology' growing into her, she shows scant respect to or appears to be ignorant of the distinction between 'varna' and 'caste', a distinction which is as clear as crystal to 'social anthropologists'. It is indeed astonishing to note Chitra Sivakumar referring to Kshatriyas and Vaisyas as castes instead of as varnas.

In the Preface Chitra Sivakumar has stated that her training has been

in 'social anthropology'. Elsewhere in the text she claims that the present study is in the field of sociology and more particularly in the specialization called sociology of education. At a still later context she claims that this study is a contribution to 'ethnographic literature'. These loose and careless expressions leave the reader to wonder whether social anthropology, sociology and ethnography (ethnology, *sic.*) are the same or different.

One would miss nothing by not reading this book.

N. Jayaram is Reader in Sociology at Bangalore University.

Contemporary Pakistan

Pran Chopra, Editor

Contemporary Pakistan : New Aims and Images,

pp. 184. Vikas, 1983, Rs. 25.00

Reviewed by Satish Kumar

The book under review would normally be dismissed as instant history, being a collection of essays carrying impressions of a few Indian visitors who "did" Pakistan for a few weeks each, and therefore not worthy of much consideration. Such is not the case. The persons whose essays constitute this book were all distinguished scholars/writers in contemporary affairs. They all went to Pakistan during a crucial phase in Indo-Pak relations. They have, through their essays published in this book, improved India's understanding of Pakistan's political development as also its attitude towards India, at a time when there was lot of perplexity in India as to whether the mood of the people of Pakistan synchronized with the posture of the Government of Pakistan as regards future relations with India. It was, therefore, thoughtful of the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, to have sponsored the publication of these essays, which have been ably edited and introduced by Pran Chopra.

The most useful of these essays is by Bhabani Sen Gupta. It is a lucid exploration of a wide range of issues concerning Pakistan, its foreign

policy, and its relations with India. The question to which almost every contributor has directed his attention is that pertaining to Pakistan's offer of a no-war pact to India made in September 1981. Most of the contributors convey the impression that the reason why Pakistan made the offer of the no-war pact was the change in the geo strategic environment caused by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Summing up the non-official opinion on the question of the no-war pact, Sen Gupta says, "If there is one strand of the regime's foreign policy that is supported both by its political opponents and the sullen middle of Pakistani society, it is the move to conclude a no-war pact with India. They all argued that a no-war pact with India would deprive the regime of the one instrument which the military and its allies had always used to keep themselves in power, to devote an extraordinary large portion of resources to defence, and keep the dubious company of American imperialists."

Other important aspects of Pakistan on which Bhabani Sen Gupta's article gives an insight is the decision-making structure within

the military establishment, the role of bureaucracy, the state of political parties, press censorship, nature of Islamization, and the state of left parties.

Bashiruddin Ahmed makes a thought provoking contribution which helps remove many a cobweb about the domestic politics and foreign policy of Pakistan. Bashiruddin begins by diagnosing the reasons for the alienation of large sections of Pakistani people from the present regime and says that the main reason is that those who were not punjabis were being treated as second class citizens. Bhutto's rule of five and a half years, according to Bashiruddin Ahmed, was the only period in which Pakistan had a chance of welding the different ethnic groups and social classes into a truly national community. Bhutto was, therefore, viewed as the first national leader after the Qaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan.

Bashiruddin's comments on Gen. Zia's Islamization campaign are also interesting. According to him, Gen. Zia's steps towards Islamization are looked upon by most people with great deal of cynicism, and have not produced the kind of euphoric support that Bhutto was able to generate through his Islamic moves. Even within the Jamat-e-Islami, the main political supporter of the regime, the non-Punjabi sections with their leadership drawn from the Muhajireen believe in a democratic organization for the Islamic state which they want Pakistan also to be. In an effort to find out how close Pakistan was to the Islamic world, Bashiruddin Ahmed came to the conclusion, "It is nowhere close to being an integral part of any grouping of Arab states and certainly far from holding a leadership position which Bhutto's role...appeared to suggest." In fact some thoughtful people in Pakistan were of the view that in many ways India had better relations with the Arab world than Pakistan.

Some other interesting observations made by Bashiruddin Ahmed are that America has very low levels of acceptability in Pakistan, in spite of Soviet presence in Afghanistan, that there was wide-

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pread admiration, bordering on envy, for India's achievements in political and economic fields, that one of the reasons why the people of Pakistan wanted close and friendly relations with India was that this would deprive the military regime of its *raison d'être* and would lead to the emergence of a civilian and hopefully a democratic political system in Pakistan.

Inder Jit's interview with President Zia-ul-Haq, reproduced in the book, gives a revealing insight into the President's thinking on quite a few important issues. It is significant to note that in February 1981, a mere seven months before Pakistan's formal offer of a no-war pact to India, Gen. Zia thought

that pacts were not worth the paper on which they were written if the spirit behind them was not there. The General also clearly states that he is not willing to invest the line of control in Kashmir with the status of an international border, and that it is not necessary for Pakistan to accept the view that the line of control cannot be altered by resort to force, or that the Kashmir question cannot be taken to a forum outside the bilateral framework.

Pran Chopra, in his introductory essay, emphasizes the fact that those people in Pakistan who want to see a new chapter of relations opened with India, be they in the majority in their country or not, are not the

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constituency of the militarists among the ruling elite in Islamabad. They are our constituency. We must strive then this constituency by continuing to participate positively and actively in the exercises for improvement in Indo-Pak relations.

The book also contains essays by Bimal Prasad, Urmila Phadnis, A. Bhattacharjee, Inder Jit, Salam Ali, and interviews with President Zia-ul-Haq by Ajit Bhattacharya and Rajendra Sareen. Some of these essays are the result of painstaking research.

Satish Kumar is Associate Professor of Diplomacy in the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

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A Good Introductory Work

Madan M. Sauldie

Ethiopia—Dawn of the Red Star

pp. 241, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1982, Rs. 165.00

Reviewed by M.C. Gabriel

If one does not mind some unevenness and occasions of sudden personalized narration, Madan Sauldie's book is a good introductory work on the last years of Emperor Haile Selassie and the none too easy beginning of the new government. The title may raise some high hopes and it is best not to entertain them especially if they are inclined in the direction of expecting much scholarship and careful sifting of evidence. In fact the title is most appropriate and should be taken literally for the book is about the 'dawn' with a small spill over.

This is a book by a journalist who by virtue of his profession has had some access to facts and people to make his own assessments, and he has used it to advantage. The book is made out of such facts assembled well and in good order to make the narrative connected and continuous. It must be added that these are the only kind of facts that are available about this country for the two extreme governments—absolute monarchy and the red government—between them have concealed or destroyed much information that historians would have found useful.

It used to be said during the days of Haile Selassie that various kinds of statistics were never available. In particular figures about the prevalence of diseases and the number of deaths caused by them would be handled with such an excess of discretion as to ensure that details were lost. The fear was that common knowledge of them would reflect badly on the Emperor's reign. A favourite after-dinner story among the Europeans in Ethiopia was about the overnight disappearance of a WHO file on the prevalence of V D in the country. If details of health were matters of minor concealment, the major ones were about finances, revenues of the state, nature and extent of imperial property, espionage, political murders, insurrections,

revolts, etc.—a whole range of information that was put into classified files and perhaps destroyed without being opened. From all we know, the red government has been a close imitator. And while we are on the subject of information and its transmission we might note that Sauldie reserves his special wrath and contempt for Ethiopian newspapers which dealt in little else besides unabashed apologies for the government in power.

LACK OF TEXTURE

One had expected though that because the author had been there for a few years that he would give his account a measure of liveliness. This is not there and it shows up like a lack of texture. The lack of texture has its advantages; it makes for a strictly chronological narration with very little embellishment. This, as we have noted, is something Sauldie is good at and just as well too for he is rarely able to cope with the demands of the purple patch he so strives for sometimes. In writing about the overthrow of Haile Selassie that fateful morning when the King of Kings, the Lion of Judah, was unceremoniously ordered into a blue Volkswagen Beetle, the strain of such effort tells adversely on Sauldie's writing. And really speaking, there is no need for it for though the revolution may have been of a 'creeping' kind, the incidents in themselves are not wanting in drama. And set out as they are by Sauldie in orderly narrative they make good reading.

However the chronological narration does not allow much discussion and no book on Ethiopia can be regarded as complete if certain subjects are not discussed with some semblance of thoroughness. Haile Selassie is, of course, one of them and will in all likelihood continue to be so for some more time

to come. More than Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church must receive adequate discussion. Sauldie tends to speak of the Orthodox Church as a powerful unit even at the time of the revolution. This is a moot point. Many studies would say that Haile Selassie turned out to be as powerful as he became in a kind of direct ratio relationship with the decline of the Church and for this decline he himself was responsible in no small way. There is little to suggest that the Ethiopian Church recovered in however small a measure, its lost power in the country.

The Eritrean question which the present leader Mengistu Haile Mariam has handled so clumsily comes up for discussion in Sauldie's book but the final stage to break the resistance by wiping out the Eritreans with the help of the Cubans is only touched on and never brought into focus. This may be said of the Ogaden war too. The details given by Sauldie do suffice in a sketchy way. And these again are included (as perhaps they can only be) in a chronological presentation where they occur in the time sequence.

UNCOMMITTED OBJECTIVITY

By way of criticism it can be added further that as a book devoted to the years of the revolution it does leave one a bit in the air. On Haile Selassie, for instance, it would appear Sauldie has not quite made up his mind. He seems to want it both ways. He would not disagree that Haile Selassie was a despot from an earlier time but his despotism was not without more than a touch of benevolence. His unqualified antipathy, if not clearly spoken, to the current regime is not uninformed with some respect for Haile Selassie. It seems to me that Sauldie aims at a kind of uncommitted objectivity. He is hesitant to make direct assessments about either the Emperor or the so-called revolution, and it throws him back on conventional terms like feudalism and despotism for props. In doing so he is no doubt on well-trodden ground but the current thinking about the insufficiency of such terms would have been useful to take into account. Instead of 'feudal' the word 'tradi-

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tional' with all that flows in the way of nuances in analyses would have helped greatly. 'Feudal' which is habitually used is a loaded word that distorts perspective especially in being an unqualified denigration. It is glib and introduces another form of unreality. A truer picture can be got by rearranging it inside the concept of a 'traditional' economy or government.

This goes also for words like 'despotism' and 'revolution'. As a matter of labels truth has become simpler. Till the time of the brutal and cold-blooded massacres—in particular the shooting down of Aman Adom in a seige of his house and later that night the extermination of 59 of his colleagues by a firing squad presumably in panic—a large number of people hailed the revolution as an act of redemption for the Ethiopians because 'progressive' forces were behind it. They said it was the first 'bloodless red revolution'. The subsequent disillusionment then in Africa was full of shock and horror.

FUTURE TRENDS

As things stand what the future holds for Ethiopia is difficult to guess. After Tefer Benti, the Chairman of the Government after the takeover was also liquidated as a

matter of revolutionary justice, Mengistu Haile Mariam has become the sole head of the state. The coming of the Russians and the Cubans has only marginally helped. From what is heard and if one can trust rumour, the stock of Haile Selassie has gone up. The present government seems limited in its abilities and lacking in revolutionary charisma. It is holding on to power by its teeth and predictable brutality. It will have to do much more than merely frighten people if it wants their support.

One should not be surprised if this revolution which is still to find its feet does finally come a cropper. It is not too early for that. Much can be said against the Ethiopians and much too about their general backwardness but any assessment that fails to take into account the fierce freedom-loving nature of these people is sure to be wrong. If all the present rulers can offer is a philosophy of economic stability and bread for all in exchange for freedom—even the small one they had under Haile Selassie—the chances are the philosophy will eventually lose. And at the moment neither is assured to them.

M.C. Gabriel is a Hyderabad based writer and novelist.

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Das, J.P., ed. Oriya Short Stories : An anthology. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. xiv, 117 p. Rs. 75.00

The sixteen stories represent not only the wide span of some seventy five years, but also the changes and development in short story writing during the period.

Gupta Giri Raj. Religion in Modern India. Delhi, Vikas [c 1983] xviii, 422 p. Rs. 150.00. (Main Currents in Indian Sociology, Vol. 5).

Comprises 16 essays treating of the nature and emergent forms of religion; popular myths, rituals and symbolism; most recent work on mother goddess cults; and the comparative and adaptive aspects of religion.

Kamath, M.V. The Journalist's Handbook. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. 313 p. Rs. 125.00

Treats, probably for the first time; such themes as house journals, development journalism, econo-

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mic reporting and science reporting. There are separate chapters on radio and television writing and copy writing as well as on law and the reporter.

Mahapatra, Sitakant. The Awakened Wind : The Oral Poetry of India's Tribes. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. ix, 322, Rs. 125.00

The song-poems included in the anthology are a selection from the oral poetry of some tribal groups of Eastern India. Their themes range from love to death, their form, from riddles to sanctified mantras, and songs for social or ritual occasions.

Metcalf, Barbara Daly. Islamic Revival in British India : Deoband, 1860-1900. Delhi, Oxford, 1982. xiv, 386 p. Rs. 225.00

Focusing on Deoband, the author discusses the ways in which its Islamic religious scholars enhanced a sense of cultural continuity in alien rule.

Sen, Anima. Attention and Distraction. Delhi, Sterling, 1983. xii, 191 p. Rs. 75.00

Attempts to identify the nature of attention, vis-a-vis the problem of distraction. It traces the history of the developmental trend of attention as a scientific concept.

Srivastava, Ramesh. Perspectives on Bhabani Bhattacharya. Ghazipur, Vimal, 1982. xiv, 251 p. Rs. 80.00

Consists of eighteen articles that evaluate various aspects—themetic as well as technical—of Bhabani Bhattacharya.

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Bipan Chandra (Ed.)
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F.B.J. Kuiper
278pp Rs 125

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K. Natwar Singh
152pp Rs 35

THE EARLYSCULPTURES OF NEPAL
Lain S. Bangdel
260pp illus Rs 295

THE AWAKENED WIND : The Oral Poetry of Indian Tribes
Sitakant Mahapatra
340pp illus. Rs 95

INDIAN CINEMA : SUPERBAZAR
Aruna Vasudev & Philippe Lenglet
400pp illus Rs 150

MODERNIZATION AND COMMUNITY POWER : A Comparative Study of Two Villages in India
Murli M. Sinha
200pp Rs 95

WITH TIGERS IN THE WILD : An Experience in an Indian Forest
Fateh Singh Rathore, Tejbir Singh & Valmik Thapar
175pp illus. Rs 495

ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION IN INDIA
P.D. Shukla
216pp Rs 95

THE ARYA SAMAJ : Hindu Without Hinduism
D. Vable
230pp Rs 125

CRIPPLED MINDS : An Exploration into Colonial Culture
Susanthie Goonatilake
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CRIME IN OUR SOCIETY : A Political Perspective
S. Venugopal Rao
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Arun Joshi
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J.C. Kapur
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C.W. Troll
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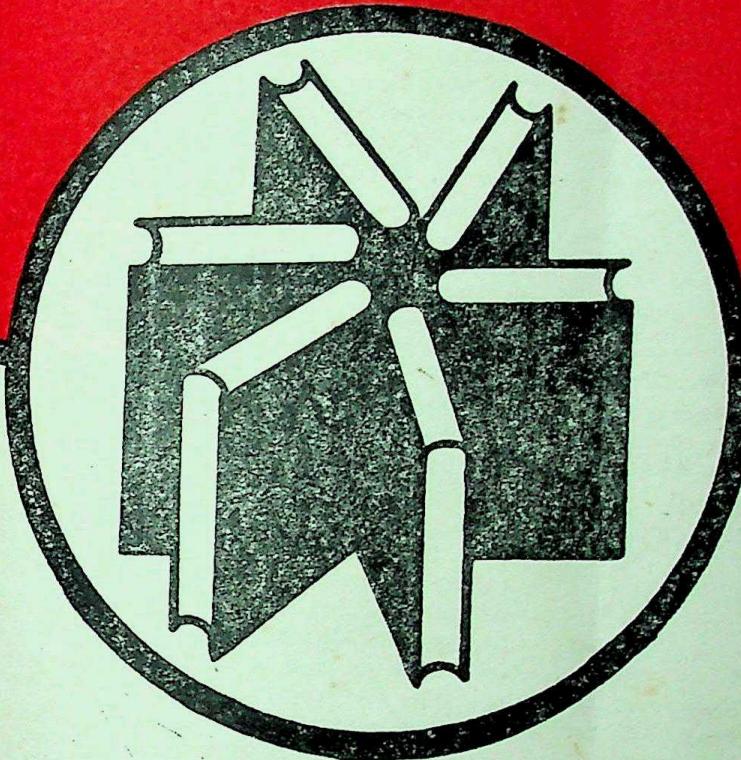
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The Year of the Phoenix

India in the 17th Century
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SOME OXFORD BOOKS

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BARBARA DALY METCALF

In a study of the vitality of Islam in late nineteenth-century north India, Barbara Metcalf explains the response of Islamic religious scholars ('ulama) to the colonial dominance of the British and the collapse of Muslim political power. Focusing on Deoband, the most important Islamic seminary of the period, she discusses the ways in which the 'ulama enhanced a sense of cultural continuity in a period of colonial rule. The book is based on institutional records, biographies and hagiographies, memoirs, diaries, tracts, and letters, as well as on relevant government records. In addition to a discussion of the Deobandis, the author provides background on eighteenth-century India and chapters on other movements of nineteenth-century Islamic renewal.

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ECONOMIC INEQUALITY AND GROUP WELFARE

SIDDIQUR RAHMAN OSMANI

Recent developments in the theories of real national income, economic inequality and poverty have opened up new avenues for social welfare comparison. This book explores some of these avenues in both theory and practice. In contrast with the New Welfare Economics, value judgements about interpersonal distribution of income and welfare play a central role in this approach. The existing approaches to the measurement of inequality and poverty have been critically examined. Efforts have been made to clear up some ambiguities in the modern normative approach to inequality in relation to both its interpretation and operational relevance.

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PROSPERITY AND MISERY IN MODERN BENGAL

PAUL R GREENOUGH

This work is a provocative and moving account of the reasons for and the consequences of the Bengal Famine of 1943 to 1944. The author links a fascinating analysis of Bengali cultural beliefs to the actual famine in his discussion of the failure of relief, the erosion and collapse of traditional social bonds, and the ensuing patterns of victimization and mortality. In his perceptive analysis of the economic and social patterns manifested during the two-year famine, Greenough is able to draw broader conclusions about Bangali life and culture.

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Indian Book Chronicle

News & Reviews

Vol. VIII, No. 11, June 1, 1983

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EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH

A Pathological Exercise

There are two ways of dealing with this book. One is to dismiss it as the work of a crank and a maverick, and to dump it into the rubbish heap of academia. The other is to take it at face value because the author is who he is, because the subject is Gandhi, and because the stated objective is biographical research in an area that cries out for it.

It is true that we have only a sketchy portrait of the young Gandhi in what Mahadevan calls the "first seminal turning point in Gandhi's life and career, the year 1893-1894." I am inclined to agree with the view that this year was a period of incubation, of diverse possibilities, and that the turning point—if there is ever such a thing—was the two-year span from 1894-96, when Gandhi was inescapably sucked into the racial quagmire that was South Africa. However, each researcher to his own passion ! And so back to Mahadevan.

It is also true that most biographers have not given the same significance or as much time to investigating the minutiae of this twelve month period. It is therefore legitimate to ask what Mahadevan has to offer after three years of intensive and passionate research. Indeed this question is of central importance since Mahadevan claims to have unearthed facts that "are not to be found in the extant gandhiana" (p. 13), and which he uses to restore the portrait of Gandhi "to its original likeness" free of the "conjecture, fiction and mythology" that, according to him, are hall marks of Gandhi's autobiography and of all Gandhi biographies as well.

Alas ! Mahadevan has only a few, somewhat irrelevant and peripheral facts to provide. These are in the nature of the dates on which Gandhi sailed from Bombay and arrived in Durban, the names of the steamers, the probable length of his stay in Durban before leaving for Pretoria, the date of that fateful farewell party when Gandhi agreed to extend his stay to fight for the Indian cause, and that Gandhi was probably booked to sail on the SS Reichstag on May 23, 1894, etc. etc. The rest of what Mahadevan has to offer is not fact by any judgement. It is conjecture, speculation and inference.

However, Mahadevan has used these skeletal facts to paint over the accepted portrait of Gandhi. In the manner of a master forger he has adopted a style of reconstruction one of "imaginative micro-research"—in order to authenticate his portrait. He begins by attempting to reconstruct that first voyage out to Durban. But he does so not to establish new bio-historical facts about Gandhi, but to prove the assumption with which he starts out. Namely, that "for an unknown reason he (Gandhi) suppressed the name of the steamer" (p. 15). The inference is of calculated deliberateness on the part of Gandhi, for Mahadevan believes Gandhi was "so furtive on matters relating to his career" while at the same time, "so salaciously open on those which concern his private life" (p. 24). This, indeed, is the leit motif of this book, and Mahadevan sets out to show why Gandhi was as furtive, sly and cunning, as he makes him out to be.

What were the omissions that so excited Mahadevan ? Only that Gandhi was vague about dates and names in recounting this journey and the events of that first year in South Africa. Whereas—and this is the rub

T.K. Mahadevan, *The Year of The Phoenix*, pp. xiii+193, Arnold-Heinemann, 1982, Rs. 50.00.

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for Mahadevan—Gandhi provides similar and more details about his journeys to and from London. As Mahadevan well knows, these details are provided not in the autobiography but in the diary that Gandhi kept as a student in London and in a tract called *Guide to London*. No diary exists covering the twelve month period that Mahadevan is concerned with.

My reaction to this lacunae, as would be that of many others, is : so what ? For documentary purposes it has always been possible to track down the dates. Perhaps not in the cloak and dagger fashion that Mahadevan adopts, but more prosaically by merely working backwards from the known dates when Gandhi was in Durban, from approximations of related events. I did this exercise for myself some years ago and arrived at the very date for Gandhi's arrival in Durban which Mahadevan has so dramatically unearthed. What made the establishment of exact dates so important for Mahadevan ? Obviously not the establishment of historical fact, but that for Mahadevan they proved that Gandhi was 'mendacious', 'scheming' and 'furtive'; that he was covering up his real purpose in going so zestfully to Durban. According to Mahadevan, the South African trip provided Gandhi with "what he had been secretly nursing within himself : namely, a chance to set up legal practice outside the homeland, redeem himself in his own eyes, and restore his tarnished 'barrister' image" (p. 4). And so, Mahadevan has Gandhi go to South Africa "ready to make his way by hook or by crook" (p. 24).

In other words, Mahadevan wants to establish that Gandhi had no intention of returning to India when the contracted year was over. Therefore, once in South Africa, he hid his real intentions, feigned ignorance about the disenfranchising bill, dragged his feet, and then cynically drew up petitions that he knew were bound to fail. "The painful inference" concludes Mahadevan, "is that Gandhi did not wish to act quickly" because nothing "would have suited Gandhi's well thought out plans better than to let that dreaded month slip through by means of delaying tactics—his cunning and doggedness remaining unsuspected by Dada Abdulla and company—and then spring into action ?" (p. 74). "Everything that Gandhi did according to Mahadevan "was simply a ploy for Gandhi to entrench himself in a land that opened up vistas of opportunity which were denied him in India... carving out a private legal career was clearly uppermost in his mind. All his activities during this period, though overtly of a political nature, had no other end in view" (p. 103).

This is quite something to swallow, isn't it, seeing that it flows from the establishment of a few innocuous dates ? I would advise my readers to take a deep breath for there is much more to come, also in the same vein.

There is the whole matter of how the case that took Gandhi to South Africa was resolved. The accepted version is that Gandhi persuaded the parties to the litigation to accept arbitration. Gandhi devotes the whole of Chp. xiv of his autobiography to this and to his attendant discovery of the "true practice of law". So far no one has thought it necessary to question the veracity or credibility of Gandhi's account. Mahadevan takes it upon himself to do so. On the flimsy basis of a few newspaper quotations he asserts that resort to arbitration was ordered by the Court, and not because Gandhi was able to persuade the two parties.

Mahadevan's bikini size evidence has to be weighed against Gandhi's own account as well as against a well established legal tradition according to which the Court does not, in most cases, order arbitration. It is for the parties to initiate and propose arbitration and for the Court to concur. Moreover, one of the quotations, that Mahadevan summons to his case, states clearly "The arbitration too, was not appointed by the Court, but of a private character" (p. 24). Mahadevan rejects this statement for no convincing reason.

It requires a man of great courage to question the truthfulness of an acknowledged man of truth. It also requires wisdom, integrity and objectivity. Mahadevan's conviction that Gandhi is both mendacious and cunning is so obsessive that he throws all objectivity and discretion to the winds. To give an example : On the matter of Gandhi's avowed 'ignorance' of the disen-

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franchising legislation proposed by the Natal government, Mahadevan accuses Gandhi of lying. Once again his facts are so thin as to be non-existent, and the evidence he provides is not so much circumstantial as it is inferential and subjective. To show that Gandhi lied and he perpetrated a hoax on all those who read his autobiography, Mahadevan argues :

- That Gandhi being a voracious reader of newspapers must have known about the bill since it was discussed and referred to in all the leading papers of Natal.
- That Gandhi's own scrap book contains clippings about the matter, dating as far back as September, 1893.
- That Gandhi by his own account had made "a deep study of the social, economic and political condition of the Indians in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State", and therefore must have been aware of the impending bill.

Ergo, according to Mahadevan, Gandhi is to be found guilty "slithering into the realm of myth and theology" (p. 72) when he says "I had no idea that this study was to be of invaluable service to me in the future."; of concocting a fictitious story when he writes that he accidentally saw a newspaper report on the subject of Indian Franchise at that abandoned farewell party. Mahadevan writes by London that he "tried to spot this legendary item by scanning the bound volumes of the newspapers for the entire period of the session—but to no avail. Pure fiction !" (p. 75). Finally, of course he concludes that Gandhi was telling a "brazen lie" (p. 70).

Is it necessary to provide countervailing evidence to show how Mahadevan misplays with available evidence and distorts it in order to flesh out his pre-conceived and ugly portrait of Gandhi ? I would only like to suggest that Gandhi was perhaps being precise when he claimed ignorance of the Bill. In short that while Gandhi was aware of both the intention and the fact that a disenfranchising bill was on the agenda, his attention to the

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was ignorant of the detailed clauses and provisions of the bill. Did Mahadevan scour the Natal newspapers to see if the text of the bill had been published? I doubt it.

Moreover Mahadevan seems to have gone about his microresearch wearing macro-blinders, and pursues his obsession while being oblivious to the larger political context. 1893 was a fateful year for Natal. In September of that year, some eight months before Natal undertook legislation that would prevent Indians from being registered as voters, Natal became a self governing colony. Mahadevan has missed both this fact and its significance. Once Natal became self governing it acquired the confidence that it could deal with the Indian residents without consideration for Imperial policies. There was of course a period of transition during which both the Natal government and the Indians tested out what Imperial reactions were likely to be.

Thus, while Mahadevan is right in saying that Gandhi's trinity of petitions to the Natal Council and Assembly failed to prevent the passage of this legislation, he is entirely wrong in leaving the impression that Gandhi's strategy to obstruct the bill from becoming law also failed. As serious researcher he owed it to his readers to tell them that Gandhi's monster petition that was addressed to Lord Ripon, Secretary of State for the Colonies, succeeded. The bill was not approved by London and it was only then that the Natal government began to attack the problem in other more tangential ways. Gandhi's strategy or dealing with discriminatory and racial legislation in South Africa also underwent a profound change as it became apparent that London was no longer prepared to function as a court of appeal against colonial legislation. But, as I said earlier, Mahadevan misses all this.

It is possible to go on and on in this vein, but I see no point in doing so. Let me just mention the other elements that go into the making of Mahadevan's ugly portrait of Gandhi. It is an essential part of the argument that Gandhi's "dedication to the cause of the Indians in South Africa...began primarily

as a means of serving his own personal ends" (p. 131). Therefore Mahadevan is also at pains to show that Gandhi was jealous of other potential leaders of the Indian community like the Christain C.M. Pillai; that he imputes to himself experiences such as being pushed off a foot path—that actually happened to others; and that he undertook a calculated "dalliance with Christianity" to make "things less hot for him in the steam and stench of racism if he adopted the religion of the dominant community" (p. 44).

It goes without saying that all this was "dictated by material not spiritual considerations" (p. 44). Mahadevan could have spent some

time on the wide reading that Gandhi did during this year, on his enquiries into Hinduism, his refusal to become a Christian and his identification of himself as a Hindu. But Mahadevan does not, since he is not really seeking new facts and insights into the young Gandhi. He is merely giving unbridled rein to his principal purpose of denigrating Gandhi and those he terms the "ashramite minions" who wove into myth the frauds and lies that, according to Mahadevan, originated with Gandhi.

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Useful Source Material

**Lotika Varadrajan Editor,
India in the 17th Century, Social, Economic and Political**

pp. xxiii+465, 22 illustrations and maps, Manohar Publications, 1981,
Rs. 80.00

Reviewed by A.R. Kulkarni

Source material for narrating the history of the 17th century, a creative century in the history of India, and particularly in the history of the Deccan is diffused in many indigenous and foreign languages. With the establishment of the French East India Company, the French also landed in India in the 17th century to vie with other European powers like the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, etc.

Francois Martin, joined the French East India Company as a sub-merchant and reached Surat in 1669 and remained in India till his death at Pondichery in 1706. It was during this period that the Adilshahi and Qutbshahi, the remnants of the Bahamani Kingdom were struggling hard to maintain their identity against the Mughals as well as the rising power of the Marathas under Shivaji. Aurangzeb, aimed at eradicating all Deccani powers and establish his sovereignty over the Deccan. The Memoirs of Francois Martin, which have been carefully revised and corrected by the author himself, covering a most fascinating phase in the history of the South

would be of absorbing interest to the researchers of this period.

Earlier, Surendra Nath Sen and Jadunath Sarkar translated limited portions of Martin's memoirs to serve their immediate needs. But Lotika Varadrajan has done a yeoman's service by bringing this source in English, giving explanatory notes wherever necessary. She has also cautioned scholars to be aware of the biases, limitations, lack of proper understanding of the multiplicity of factors moulding the political situation in the South while making use of this source material. The exhaustive notes, supplied by the author, will help the scholars in understanding this period in its proper perspective. For example, the foot-note on page 5 has corrected the hearsay account of the sack of Surat by the Marathas given by Martin, and also established the authenticity of Martin's Memoirs.

MISLEADING TITLE

However, one finds it rather difficult to accept the title and

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particularly the sub-title of this book. Both are misleading. The Memoirs of Martin deal with a fraction of the 17th century, and besides there is hardly any substantial material useful for social, economic or even political history to justify the sub-title. It is essentially an account of the French involvement in the South, particularly their rivalry with the other European powers, namely the Dutch, and partly the English, which led them to seek the favours of local powers like the Qutb Shahi of Golconda and the Adil Shahi of Bijapur. The Marathas did not figure in the volume under review. The Dutch, the French and the English were interested in capturing some land near the coast to prepare a strong base for promoting their commercial activities in the East.

Martin seems to be very critical in his assessment of men and their deeds and faithful in recording facts. He did not hesitate to put it on record that some of the officials "preferred to sacrifice Company interests and honour to protect their own private interests" (p. 28). He did not spare the Director of the Company, Caron, or the Commander de la Haye, in criticising them for their specific policies (pp. 9-11 & p. 119). It is interesting to read how French officers like Haye, Baron and Gueston were determined to pursue their own policies in India (pp. 178-179).

When the French arrived in India, the Dutch company had already struck its roots in India and was always seeking additional territory, which brought the Dutch in confrontation with the French as well as the English. The bone of contention between the Dutch and the French on the East Coast of India was San Thome, and the present volume essentially deals with this struggle for San Thome. As a reflection of the Union of the British and the French against the Dutch in European politics, the British gave lip sympathies to the French in their efforts to check the Dutch but not active support as they too were interested in spreading their power in the South as against the Dutch and the French.

The English, the Dutch and the

French were stationed in the vicinity of Madras, when the English and the French had declared war against Holland in Europe. However, the English disliked the French and were friendly with the Dutch in India. Martin's Memoirs throw a flood of light on this inner conflict between the European powers on the Indian soil. While narrating this main theme Martin occasionally brings in the local powers, as they were the real masters of the territories for which the foreigners were fighting. The Indian authorities have been depicted as extracting presents from these foreigners while granting any concessions.

The sufferings of the French squadron during its voyage, the hunt for such ordinary necessities of life as water, foodgrains made by the French, the calamities they faced during the course of their fighting

and several other details given in this book create a feeling of admiration for the French people struggling for their existence in an alien and remote country like India. Of course this may be true of other European powers also which came to India during this period.

MAIN THEME

The main theme of this volume is how the French captured San Thome from the Moors between 1672 and 1674. Martin who was closely associated with this event gives a day to day account of the incident. The character of the French Commander engaged in this military operation is de la Haye, who resembles Napoleon Bonaparte in his attempts at boosting the morale of his soldiers fighting in an unknown land, has been very well brought

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out in these Memoirs by Martain. For instance, when six soldiers deserted to the enemy, de la Haye assembled the troops in the square and impressed on them their duty and stressed how much harm they would be doing to themselves by abandoning the King's service in favour of slavery among the infidel (p. 130).

In fact the entire account of the capture of San Thome is so fascinating and thrilling that one feels as if one is reading some historical fiction. An account of the day to day happenings, the sufferings of the people, difficulties in getting food, which was to be procured from Madras with the help of the Portuguese, the heroic efforts of the French to resist the Moors i.e. the Muslim rulers of the South, find a good deal of space in these memoirs. It throws some light on the character of the English who did not want the French in close proximity to them (p. 149), and who were cautious in their dealings with the Moors in order to preserve the commercial interests of the English Company (p. 152). The English were friendly but not co-operative with the French.

The zeal and strenuous efforts of the French to capture and retain San Thome reminds us of Rama-chandra Pant Amatya, a contemporary of Shivaji, in his treatise on Maratha polity, called 'Ajnyapatra', who writes, ".....this race of people is obstinate. Where a place has fallen into their hands, they will not give it up even at the cost of their lives." But as regards San Thome, after a long fight and undergoing a lot of hardships, confrontations between the authorities, the French could not succeed in retaining this place. Its capitulation was sealed by the Treaty between the French and the Dutch on 6th September, 1674.

This led the French to divert their attention to Pondichery and consolidate their position in the South. Loss of San Thome was a death-blow to the reputation of Commander de la Haye who returned to France after this incident. But he could not survive long as he died in 1675. While in India, Martin had some difference with de la Haye, but

he was not blind to his qualities as a soldier and man of determination. He pays glowing tributes to him, in these words, "Thus this noble man died in action. He had risen by his own ability and his meritorious actions" (P. 443).

INTERESTING DETAILS

Besides this information about French involvement in India, one gets references to trade and commerce, sale of spirit and arrack in South, difficulties in procuring food and refreshments, weapons and war material used by Indian and foreigners—particularly the 'Ramban' (arrow of Ram), employment of natives as *lascars* and confusion caused thereby, marriage of Qutb Shah's daughters, certain medieval practices like 'presents' and brutal punishments accorded to foreign culprits, fighting over donkeys, incidents of storing tobacco, interception of letters etc. these are quite interesting as they tell us something about life of people. But on the whole there is little material for social or economic history of this period in the Memoirs.

There is some difference between 'Memoirs' and 'Travelogues'. A diarist writes mainly about the events in which he is personally involved or with which he is concerned whereas, a traveller is an ardent observer, and if anything strange or different occurs, to him, he makes a note of it in his 'travelogue'. The commonplace things which otherwise escape the attention of native

writer, are carefully recorded by the traveller. His account of political situation may be based occasionally on 'bazaar gossip', but his inquisitiveness about social and economic life makes his observations more useful to a social or economic historian. Martin does not belong to this category.

The efforts of Lotika Varadrajan are no doubt commendable, but if she had taken some more pains in identifying some of the coins mentioned in the Memoirs, like 'louis', 'livres' 'sequins', 'fanam', etc., it would have been better. For 'fanam' she writes "see volume II Appendix". The poor reader has to wait till the publication of the second volume. Fanam was a small gold coin weighing about five grains, and about 15 or 16 'fanams' made a Hon, a gold coin in the 17th century. Similarly on p. 310, a reference has been made to a city in ruins, but the translator has made no efforts to identify it in the foot-note. The word 'counter' has often been used. Is it equivalent to 'factory'? Again what does the term 'lodge' stands for is not known. There are certain printer's devils and mistakes of chronology.

However these minor omissions do not in anyway detract from the importance of this valuable contribution to our source material of medieval history the editor deserves congratulations for this painstaking work.

A.R. Kulkarni is Professor of History at the University of Poona.

A Welcome Contribution

Renuka Ray

My Reminiscences : Social Development during the Gandhian Era and After
pp. 294, Allied, 1982, Rs. 60.00

Reviewed by Amrik Singh

Till the early seventies Renuka Ray was a name which was flashed in newspapers quite often. For the last decade and a half however she seems to have gone into retirement. Early next year she will be 80. In a sense therefore it was the right time to retire. Like several people who

retire she has tried to re-live her earlier life in the form of a book of memoirs. The focus of the book is explained by the sub-title : Social Development during the Gandhian Era and After.

As a self-portrait there is nothing very exciting about the book. There

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is a chapter dealing with childhood memories and another dealing with her first brush with politics. In 1920 a special session of the Indian National Congress was held in Calcutta. That was soon after the Jallianwala Bagh incident and the emergence of Gandhiji as the dominant political figure. In response to the call given by Gandhiji she and a friend of hers decided to leave college to join the Non-Cooperation Movement. This brought her in touch with Gandhiji. The relationship endured till the day Gandhiji died.

She gives some very interesting vignettes of that relationship. For instance, she donated her bangles to the Swaraj Fund. Gandhiji accepted the bangles. At the same time he wrote to her father who was a member of the ICS requesting him to have a line of his approval before the gift could be accepted. A little later when she saw Gandhiji face to face, she was, as she admits, overwhelmed by a desire to serve. Gandhiji however knew better. Within a short while he had so arranged with her father that she was sent to the London School of Economics for higher education. Her first reaction was hostile. She did not like the idea of going away. After sometime in London however and as she grew older, she came to recognise the soundness of that decision. While still in London she got engaged to someone who later entered the ICS.

TERRORIST TENDENCIES

On the whole reticent about her personal life, once in a while she does give some interesting glimpses into the way she grew up. When she was in London a cousin of hers who was undergoing medical training was anxious that she should join the terrorist group to which he belonged. He even lent her a revolver so that she could accompany him to a shooting range for practice. One day her fiance came to meet her at a railway station as they had to go somewhere. As they came out of the station, the attache case which she was carrying somehow burst open and the contents, including the

revolver, fell out. He was taken aback. He did not know that the girl he was planning to get married to was mixed up with terrorists. She begged of him not to talk of this incident to anyone. To complete the coincidence, there was a letter for her that very evening from Gandhiji. Attracted as she was towards this kind of thing, she ultimately held back.

It appears however that the spark did not die in her altogether. Later in the book she talks of her contact with Aruna Asaf Ali during the underground days of 1942. During that period Aruna Asaf Ali spent sometime in Calcutta also. Renuka Ray was in contact with her during those days and acted as a courier on her behalf for carrying arms and ammunition which was being purchased from British Army Officers.

Soon after she returned to India she got involved in all those activities in which wives of senior officers like her husband were involved. Nevertheless because of the kind of education and background that she had had, she took unusual interest in social work. It gave her the opportunity to get in touch with common people with whom she did not have occasions to interact because of her aristocratic background.

ENTRY INTO PUBLIC LIFE

During war time a Bill was introduced in the Central Assembly on Hindu Marriage and Hindu Succession and Adoption. At the request of the national women's organisations led by the All India Women's Conference the Government agreed to nominate a representative of the women's organisations to the Central Assembly. It was understood that in regard to these and related Bills

the person so nominated would vote with the Government. For the rest she would be free to vote as she liked.

Her name was included in the panel of names submitted and the choice fell upon her. This is how she got inducted into public life. One thing led to another and she went on to be a member of the Constituent Assembly, the Indian Delegation to the U.N., a Minister in B.C. Roy's Cabinet, and subsequently a Member of the Second Lok Sabha. This varied experience entitles her to speak about social development during the recent decades and she does so with a certain amount of competence and detail.

It is in this context that the focus of the book gets somewhat blurred. Since her objective is to give a picture of her times, throughout the narrative she talks off and on of things other than personal. There are chapters dealing with Women in India, Quit India and the Bengal Famine, the Partition of India, Constitution in the Making, Administration and Social Development and so on. When things are seen through her own eyes the descriptions are vivid and things come alive. But on numerous occasions she goes in for a straight forward kind of description of what she witnessed. Then the book loses its sense of immediacy and what we get is second-hand reporting.

For instance, the chapter dealing with Quit India and the Bengal Famine is not all that exciting. The Bengal Famine has been one of the most harrowing episodes in recent Indian history. She was in Bengal and saw things at firsthand. But what she has to say on the subject reads like a re-hash of old newspapers. She does not have much to say on the subject which is somewhat disappointing. Whether the explanation is her comparative

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distance from the suffering of the people or some other reason I cannot say. Her observations lack that immediacy and pungency which a situation like that demands. In my judgement, the more valid explanation would be that she was not involved directly in any way and on account of that the description lacks that sense of involvement.

PERSONALLY INVOLVED

While this kind of a thing can be said about several other things, the book comes alive wherever she was personally involved. For instance, she was opposed to Article 31 of the Indian Constitution being made justiciable. In this matter she differed with Pandit Nehru also. All the details that she gives in regard to the prolonged controversy about this particular article and the way it was introduced, debated and discussed are all very graphic. She was genuinely & truly involved in the whole thing. She felt strongly on the subject and expressed her opinions with a certain degree of vehemence. For instance, she found it difficult to restrain herself and said 'Pandit Ji! You have let us down and let yourself down also.' Pandit Ji got annoyed with her and they were not on speaking terms for sometime. Subsequently they made up and Pandit Ji told her that her fears had proved groundless for no Court of Law had upset any decision taken by the Government. According to her, this did come to pass after Pandit Ji's death in the well-known Golak Nath case.

Wherever she was involved she makes acute observations and comes through as a person of great sympathy and considerable abilities. After one term in West Bengal when she was also made a Minister in B.C. Roy's Cabinet, she returned to the Lok Sabha. She found that within five years the crusading spirit that had prevailed in the Constituent Assembly had largely disappeared. Instead of operating on the plane on which most members used to operate before, the Central Hall had now become a venue where tea or coffee was sipped and people indulged in idle gossip. Her descrip-

tion of the change which she noticed is perceptive as well as well done.

She could have returned to the Third Lok Sabha as well but for the intrigue of Atulya Gosh in respect of the delimitation of constituencies. He had emerged as the master figure in West Bengal politics during those years. He did not feel confident about a person like Renuka Ray. Obviously she would not have been as convenient as some of the other people whom he could manipulate. He so arranged therefore that she could not be given ticket for the same seat from which she had been returned to the Lok Sabha earlier. In a sense the eclipse of people like Renuka Ray around that time signified the change in political life that had come about.

She seems to be a fairly sharp observer of men and events. What she says about them is never motivated by anything other than sound and unbiased judgement. For instance, while talking of Netaji, she says :

Recently there has been a move to denigrate Jawaharlal Nehru. Perhaps behind this is the subconscious thought that this would help to place Netaji Subhash on a higher pedestal. But neither praise nor condemnation can take away the greatness of the truly great, and both Subhas Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru belonged to that category. Let us recall Subhash's own estimate of Jawaharlal Nehru as recounted by his friend Dilip Roy. Subhas drew attention to the innate sincerity of Jawaharlal Nehru and to his ethical standards, though he felt that Nehru lost something by not having a belief in the spiritual side and in religion.

There are several other things said in this vein.

After having praised Nehru quite warmly she writes :

Nehru had his failings as all human beings have. He was aware of some of these. Though he had a tendency to be an

autocrat he struggled to check it so that he could live up to his own ideals as a democrat. He lost his temper easily but he always tried to make amends. It was this quality which turned out to be his great weakness. In Parliament not only those in opposition but even our party men and women knew that the best chance of winning their point when he was opposed to it would be to make him lose his temper so that he would try to accommodate them. There was a streak of jealousy in him, particularly in regard to those who he felt were his rivals in popularity, or who also shone as good speakers. However, even if with Subhas Bose or Jayaprakash Narayana or Shyama Prasad Mukherjee this ever surfaced, he always crushed it. Actually, we know that in some ways he had more in common with Subhas Bose and that he frankly gave expression to his admirations for the latter. So far as Jayaprakash Narayana and Shyama Prasad Mukherjee were concerned, he asked both of them to join his cabinet; although the former refused, the latter did join. It was this kind of human trait in him that endeared Nehru to others.

Similarly what she has to say about Gandhiji is also enlightening. Several of the things that she says are not so novel however as the following anecdote as also her reflections on the occasion :

I often remember an incident of the past which brought together two people who meant so much to me. Gandhiji and Sarojini Naidu were in the Bhangi Colony in Delhi in 1946 surrounded by young people like me. Gandhiji was joking with us in his usual style and asked us, "When Sarojini Devi and I are no more, I wonder, will you carry on the message that we have tried to inculcate in the younger generation or will you feel that you have paid sufficient homage and honour to us by erecting our

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statues and garlanding our portraits particularly on specific days and occasions?" He added that this was the procedure that Indians were prone to adopt. Sarojini Naidu pointed towards me in particular and said, "As for those in Calcutta it will be easy enough to put up my statue. For all they need to do is to chop off the head of the statue of Queen Victoria and place my head on it. It will be much less costly for them". While we vigorously protested against the implications, everyone laughed at her joke. But today it seems that Gandhiji was indeed prophetic in what he said. While we pay him homage by making speeches and by garlanding his statues, which are numerous throughout the country, how much do we try to emulate him and about the teachings to modern conditions? He had told the press at Beliaghata, "My life is my message". Even the reasons for which he was crucified still persist. To my mind the relevance of Gandhiji will remain so long as the quest for a better life inspires the human mind.

The book has a number of such delightful stories. They come from the world of experience in political life that she came to have during the last quarter century or so of her career. Talking of the austerity of those members, she says that she remembers Hansa Mehta and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur sharing a room in Constitution Hall. According to her, such a thing is unthinkable today. Similarly, she is a great admirer of the sincerity and integrity of Sardar Patel. As she puts it:

In these days when sons and persons of high places seem to be taking advantage of their parents' position, it is well to recall Sardar Patel's attitude towards his son. When some news reached him that his son had attempted to take some minor advantage of his position, Sardar Patel called him and told him in the presence of

many, 'If one more such incident occurs I shall resign my position as Deputy Prime Minister and go back to my village without any further consideration'.

The book is redeemed by encounters like this. While a well written

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book, it tends to be conventional and commonplace in its treatment of matters which she was not directly involved. But wherever she was directly involved, her writing acquires a new quality and a new thrust.

—EDITOR

Fascinating & Fresh

Karan Singh

Heir Apparent : An Autobiography

pp. 171, Oxford University Press, 1982, Rs. 80.00

Reviewed by Manorama Trikha

Karan Singh's *Heir Apparent : An Autobiography* is an extremely readable book that blends in due proportion imagination and revelation. It is a piece of work by an imaginative, introspective writer who shows how the shapelessness of the experiences of life can have form and therefore meaning. It is also the considered version of an interpreter who, retaining his loyalty to the truthfulness of events, challenges the existing assumptions of and judgements on those extraordinary happenings which produced crises in his life. Considered thus, the autobiography tends to prove that the life-truths are greater than the art-truths embodied in other forms of literature.

The book falls into two parts : the first part covering 7 chapters presents the personal life of the author beginning with the birth of the future monarch of Jammu and Kashmir on 9th March, 1931 whose life like life elsewhere, was a drama of sun and shade against the luxuriant backdrop of the most enchanting landscape of Kashmir amidst the golden and red royal surroundings; the second part consisting of 5 chapters records those excruciating events that mark the beginning of the end of the rule of Maharaja Hari Singh primarily because of those unpredictable political events which gave to the nation its much awaited sovereignty and snatched from the Maharaja his power and authority. Karan Singh, being transitional figure and though

endowed with wisdom and farsightedness, suffered but accepted the change gracefully though he could never forget that "he was born a King" something which reminds one of Edward VIII, despite the fact that the latter abdicated the crown willingly.

ENQUIRY AFTER TRUTH

Karan Singh makes it clear in the Preface that his book is a "intellectual inquiry after truth" and an "unending spiritual quest" but that is not enough to enable one to have an exact estimation about the substantive worth of the attempt. For that, it is essential, perhaps, to know what is the purpose of writing a book of this category which has the accumulation of autobiographical material and offers nothing surprising about the external events also. The query proposed to me a two-fold answer : One, it may be the result of an earnest and ardent desire on the part of the author to have a backward glance over the bygone years to reflect on the exhilarating experiences that shaped his personality as a man and gave him and his work the power and authority. Thus, by imparting the knowledge of his life, which can be "a valuable and fascinating exercise in itself, to his reader, he makes him see that his work is no rootless flower but the speech of a man." Taken thus Karan Singh's attempt is a true autobiography : "Stylistic arrangements of experiences"

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W.B. Yeats put it.

Two, it may be the product of the fact that the author is "making a case" to convey the message which is either partially understood or misunderstood. In that case a reader may hastily decide to accept the book if he approves of the case or may reject it if he disapproves of it. Nevertheless, for an apolitical reader the book stands on its own merit and has its own truthfulness. One can enjoy reading it more if one adopts one of the dicta of D.H. Lawrence that "Never trust the teller, but trust the tale"

EARLY YEARS

Heir Apparent presents a carefully poised self-portrait amidst the turbulent changes that caused turmoil and trauma once but add animation and excitement to Karan Singh's "Odyssey" that began with the birth of the prince, son of handsome Maharaja Sir Hari Singh and his young Maharani. The people of the State received the news with such a "delirious wave of enthusiasm" that it rejuvenates in Karan Singh a renewed sense of love and dedication to them. He goes further however and probes into the recesses of his mind that store some of the painful experiences of his early days: "At the age of three I was taken away from my mother and an independent establishment set up for me in separate houses, at Srinagar in summer and Jammu in winter. I was allowed to see my mother every day for only one hour, and my father thrice a week. This was obviously not an ideal family environment, and it flowed from a deep incompatibility between my parents... This psychological and emotional imbalance led to a good deal of tension and mutual conflict."

The author's relationship with his mother, who was a pretty elegant and warm individual, finds an eloquent expression while his relationship with his father, who was an excellent sportsman and meticulous planner comes across as being on the whole strained. He recollects his "un-Christian moods" rather frequently and adds: "There was a brief period when it might have flowered, but destiny and

inexorable thrust of history intervened to thwart this.

Karan Singh provides a detailed account of his early education under the supervision of English tutors. He joined the Cathedral High School in Bombay in 1940 but actually it was Doon School, which was the crucial transition for him from the feudal to the democratic life style. It was his first step out of "the self-contained world" which created in him "social awareness", something that hardly comes naturally to princes and kings. He openly admits: "It was only after being exposed to the grim surroundings of Doon School that I began to appreciate the quiet elegance and beauty of our houses which I had thus far taken for granted."

As a homesick, sensitive lad his "only regret is that because of my father's strictness and the absence of an outstanding housemaster, I did not have any strong figure upon whom I could rely during these formative years, someone who might have filled the inner vacuum of uneasy insecurity that afflicted me." Still, being a "prolific reader" he did well in his studies and the intellectual grounding at Doon School proved to be "valuable training in self-reliance which stood me in good stead for the rest of my life."

FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

Karan Singh acknowledges with gratitude the formative influence of his professors, teachers, his mother's Guru, Swami Sant Dev, and Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders of the liberation movement. Above all, it seems that his own progressive thoughts made him critical of the feudal system which fails utterly to comprehend "the historical dimensions of the changes." When in his teens, even he fell under its "corrosive influence" for a short while. Under these not altogether happy circumstances, he developed pain in the right hip which led to intense sufferings and "a stiff hip for the rest of my life." From this juncture onwards the life never remains what it used to be; His personal misery and chaotic socio-political scenario made him restive

and coaxed him to break away from his immediate surroundings.

He says : "If only I had been ten years older, I felt, I could have changed history. But if I had been ten years older, might I also not have fallen victim to the feudal virus?" His young imagination was charmed by the Mountbattens. At the same he was horrified by brutal events like the infamous tribal invasion of Jammu and Kashmir on October 25, 1947 : "Death and destruction were fast approaching Srinagar, our swing world had collapsed around us, the wheels of destiny had turned full circle." Consequently, the royal family had to shift to Jammu (an episode quoted later on by Sheikh Abdullah to exploit the public sentiment against the Maharaja), and "we had only our faith in God to sustain us." One of the remarkable features of Karan Singh's personality as revealed in the autobiography is his unflinching faith in God—God of the Hindu mythology with magnificent ritualistic traditions.

GROWING UP

When the young Yuvraj was taken to U.S.A. for the treatment for special surgery under Wilson; he was simply astonished by the freshness and informality of the whole atmosphere. In brief, it proved to be the most exhilarating experience for him that liberated him from the conventional atmosphere; it helped him grow despite his confinement to bed. His love of music—a sustaining passion in him—theatre and travelling made his stay in the new land a memorable one. To his utter confusion, the grim welcome on returning home due to the political conditions beguiled his hopes. The old bitterness between Dogras and Kashmiris surfaced seriously to the great disadvantage of the Maharaja and to the unexpected gain for Sheikh Abdullah. Karan Singh admits dispassionately that his father's "mood-cum-impulse" decisions which had grave personal and political implications, spoiled the situation more than once. One such instance is when his father broke the engagement of the Yuvraj with the Ratlam Princess and got him engaged to Nepalese princes with-

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out his prior consent. Karan Singh's remarks on the situation reveal his remarkable sense of commitment and justice.

The current political events unsettled not only the land but the future of the prince also. To settle the Kashmir dispute there was proposal for a plebiscite which caused ideological conflicts between "two proud and authoritarian men"—the Maharaja and the Sheikh. How confounding and forbidding the atmosphere must have been for the heir apparent who was just eighteen then, one can easily visualize. However, the great political leaders like Patel, Nehru, Rajgopalachari and even Gandhi sensed a fine wisdom in the young "agreeable, sensible lad", took him into confidence and asked the Maharaja to appoint him 'Regent'. Besides, they persuaded him to leave the state to solve the present deadlock.

UNSETTLED

Karan Singh displayed a rare clarity and presence of mind in fulfilling his newly shouldered responsibility. In the book he dilates upon his conflicts, happy and unhappy thoughts, inward anxieties and anger, into a unified pattern rather forcefully. He suffers silently for his disobedience to his father for the more demanding cause of the country, gives unquestioning obedience to his 'political guru'—Nehru, holds little regard for Abdullah, displays genuine attachment to his State and its people, expresses deep gratitude to his advisers. Only work sustained him. His fascination for the world of ideas and education made him realise that "it was not enough to be born into a high position". Interestingly enough, he passed his B.A. examination when he himself was a teenage Chancellor of Jammu and Kashmir University.

As chance would have it, he met with another accident and broke his left leg putting him "firmly back in the dumps." The agony led him to believe that "destiny was determined not to let me live a complete life." Meanwhile, two major happenings revived his spirits: First, the

independence of India, "Lying on my bed I felt a surge of happiness in becoming for the first time a citizen of sovereign, democratic India"; second, his marriage with "a lovely child-wife" on 5th March, 1950 which turned out to be a successful and happy marriage.

In the later part of his book—the deep disagreements and controversies between Karan Singh and Sheikh Abdullah occupy the centre of the stage. The former takes Sheikh to be "a traitor to his dynasty" while the latter wants time to think of himself as "a captive of his Government." On the other hand, the conflicts between the Maharaja and Nehru create a dilemma for the author who has a divided loyalty to both of them. The strength required to confront such challenges comes from within as Karan Singh observes, "an outer crisis often triggers off an inner response which may appear totally unconnected with the visible trend of events." In other words, some kind of inner development—"a strong predilection for spiritual ideas" guides him and makes him review himself objectively. Even sports like fishing and shooting, which engaged him from his childhood, are given up for their cruelty and violence. The writings of Bertrand Russell, Romain Rolland, Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Sri Aurobindo influence him greatly.

LAST ROUND

Convinced of the flux of reality that 'old' order changes yielding place to new, he chooses to accept his lot with Jawaharlal Nehru and the new India", segregates himself from the old feudal tradition personified in his father's and against whose wishes he assumes the office of "Sadar-i-Riyasat"—"the first servant of the new order." He

could put up a brave front and disregard the irritations of small causes as he had big problems to concentrate on; the issue of the complete integration of Kashmir was the most glaring problem. The rift with in the National Conference, anti-national moves by the Sheikh, which disillusioned even Nehru despite his blind support to him, made it essential that some firm, rather drastic, steps be taken to control the situation regarding Kashmir's accession to India. For that young "Sadar-i-Riyasat", "that chit of a boy" as the Sheikh called him disdainingfully, took a few trusted advisers like D.P. Dhar into confidence and ordered his dismissal. With the major event in life of the author the book ends. It was the first victim of the 22 year old Tiger over the roaring lion of Kashmir. One merely wishes that the Maharaja, who suffered intensely under political pressures and who was made to leave the State for Bombay, should have been exiled from the last page of the book too. One wishes to know about the Maharani who faced a psychological collapse" at Kasarwani. It merely confirms the irony of their fate.

In brief, *Heir Apparent* presents Karan Singh as a young man who had deep religious faith; aesthetic pursuits, competitive political and personal desires. It somehow underlines the notion that "even if we ignore politics, politics will not ignore us", it also hints that religion is man's practical necessity. The fascinating account of the national scenario, unpretentious praise of country life and country delicacies add an air of freshness to the narration and makes the reading of the book a memorable experience.

Manorama Trikha lectures in English at the Raghunath College for Girls, Meerut.

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Indian and Pak Short Stories

Prithish Nandy, Editor

Modern Indian Stories—The First Volume

pp. 140, Vikas, 1983, Rs. 45.00

Khaalid Hasan, Editor

Versions of Truth : Urdu short Stories from Pakistan

pp. 272, Vikas, 1983, Rs. 125.00

Reviewed by Ka Naa Subramanyam

There are quite a number of literary critics in India like me who believe that it is mainly in the short story that Indian literature has made impressive progress—more impressive than in longer fiction. This might be debated by others but those who admire the general Indian effort at the short story can point out to a long line of distinguished and unique practitioners right from the turn of the century. They can name for instance, writers like Rabindranath Tagore and Parasuram down to the latest tyro in Bengali, from Amrita Pritam, K S Duggal and others in Punjabi, from Prem Chand to Vatsyayan in Hindi, from Pudumaippittan and Mowni to later practitioners in Tamil, to Gangadhar Gadgil, Karoor Nilakanta Pillai, P. Padmaraju, Birendra Kumar Bhattacharya and others from various other languages like Marathi, Assamese, Malayalam etc.

The wealth of the short story in India has to be granted. But while there is no dearth of individual practitioners in each of the score and more of languages (including English) there is a great dearth of impressive anthologies of the right kind, demonstrating the wealth available. And there is also not a great amount of critical material about short story writers which might help us place them against each other in a reference scale of literary values.

While particular language anthologies subscribe to mutual admiration pacts, foregoing literary criteria, all India anthologies cutting across the language barriers and making available the consistent short story output of excellent standards has been rare enough except for a few stray, and not much publicised, instances. The Sahitya Akademi has offered us two volumes of Indian short stories but

the literary bureaucrats connected with the Akademi have to keep up with respectability and establishment and offer only the most "respected" names, some of which are not certainly respected for literary achievement but for political stature. A series of volumes selecting a hundred stories—the number is quite arbitrary—showing the wealth of the short story as it has developed in India is a great desideratum but it might be a long time yet in coming.

AIMED AT THE YOUNG

The First Volume of MODERN INDIAN STORIES as offered us by the young poet Prithish Nandy leaves us guessing in part as to his intentions. The avoidance of the word short story in preference to story might mean anything, if it does not imply a literary criterion. The short two page introduction to the ten story collection offered here tells us that "The young adult in India has rarely been exposed to the world of modern Indian writing." The emphasis on "the young adult" is an obvious sign of the times, but in literature there can be no young or old—the oldest being sometimes younger and newer than the newest. There is certainly a case for presenting the readers in India, such as we have, the many worth while writings in the languages in translation but it is not exactly a lack of translation machinery, has to be preceded by a critical machinery that is lacking in this matter of reading with taste and discrimination. Availability makes the western masterpieces more real to the readers but critical unawareness might make even what is available go generally unappreciated and suffer neglect.

The editor's emphasis on the young need not however put off the old readers of the

volume, I hope. But the question that Prithish Nandy asks "Why does the dilemma of the Count of Monte Cristo become more alive and menacingly real to the young Indian reader than the trials and tribulations of the man from Kabul?" One feels that the problem is stated much too simplistically. "Why do his sympathies reach out to Oliver Twist and David Copperfield more easily than to the young protagonist of a Nirmal Verma story or Mulk Raj Anand's Lost Child in a country fair? "The question becomes merely rhetorical and the answer all too plain. There is an abundance of critical material about the former, while we have yet to produce the critical material about the latter.

The editor goes on to say towards the conclusion of the introduction "This is not just a single anthology. It is part of a series where I hope to present the finest of modern Indian fiction and poetry. Where you will meet some of the most fascinating characters modern Indian literature has created, enjoy some of its most memorable moments of love and understanding, delight and concern, and share the joys and the hurts, the magic and the sorrows of being young and vulnerable in this land of ours. This is what the series is all about."

Indians have never given up feeling young, whatever their age. And as one of the youngs (at seventy two) I am fully competent I suppose to review the collection, even if it be aggressively aimed at the young.

RUNNING THEME

The running theme through the ten stories presented here is a sort of adolescence, immaturity, youngness. In Amrita Pritam's Gulyana's Letter a wandering Macedonian's youthful yearnings are vaguely delineated achieving a sort of romantic mood. In Ka Naa Subramanyam's The Debut we meet a young dancer at the arangeevam stumbling over a carpet which does not cover the floor and gaining assurance from the words of a "retired" dancer. In Khushwant Singh's clever little piece, the Agnostic swears to believe in God if a

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lost ball is recovered, and the ball is recovered. In Mulk Raj Anand's *The Lost Child*, the child straying away from its parents will not be satisfied with anything except by recovering its parents. The World Elsewhere by Nirmal Verma, set in London, tells of a youth trying to overcome his poverty but brought face to face with a child who wants more of something and when he comes armed, the child has left, irrecoverable to him. Rabindranath Tagore's *Cloud and Sun* is the longest story in the book and captures the essence of the poetic and romantic a la Tagore by presenting an unworldly scholar lawyer and a loving girl child who is forced to marry another but never forgets him, a usual Tagore (or is it Bengali?) situation.

Ruskin Bond's *The Cherry Tree* is a simple tale of a child planting a cherry stone and watching it grow into a tree, giving shade even to his grandfather. Satyajit Ray contributes the last story *Ratanbabu* and that Man where a person goes on holiday, discovers some one much like himself his alter ego in the same place on holiday and pushes him into the river, himself to be pushed into the river later on after a couple of days. The ninth story is by Sadat Hassan Manto (who belongs in the second volume of stories to be reviewed here but also included in this volume) by a story set in the Bombay-Pune express entitled the *Charm*; it reads without the usual complexity or humanism one associates with Manto in his most creative work; a grandpa with a mischievous imp of a grandson is worsted for a moment by the young fellow.

Summarising the stories thus baldly, I know I am doing a great injustice to the art and expression each author shows. But I wanted to show up the theme of the young which might have been in the mind of the editor. Though not one of the stories might be considered the best short story of the writer but the fact remains that each of the stories has its interest and can grip both the old and the young and their attention. The blurb, as well as the introduction, mentions Prem Chand but there is no story by Prem Chand in this volume; we might

have to wait for subsequent volumes. The story is not perhaps a form dedicated to the young only though youth and adolescence and even immaturity might form the theme of perfectly worth while stories. It might perhaps be unfair to criticise a performance not yet completed, but Pritish Nandy's criteria and selection seem to be on the whole not satisfactory. But again the editor has to work under certain handicaps in the Indian situation as adequate translations are not ready to hand for many writers and one has not the patience to go through a couple of hundred, if not twice that number, of stories to select the right ten. One has the feeling that Pritish Nandy has not worked at the first volume in the series for overlong, being in a hurry to rush to print.

Sadat Hassan Manto is a strong link between Indian short story-writers and Pakistani short story writers and the VERSIONS OF TRUTH : Urdu short stories from Pakistan contains four stories by him. The editors present a somewhat sketchy, but comprehensible, outline of the short story in Urdu, claiming parentage from Prem Chand. They outline the crushing of the progressive moment in Pakistan by the government and claim that the movement fared much better in India. Except for the days of Bhutto, there has been large pressure on short story writers to be "religious", according to the editors.

Reading the short stories themselves—the editors do not fight shy of using the term short story in this context, it should be noted—there is a large tendency towards humanistic ideas and concepts in the work of the writers represented here. Sadat Hasan Manto himself was a humanist and his stories like *It Happened in 1919* and the *New*

Constitution give ample evidence of how the common man in the street looks at things. The Reunion portrays a tragic situation in human terms In Nothing but the Truth the narrator, like the witness to current events, cannot understand why so much legal fuss is made about an unintended murder when the communal carnage in the streets is proceeding without let or hindrance all the time.

In reading a collection like this, the reviewer justly spends more time on Sadat Hasan Manto than the others, in spite of the fact that others too excel in portraying somewhat skilfully their own versions of truth. How apt the title for an anthology of short stories which really seeks to present varied and manifold versions of truth, or facets of it. Among the stories one can single out for critical appreciation in this volume comprising twentytwo stories are Ghulam Abbas's *White Man's Burden*.

Ashfaq Ahmed's *The Lost Night*, Intezar Hussain's *The Last Man*, Ghulam Abbas's *The Overcoat*, but this is only a most personal choice. The purpose of an anthology of this kind, whether the editors intend it or not, is that a few stories will be found to please every taste, and literary taste in stories might be as varied as possible. This anthology from Urdu presents a satisfactory cross-section—I have no means of knowing whether it is a representative selection in any sense of the term—it is quite a satisfactory anthology of short stories written in Urdu in Pakistan. A companion volume of Urdu short stories from India might be a good idea, if it can take shape and if the publishers think it commercially viable.

Ka Naa Subramanyam, the well known Tamil writer, currently lives in Delhi.

Our reviewers, knowledgeable and perceptive as they are, need

not be allowed to have the last word. It is for you to argue

with them. Our columns are as much open to you as to them.

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Intonation in North Indian Music

Mark Levy

Intonation in North Indian Music

pp. xii + 224, Biblia Impex, 1983, Rs. 100.00

Reviewed by M.R. Gautam

Musical experience is largely empirical in creation and performance. So at least basic musical studies would be expected to be empirically oriented. As all experience, musical experience is also integral, but it may be studied by reductionistic methods. Data for such method is collected from direct experience of course, but analysed and accommodated into the various component cross-disciplinary and intradisciplinary elements. Recourse to speculative method must be had only when experiential or observational data are not, or cannot be, precisely determined.

Indian musicologists have consis-

tently revealed familiarity and application of these principles for over two millennia. Reconciliation of theory with growing or changed usage has been uniformly the *raison d'être* for a new musical treatise. The theory of music has been explicitly distinguished as empirically biased in contradistinction to the theory of purely speculative or authoritarian disciplines. Sharngadeva has brilliantly stated such distinction (Sangeetharathnakara : VI : 335).

This attitude is conspicuously lacking in recent and contemporary musicological studies in India even in areas which afford or need

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empirical corroboration and often degenerate into speculation, conjecture or even fancy. Current musical studies have yet to attain maturity in establishing adequate method, apparatus, laboratory procedures, equipment and interpretive techniques with a handful of brilliant exceptions.

WELCOME ADDITION

The work under review is, therefore, a welcome addition to the literature on Indian music. The author is well equipped for the laboratory procedures and for the analysis and interpretation of the experimental data set forth in the book. A performing musician, trained ethnomusicologist and specially steeped in North Indian music, Mark Levy has set out to analyse recorded music of undisputed masters of Hindusthani music for variation in intonation from

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norms or theoretically standardised values in pitch in respect of well known rags in vilambit khyl.

His source material consists largely (8 out of 10) of vocal performances : solo male (Amir Khan 3) duet male (Niaz and Faiyaz 3), Khan 3, Nazakat and Ahmed Salamat Ali Khan 3) and solo female (Kishori Amonkar) Shahnai (Bismilla Khan) and Sitar (Dagar, sitar, alap) are also used. Levy's (deliberate) exclusion of thumri singers would not appear to be justified; thumri style makes as rigorous, if not more, demands on precise and even more subtle intonation and seldom permits license with intervallic values which have been peculiarly and more or less traditionally established therein.

His equipment (loop repeater, Conn strobotuner and Revox 77 taperecorders) and processing (source tape : loop repeater : variable high pass and low pass filters : strobotuner + headphone) have enabled him to reach a degree

of accuracy and sophistication which had not been attained so far in similar laboratory procedures. They are especially suited to and useful in the analysis of homophonic music in which *gamaka* plays a vital role. His laboratory procedures, manipulation and control are also adequate and admirable.

The work is in two parts : the first consisting of four chapters, endeavours to set forth the 'theoretical' considerations : intonation theories posited by ancient and medieval Indian authors (here synonymous with shruti theories), shruti theories postulated by recent and contemporary workers and non-shruti interpretations of intonation. The second part deals with laboratory procedures and discussion of data. Each chapter presents its subject matter in clearly demarcated divisions of statement or exposition, discussion and summary and is provided with notes. The work concludes with a useful general summary. The appendices

include notes on transliteration, transcriptions, recorded examples and also graphical representation of illustrative melodic structures as well as actual transcriptions of the source materials employed.

EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURES

Levy's experimental procedures may be employed with even more relevance and advantage to the analysis of Karnataka music wherein the problems of intonation are even more varied and interesting. As stated by the author, the materials used are too meagre to warrant any definite or broad generalizations; the work should be therefore regarded as a pioneer of its kind. The approach and conclusions suffer from a few methodological shortcomings: The first part of the work is really irrelevant to the main study; for, the shruti of ancient and medieval texts is a model with purely theoretical functions and its contribution to intonation is little or nothing. The value of the shruti model in Indian

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musical theory lies in its conceptual frame work rather than in its acoustical or mathematical contribution.

The author has relied upon English translations of Samskritic rather than musicological scholarship, which has resulted in numerous approximations and errors. The work contains an impressive array of textual authorities but misses out discussion on two aspects of the study which are central to the main study viz. musicality of the svara in relation to microtonality and svara in relation to *gamaka*. The contention that shruti or svara is a discrete entity is inadmissible in Indian musical (traditional) theory which considers musical sound as a continuum and svara as a range.

The concept of shuddha in svara classification under-went a metamorphosis in textual tradition in about the 17th century in Hindusthani music. Therefore the ascription of numerical ratios to 2, 3 and 4 shruti intervals is anachronistic in the context of early musical theory. The mass of data collected and

organized by the author in terms of intonation deviations may be accommodated in the phenomenon of distuning and in the contextual shades which a svara assumes in different melodic situations due to differences in direction, speed, displacement, intensity, accent and effect.

These are largely subjective; the particular values assumed are a matter of personal equation of the performer. Such variability makes for individuality in performance contained in a more or less objective framework or melodic contour prescribed or described (only broadly) by 'shastra'. This is recognized well by both the informed performer and speaker in Indian music. Hence the work under review must be looked upon as a major contribution to methodology rather than to the understanding of the content of Indian music.

M.R. Gautam is Vice Chancellor of Indira Kala Sangeet Vishwavidyalaya, Khairagarh.

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Das, J.P. The Magic Deer and other Stories. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. 119 p. Rs. 50.00

The fifteen short stories in the collection give a panoramic view of Modern Indian Society, its ethos and mores, and of its people in their many aspects.

Greenough, Paul R. Prosperity and Misery in Modern Bengal: The Famine of 1943-1944. Delhi, Oxford, 1982. xvii, 342 p. Rs. 115.00

Not only describes the reasons for and the consequences of the Bengal famine of 1943-1944, but also links them to an analysis of

Bengali cultural beliefs to the actual famine in the discussion of the failure of relief, the erosion and collapse of traditional social bonds, and ensuing patterns of victimisation and mortality.

Jagjit Singh. A Tale of two Peaks: IMA Expedition to Kamet and Abi Gamin-Delhi, Vision, 1982. 174 p. Rs. 100.00

Fifteen young cadets of the Indian Military Academy and six officers of the Indian Army paid a unique tribute to this great institution on its Golden Jubilee in 1982 by scaling some magnificent peaks in the Garhwal

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

Himalayas—Kamet (25, 447 ft.) and Abi Gamin (24, 130 ft.). The book tells the story of this noteworthy double.

Kananaikil, Jose, ed. Scheduled Castes and the Struggle Against Inequality. Strategies to Empower the Marginalised. Delhi, Indian Social Institute, 1983. vii, 162 p. Rs. 25.00

Untouchability and law, caste and class, the reservation policy, the religious factor and the problem of Scheduled caste women are some of the problems examined from different theoretical perspectives and in the light of research findings in different areas.

Rustomji, M.K. and Sapre, S.A. Art of Management. Delhi, Macmillan, 1983. 192 p. Rs. 20.00

A pioneering work that presents the essentials of management in a lucid, down to earth, style.

Shonrie Arun. Mrs. Gandhi's Second Reign. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. xi, 532 p. Rs. 150.00

Brings together Shourie's analysis of how the nemesis of Mrs. Gandhi's style of politics has caught up with her and how her subalterns—including the opposition—have helped sap her as well as the Indian State.

Singh, M.P. Crime and Delinquency: The Problems of Youth in Contemporary Society. Delhi, UDH Publishers & Distributors, 1983. xii, 87 p. Rs. 75.00

Attempts to highlight the crime and delinquency and status offenses controversy by examining the pros and cons of it in its historical, philosophical and sociological and legal perspectives.

Outstanding Publications

FIVE STORMY YEARS : Savarkar in London 1906-1911
by Harindra Srivastava

There is surely something extremely fascinating, inspiring and even romantic about the life and deeds of Swatantryaveer Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Even the overfertile fancy of a fiction writer cannot fabricate a more fantastic fable than the unadorned truth of Savarkar's life, as he actually lived it. The 5 eventful years (June 1906-1911) which Savarkar spent in the proverbial 'Two Cities' of London and Paris and Indian Jails make an epoch which has not yet been subjected to close historical investigation. The book is an attempt, and perhaps the first of its kind, to give an incisive account of Savarkar's turbulent career in England and France.

To accomplish the enormous task, the author took up extensive tours of Maharashtra, Andamans, England and other European countries. This has surely brought forth some startling revelations on a man who was, as his first biographer Chitragupta (Chakravarti Rajagopalachari) put it "...a prince among patriots, a Burke among politicians, a Machiavelli among diplomats, a genius among writers...a happy warrior who knew no defeat, showed no regrets and made no compromise."

To be published in June 1983.

Also Available

MAHATMA GANDHI—His Life and Influence
by C. Kumar & M. Puri, Rs. 80.00

GOVIND BALLABH PANT—His Life and Times
by M. Chalapathi Rau, Rs. 125.00.

THE DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHICAL QUOTATION OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN SUBJECTS
edited by J. Wintle & R. Kenin, Rs. 125.00.

SHEER ANECDOTAGE : Leaves From A Reporter's Diary
by D.R. Mankékar, Rs. 60.00

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Indian Book Chronicle
1/26, Sarva Priya Vihar
NEW DELHI-110016
Telephone : 654461

EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH

Knowledge : Imported and Indigenous

By virtue of her size and legacy, India has emerged as a major centre of scholarly and scientific activity in the Third world. After USA and UK, the largest number of books published in English in the world are published in India. The reading public in India is so large and the number of students studying at the various levels is so numerous that it could not have been otherwise.

While this is gratifying, the situation on the ground level cannot be said to be satisfactory. The principal reason for it is the fact that while India has ceased to be a colony in the political and economic sense, in the intellectual sense it is still very much of a colony. Most of the knowledge is produced elsewhere and imported into India. In the economic field, India is much more self reliant than she used to be till a few decades ago. However, in the intellectual field the situation is far less satisfactory than it could have been.

The two obvious reasons for this state of affairs are the neocolonial hangover from which the vast majority of the educated public suffer, and, no less important than the first reason, the utter absence of an intellectual perspective on the part of those who are vested with the power to frame and execute policies. Both these reasons interact with each other and have by now produced a situation where India is being priced out of knowledge. The inflation of the seventies has been such a marked phenomenon of daily life that its ravages could not but be felt even in the intellectual and academic fields. A decade ago, one could walk into a bookshop and if something caught one's fancy one could buy a couple of books. The price of an average paperback at that time was around Rs .15/. By now the average price of an imported paperback is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 50/. The price of a book in hard covers is invariably more than Rs. 100/. In consequence, those who are genuinely interested in books feel both thwarted and frustrated.

In such a situation the obvious alternative is to turn to a library. But libraries too are feeling the pinch of inflationary pressures. The prices of books have been escalating over the years whereas library budgets have been unable to keep pace with the rise in prices. As if this was not bad enough, the number of libraries to which the general public has access is not particularly large. Moreover, very few of them are properly serviced. The upshot therefore is that those who are interested in books find it more and more difficult to have access to them.

What is said about the general public is even more applicable to academic libraries. While the number of students has been increasing, the outlay on purchase of books has not been keeping pace. Some 4-5 years ago, (with the beginning of the Sixth Plan) there was a severe cut in library budgets. It is only now that libraries are beginning to recover their balance somewhat. There is no certainty as to what will happen tomorrow and this in turn has thrown local publishing also out of gear.

The point at issue however is not the situation in local publishing but the situation in respect of access to knowledge whether at the general

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level or at the scholarly and scientific level. With a very small percentage of knowledge being generated within the country, India has no choice except to turn to knowledge being generated elsewhere. The primacy of English within the country makes India unavoidably dependent on the USA and U.K. In any case 40% of the books being published in the world today are being published in English. From that point of view the situation in India may be said to be favourable rather than unfavourable.

It was favourable till the beginning of the seventies in so far as books and journals could be imported into India relatively easily and the prices were within the reach of an average reader as also the libraries, both public and academic. As the decade advanced, the situation became more and more unfavourable. In concrete terms, what happens is somewhat like this.

When a new book is published, the decision to import that book is not made by the reader who does not generally know that a particular book has been published but by the importer or the bookseller. If in their judgement 25 copies of a particular title would be sold, they would import 10-12 copies. This is for the reason that even one or two unsold copies would mean a substantial amount of capital getting locked up. The booksellers are interested in quick turnover. This can be done best of all by creating a situation of scarcity. If 25 copies are likely to sell and half the number are imported, they would get sold within a week. This would ensure the quick turnover that they wish to have. This is precisely what suits them from the commercial point of view. Consequently unless an alert reader is in the habit of visiting bookshops every couple of weeks he is likely to miss several of the titles in which he would be interested.

One need not feel unduly upset at this situation. Booksellers are there to sell their books and make profit. If this is how they can make profit they would do it, whether anyone likes it or not. There is another aspect of the problem however which too is connected with inflationary pressures and that has virtually destroyed book trade in India as it existed even a quarter century ago. Stocking of books is becoming more and more expensive in USA and UK. Therefore most of the publishers usually liquidate their stocks within two years. In simple words, if a title gets sold out within the first year or so, well and good; otherwise it is likely to be sold at throwaway prices a little later.

This phenomenon which became a marked feature of the book trade in those countries about 15 years ago has proved to be a boon for those enterprising Indian importers who could manage to buy these remainders sometimes at 5% or 10% of the original price. Instances are not unknown where a book has been bought in the foreign market at half a dollar and exported to India at five dollars and sold here at eight or nine dollars while the original price of the title was say twentyfive dollars. While it is difficult to quantify, it would be no exaggeration to say that between one-fourth and one-third of the books imported into India fall under this category.

One can refer to a number of other difficulties as well. Most of them stem from the fact that knowledge is generated elsewhere and imported into India. This is only another way of saying that our universities and research institutes should perform better. The moment one says this, it becomes immediately clear that one has bitten off more than one can chew. To make the universities function as seats of higher learning is a task bristling with extraordinary difficulties. In any event so many factors enter into the functioning of universities that no single step will take care of the total situation.

But there is one aspect of the problem which has not yet been given much attention, and that is the catalytic role of publishing in generating and disseminating new knowledge. Publishers by themselves cannot do anything to generate new knowledge but they can certainly act as a pressure group in the desirable sense of the word. To take a hypothetical situation, once a scholar or a teacher agrees to write a book about something, the publisher usually follows up the matter with him provided he feels that

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the sales would be brisk and he would have good return. This is something which no other agency can or will do. It is in this sense that the generation of knowledge (represented by universities and research institutes) and the dissemination of knowledge (represented by publishers and booksellers) can act and react on each other. The reading public can be reached only through publishing and the reading public in turn exerts an upward pull upon the author. The world of scholarship and the world of publishing are so inextricably bound with each other that it could not be otherwise.

This interpenetration of two mutually supporting forces in favour of intellectual self reliance raises several other issues. Each one of them can be dealt with separately and in its own right. The point to ponder over here is that with prices escalating as they are and the bulk of knowledge having to be imported from outside, a situation is fast developing where except for those who have special resources at their command (for instance, being able to go abroad) either knowledge will become more and more inaccessible to those based in India or only a watered down version of it will be available to the bulk of the people. We already see evidence of it in some third rate publishing that goes on in the country.

Our failure so far to have a National Book Policy should be seen in this context therefore. In regard to universities, we have defaulted in so far as we have failed to even implement the policies that we laid down. But the relevant structures are there—the UGC, the ICAR, the Indian Medical Council etc. for instance. In regard to publishing, even the necessary structures are not there. We only have a pretence of them. This may be owing to bureaucratic indifference or worse. An equally important explanation is also the fact that so far we have not given the importance that we ought to give to publishing and what it can achieve by way of generating and disseminating knowledge.

—Editor

(Courtesy, the Times of India)

Creating Knowledge : the Monopoly Mode

Budd Hall, Arthur Gillette & Rajesh Tandon, Editors
Creating Knowledge : A Monopoly ?

pp. x + 209, Society for Participatory Research in Asia, New Delhi, 1982,

Price not mentioned

Reviewed by Mani Bhushan Prasad

Anyone engaged in social science research for the purpose of understanding the dynamics of development and thereby, in one's own way, help the process of social change to take place knows this to be a rather difficult endeavour. A researcher's concern with the development processes and social change makes him face a number of questions such as what is social science research, what are its goals and methodologies, to what extent social science research has contributed to creation of information (and knowledge) about the social realities existing in different parts of the world and attempts at providing solutions to the problems faced by the people, what are the strategies of intervention programme to ameliorate the predicaments of people, should there be support for social science research purely for the sake of generating social facts and theories, etc.

The positivistic stance also treated too much of concern for methodologies to be adopted in research and the social scientists were deemed to be 'value free' persons who attempt to hold an objective approach to the conduct of the total business of research. Left oriented researchers raised many questions including social relevance of research; the motto was to disparage 'research for research sake' because the social scientist—unlike the natural scientists—could ill afford to use public money for 'pure research' at least in the developing world. Needless to say, even the so-called applied research of the social scientists could hardly move beyond the selection of problems of research which was meaningfully related to the lives of people on whom the research was conducted, yet it hardly left the old domain of 'theoretical' or 'academic' research.

POLICY RESEARCH

Even policy research remained away from people for whom the effort was made. At this point, we have to keep ourselves away from the different aspects involved in the implementation of different research findings. Even good applied research findings gather dust on the shelves of libraries, they hardly get attention of those who undertake to put research findings through legislation or those who have ultimately to implement the findings,—the latter need not necessarily be administrators or social workers but at times are social scientists themselves who find it difficult to put into action what has been researched.

This had led to dialogues between the researchers, on the one hand, and the 'users of research', on the other. Research findings are still 'external' to the people for whom the research was done. To some researchers, 'action research' was an answer to many of the limitations of 'pure' and 'applied' research, wherein even an activist of a particular right or left political orientation could generate 'information' during the period of research and, at the same time, be pragmatic enough to attempt to implement some of the findings of research.

The social scientist thus, at times, was seen to operate in the rural and urban areas such as in the hospitals, schools, government offices, higher academic institutions, farms, business organizations etc. in order to implement some of the research findings. All these helped to promote growth, development and social change. Interventions, short- or long-lived, were planned for change which led to varied amount of success. The story was not always happy. The data even on failure of interventions as evaluative studies were also part of the social

science reserve. No doubt knowledge was being created, if not for the people but for the scientist,—a special kind of elite who was charged to be bookish, theoretical, out-of-touch-with-reality, a dreamer, and at times one who hardly had enough knowledge. The activists of different hues and the people—the objects of research—got disillusioned about the possibilities of social science and social scientists coming as means and agents of social change to really bring about change in their life situations.

UNBRIDGEABLE GAP

This was specially true of those social scientists who were intimately engaged in the processes of research for economic development and social change. The gap between the social scientists and the people seemed unbridgeable. The people—which include the common man, the activists, the administrators, the legislators, etc.—found it difficult to understand the language of the social scientists, their methodologies, their perception of social realities and their strategies about social change. In short, to many the social science and its findings were irrelevant. They thought that social science creates 'gimmicks' and the social scientists live in their 'ivory towers' of 'theory, method and implications.' It seemed, as if, alienation between the social scientists and the people was complete, each group wondering what the other was. The elitists among the social scientists stuck to their guns and continued with their research activities and thereby furthered the process of alienation.

It is at this point that the movement for 'participatory research in development' was started and the monograph of Budd Hall, Arthur Gillette and Rajesh Tandon (editors) comes almost as fresh air in social science where the purpose of research, the personnel of research as also the methodologies of research, the process of research and its evaluation etc. are redefined. Participatory research is neither new nor the panacea of all ills of the social sciences. It is not merely an

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'action research' of the usual variety, as I have understood it by going through five theory papers (Part I) by Budd Hall, Paulo Freire, de Oliveras, Pilsworth and Ruddock, and Tandon, seven application papers (Part II) by Colletta, Le Burn, Swantz, Fordham et al. Vio Grossi, James Draper, Kalpana Tandon and Kawaljit Singh and an evaluation of participatory research attempts (Part III) by Dave Brown.

NEW BABY

The idea of participatory research is still in the making and one may get the feeling that it is a 'new baby' of the social science and therefore should not be taken seriously. In fact, the experiments carried out in different parts of the world (such as Indonesia, Senegal, Tanzania, England, Chile, Canada and India, etc.) strongly support the case of participatory research for facilitating the process of development as an alternative to prevalent social science research. A beautiful summary of ambiguities involved in participatory research by L. Dave Brown concerning multiple objectives (i.e. creating knowledge, awareness, or social change) of participatory research, clarity of the different roles of researchers and participants to create relationships for productive discussion, ambiguities in relation to the use of traditional social science methodologies and innovation of new methodology, ambiguities in relation to the outcomes of such research endeavours which may be full of risks leading sometimes even to imprisonment of the researchers etc. led him to conclude, 'Participatory research is a concept of inquiry whose time has come. The diversity of perspectives and the variety of experiences reported in this volume bear witness to the world-wide relevance of the concept...' (p. 209).

The ambiguities involved in participatory research for development are both its merit and its shortcoming. For one thing, it is difficult to say what it exactly is if one goes through the papers of the present volume. The very lack of

finality in its approach suggests the diversity of options available and one is not limited to use the positivistic approach in data collection. One can be flexible enough to evaluate what the social reality is in the eyes of both the researchers and the target group (s) and how to go about it. Briefly, to the participatory researchers, creation of knowledge is not the privilege of the social scientists alone but one gets a partner in this endeavour by involving those who form the target group (s) of people. This leads to a dialogue between the researcher (s) and the target group (s).

GROUP TECHNOLOGIES

The employment of group technologies already existing in the

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traditional social science come handy at this stage. Social scientists who engage themselves in organisation development (OD) programmes will find a striking similarity at this stage with the approach of participatory researchers. The activists who care to know the social realities by living for long durations in different areas do more or less the same thing; the missionaries are already doing it. The difference, however, is that whereas activists and missionary personnel are interested in bringing about social change through adult education, health care programmes, family planning, agricultural innovation acceptance programmes etc. and try to involve the people in the programme by creating 'internal change agents' at a later stage of endeavour, the participatory researchers, the activists

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dry researcher takes both the 'research-business' and 'social-change-effects' rather seriously and would prefer an 'attitude change' and 'change in behaviour patterns' of the social scientists.

First, he should not be 'value-free' *a la Max Weber*. Second, like Paulo Freire (chapter 2) one would plead with him to be a 'militant observer' (chapter 3) as Rosica and Miguel de Oliveras would plead and take people, so far taken as objects of research, not as 'respondents' but as 'persons' as Pilsworth and Ruddock (chapter 4) advocate. The knowledge thus created will not be the monopoly of the detached researcher as was the case in the past, but will be a joint endeavour of the researchers and the people (i.e. participants of research), as Rajesh Tandon (chapter 5) would like to say. All these have been nicely presented by Budd Hall (chapter 1) and Hall, Gillette and Tandon in the introductory remarks (pp. 3-12).

ACTION RESEARCH

What this would mean is that even Tribal Communities, as James Draper reports (chapter 11), could claim funds for doing research for achieving quality education in North Canada independent of the involvement of a University Professor,—unfortunately, the funds would come through the latter only. Many a time the aim of participatory research may not be research itself, as was pointed out by Kalpana Tandon and Kawaljit Singh (chapter 12) regarding the attempts of agriculture farm workers' union of agricultural labourers in Punjab to see that the Minimum Wages Act of 1947 (GOI) is properly implemented and the research conducted on that experience was incidental, but the authors of the article surmise that the agricultural workers would have been served better had they kept priorities of research in their minds clearly. A critical evaluation of the traditional methods of research, e.g., surveys, questionnaires, interviews and action research etc. (chapters 1, 3 and 4) would not only open up the doors of innovation but would make the

social scientist realize the 'house of cards' that he has built for himself, at least in relation to development efforts, and the way he has secluded himself from society.

Thus, to the participatory researchers Pilsworth and Ruddock: "... 'action research' is the bogey of the academic system, which shrinks from the prospect of uncontrolled variables... in research and academic work generally the point is not to understand the world but to change it... If a good result follows an act of intervention, he is ready to assume a causal connection between the two..." (p.73). The knowledge and understanding here is for both the parties, however.

In a series of papers on the role of adult education in development in Indonesia (Colletta, chapter 6), Senegal (LeBurn, chapter 7), Tanzania (Swartz, chapter 8), England (Fordham et al., chapter 9), and Chile (Vio Grossi, chapter 10) the participatory research effort tends to show the maturity that it is gaining which convincingly proves that even traditional social scientists when turned into participatory researchers gain new insights into the findings of a research investigated jointly. Further, the evaluative studies are built into the design of such research efforts. All the papers of the volume are well written and are presented with forceful arguments. The paper of Fordham et al. is bigger in length and is a good example of combination of both the traditional and participatory research approaches dealing with the role of adult education in a municipal housing estate in England. A vivid view of what participatory research could be in the changing political climate of Chile in the early seventies is provided by Vio: first, the success of the Talco Peasant School in educating poor Chileans is recorded and, second, the researchers and peasants from the school were imprisoned after the overthrow of the Allende regime is also reported.

DEVELOPMENT EFFORT

The participatory researchers, in a way, are related to the deve-

lopment efforts only, all over the world. Their research-orientation is sociologically biased and the technique of reporting is close to anthropology and sociology and can even be said to be journalistic. The high-brow attitudes of the academic researchers can lead to condemnation of such efforts but that will be an aside to the efforts that Budd et al. represent. The participatory researchers are, as it appears to me, behavioural scientists who take research as an activist to ameliorate the conditions of the oppressed. Such scientists go beyond the positivistic approach and are a new generation of humanitarian social scientists which deserve attention. It would have been, therefore, useful on the part of the editors of this monograph to get a paper at least from Carl Rogers, an octogenarian, whose efforts are very similar to Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

Some behavioural scientists in U.S., England, the Netherlands etc. have developed group intervention strategies which form the base of participatory research. Inclusion of a few such contributions would have made the book, theoretically speaking, more sound. The publication of the book is good, the numerous cartoons are insightful critique on the present social science research. The printing of the book needed much more care than is evident from the spelling mistakes and other technical defects. The book is a must for any social science library. Students of education, management and different branches of social sciences will get a new perspective on research which will be worth the price of the book.

Mani Bhushan Prasad is Reader in Psychology at the A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna.

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The Saga of Netaji

Hari Hara Das

Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Movement

pp. 416, Sterling, 1983, Rs. 175.00

Reviewed by V.J. Sabherwal

When I think of Subhas Bose many impressions and episodes from his crowded life float into my memory. My mind goes back to the year 1938 when the fifty-first Congress session was held at Haripura, a tiny village on the banks of the river Tapti. It was the first Congress session after the party had come to power in the provinces in 1937, and the Congress bosses decided to celebrate the occasion in a right royal fashion. Overnight Haripura was turned into a big township with a network of new roads, electricity, a huge dairy, special water-works and a kitchen that catered for thousands of people. Subhas Bose, the president-elect of the session, travelled from Calcutta in a specially decorated railway compartment with a large retinue of

friends and relatives. On the way-side it was roses, roses all the way to Haripura with thousands lining up all along for the darshan.

THE YOUNG FIREBRAND

It was after the A.I.C.C. session held in Calcutta in October, 1937, that Gandhi had decided that Subhas should succeed Nehru as president of the Congress. In theory Congress presidents were elected by the members of the All-India Congress Committee; in practice they were chosen by Gandhi and whoever he picked was elected. Gradually after the death of his mentor, C.R. Das, in 1925 Bose had grown into an immense public figure, almost as popular as Nehru and in Bengal at least far ahead of

Nehru. Gandhi had been closely watching his progress and his growing influence among the young, then decided to rope him in by the irresistible attraction of Congress gaddi. It had worked well with the fiery and rebellious Nehru; it might work with the younger firebrand too.

But despite his remarkable shrewdness the Mahatma had bitten more than he could chew. The leopard did not change his spots and on many occasions Bose refused to tow Gandhi's line. Even as early as 1928, while welcoming the delegates to the third All-India Youth Congress in Calcutta, Bose had had his dig at the two philosophies ruling in India at that time—the school of Sabarmati presided over by Gandhi and the school of Pondicherry presided over by Aurobindo. He had said,

"The actual effect of the propaganda carried on by the Sabarmati school is to create a feeling and impression that modernism is bad, large scale

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This is an ambitious and handsome undertaking, carried out with authority and taste. What most sets it apart is the patient artistry of the translations. They have often pleased my ear...and it is rare kind of pleasure.

—Robert Fitzgerald

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production is evil, wants should not be increased and standards of living should not be raised, that we must endeavour to the best of our ability to go back to the days of the bullock cart and that the soul is so important that physical culture and military training could well be ignored. The actual effect of the propaganda carried on by the Pondicherry school of thought is to create a feeling and an impression that there is nothing higher or nobler than peaceful contemplation."

Naturally this kind of man was not quite the right caste for the Congress Brahmans, just as an uncastrated man is not fit enough for the ruling Congress today.

TRAINING THE REBEL

Bose's year as President was, therefore, marked by constant wrangling with his pro-Gandhi working Committee and by suspicion and hostility by Gandhi himself. It was now clear to Gandhi that his methods, which had worked so well with Nehru, had failed with Bose. The rebel had not been tamed and therefore it was time now to show him his place.

When Subhas Bose announced his candidature for the Congress presidency for a second term in 1939, Gandhi put up Pattabhi Sitaramayya against him. On January 29, 1939 Bose was declared elected by 1580 votes against Sitaramayya's 1377. Gandhi took Sitaramayya's defeat as a personal blow and in a statement soon after, he said :

"I must confess that from the very beginning I was decidedly against his re-election for reasons into which I need not go. I do not subscribe to his facts or the arguments in his manifesto... Nevertheless, I am glad of his victory; and since I was instrumental in inducing Dr. Pattabhi not to withdraw his name as a candidate when Maulana Sahib withdrew, the defeat is more mine than his." Ritual post-election ceremonies apart, neither Gandhi nor his pre-

torium guard were the least happy about Bose's election. Just before the Tripuri session, over which an ailing and beleaguered Bose was to preside. Gandhi began a fast to death at Rajkot over a footling dispute that he had picked-up with the state of Rajkot and its dewan. Immediately the focus all over India shifted from Tripuri to Rajkot and, although a little later Gandhi washed his hands of the whole dispute, to the discerning few it did provide a lesson or two in stage-management. One irrelevant consequence of this whole show was that Darbar Virawalla, an obscure dewan of Rajkot, walked quite inadvertently into immortality without paying a dime for it. That today forty-four years after the event I remember his name without any reference to any record is proof enough of this.

OUSTING SUBHAS BOSE

Bose's victory was the defeat of the Congress machine which was controlled by Patel and party and they all now moved in to oust him by internal sabotage. They refused to serve with him and even four months after the presidential election Bose was unable to form his Working Committee. At the A.I.C.C. session held in Calcutta in late April, 1939 out of sheer desperation Bose resigned and Rajendra Prasad assumed the presidency.

Before the final parting of ways Nehru tried to intervene and he wrote to Gandhi : "I think now, as I thought in Delhi, that you should accept Subhas as President. To try to push him out seems to me to be an exceedingly wrong step." But in the matter of his differences with Gandhi Nehru never went beyond such high-sounding verbal protests. He knew his man, and he also knew that the machine that had thrown Subhas Bose out could also throw him out. Indeed when Gandhi's minatory finger was up he always managed to limp back to his allotted square.

Referring to Gandhi's role in the ousting of Subhas Bose, Hiren Mukherjee writes : "It was one of the extremely few occasions when the great man, so cool and collected in his dignity, seemed small and

peevish." (Hiren Mukherjee, "The Gentle Colossus"). Michael Edwards, the historian, writing about the episode in his *The Last Years of British India* writes : "Gandhi, whom so many, both in India and abroad, believed to be compounded only of sweetness and light, had by the use of his overwhelming prestige and the sort of intrigue one would expect from Tammany Hall, succeeded in disposing of the only real opposition to his leadership." Michael Brecher in his *Nehru, A Political Biography* writes : "Of all the participants only Gandhi had a clear and consistent object—to oust Bose."

CLASH OF PERSONALITIES

If I have dwelt at some length on the split between Gandhi and Bose, and the manner in which Bose was ousted from the Congress. I have done so only to put the whole thing in the right perspective. In 1939 the official Congress had very persuasively built up the whole case as a matter of principle and policy between Gandhi and Bose. The post-Raj Indian Establishment has very diligently pursued the same line. But the fact of the matter is that it was more a case of clash of personalities than of principles. Not that there was no clash of principles; in fact there was a great deal of it. But the Gandhian umbrella was so vast and accommodating that it could provide shelter to so many heterogeneous elements. So much so that today the ancestry of almost all the major political parties and groups in India—communists, socialists, free-enterprise capitalists, Gandhian socialists—can be traced back to the old Congress.

On matters of principle and policy Nehru sometimes differed with Gandhi as sharply as Bose. But they managed to carry on amiably, even affectionately. The fact is that as a leader, and even as a man among other men, Gandhi was more allergic to persons than to principles. When he was offended at the deeper personal level, which in most of us is an irrational level, he could be as ruthless and single-minded as a predator stalking its

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prey in the jungle. At such moments he could dress up his foibles and phobias in excellent moral costumes and the "inner voice" was always at hand to proclaim the necessary authenticity. As a man of God he was sometimes forced by sinners to bring in the mills of God; and once set in motion these mills can grind very thoroughly.

POWER GAME

I was a witness both of Haripura and Tripuri, and a witness very much under the spell of Gandhi and Nehru. But even then I and thousands of others of my age and sensitivity knew, as only eyewitnesses can know, that the Rajkot fast was stage-managed to eclipse Tripuri, and Bose was hounded out of the Congress because he was a threat to Gandhi and his Congress cohorts. At the managerial level even in 1939 the Congress game was as much about power as at the public level it was about independence. Bose was thrown out of the Congress in this power game and since then he has been a very inconvenient skeleton in the Congress cupboard. It was this skeleton that compelled Gandhi and the Congress in 1945 to adopt Subhas Bose's I.N.A. as their very own. In 1939, while throwing Subhas out, Gandhi had argued, "I do not subscribe to his facts or the arguments in his manifesto". But in 1945 out of compelling political considerations the Congress pledged itself to defend the I.N.A. at the trial set up by the British. Gandhi wrote in the "Harijan", The hypnotism of the I.N.A. has cast its spell on us. Netaji's name is one to conjure with. His patriotism is second to none. His bravery shines through all his actions." As Mihir Bose has put it in his excellent biography of Subhas Bose, (*The Lost Hero*, Quartet books, London, 1982), "A party dedicated to non-violence was at last beginning to realise the usefulness of violence".

DRAB & PLODDING

All this that I have related above, and much more besides this, is there in Hari Hara Das's book.

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And yet it is so drab and plodding that neither Gandhi nor Bose, neither the actors nor the situations, register as they should. The story of the Indian National Movement under Gandhi was so very full of colour and drama, indeed sometimes breath-taking drama. It was a great saga in many ways and even today, in retrospect, it is still very fascinating. Among the people who participated in this saga Subhas Bose was a legendary figure and a superb mythmaker. It is therefore natural to expect some colour, some spot of excitement, in a book of which he is the subject. But one misses it in this book.

The author says in his Preface, "The present volume is the result of a research project" and perhaps there lies the reason for its drabness. If the creative spark is not there then there is always something deadening about research. The reason for this is that it is more of an industry than anything else. Research is an exotic plant imported from America but it has now established itself very well in the Indian academic soil. It is a necessary harbinger of increments, promotions and several other perquisites in our universities. In the due process of research a research scholar begets a thesis; and sometimes it so happens that a thesis begets a book. Then the book begets a publisher, the publisher begets a reviewer, and the reviewer begets his review and these are the generations as enumerated in the Indian Academic Bible.

SUMMING UP

The author could have taken a little more care of his English, and so could have the publishers about the printing mistakes. Speaking of Bose the author says, "The brazen outspokenness and uncompromising character of Bose led to much

uncharitable criticism". Now if a person is in the right, and if I were to defend him, I would not use the adjective "brazen" for his outspokenness. In fact when I contemplated the use of the word "brazen" think of a Bhajan Lal, of an Antulay and a whole host of others.

As for Subhas Bose I cannot do better than to quote once again from Mihir Bose :

"Through 1946 and 1947, Indian leaders bartered with the British and among themselves to produce a divided India they appeared to be constantly looking over their shoulders to reassure themselves that Bose's ghost was not, like Hamlet's father, turning into flesh and blood. The years of struggle had wearied them, they did not have the stomach for another fight and they were relieved to get what crumbs they could from the imperial table. When the Congress finally accepted the partition plan Nehru had only this consolation to offer for the sudden abandonment of a lifetimes' principles:

But of one thing I am convinced, that ultimately there will be a united and strong India. We have often to go through the valley of the shadow before we reach the sunlit mountain-tops.

It was poor comfort for the holocaust that partition produced and even today, for many Indians the sunlit mountain-tops are still obscured by shadows. Had Bose returned to India after the war he might have prevented the tragedy. He was not a tired politician ready to accept office under any terms.

V.J. Sabherwal who retired as Reader in English from Panjab University now lives in retirement at Chandigarh.

Our reviewers, knowledgeable and perceptive as they are, need not be allowed to have the last word. It is for you to argue with them. Our columns are as much open to you as to them.

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A Dissenter, Maybe

P. Penner and R.D. Maclean, Editors

The Rebel Bureaucrat : Frederick John Shore (1799-1837) as Critic of William Bentinck's

pp. 304, Chanakya Publications, 1983, Rs. 120.00

Reviewed by Rudrangshu Mukherjee

SHORE, Frederick John, born 31 May 1799 son of John, Lord Teignmouth, Governor-General of Bengal from 1793 to 1798. Educ. Harrow, Haileybury and Fort William College. Married to Mary Cornish. Served in the Bengal Civil Service as assistant to the Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, additional registrar and officiating joint magistrate of Bulandshahr, registrar and assistant to the magistrate of Saharanpur, joint magistrate Dehra Dun, acting judge and magistrate of Farrukabad and Commissioner Saugor and Nerbudda Divisions. Died in Calcutta, 1837. Distinguished campaign against rebels at Kunjah. Publications, Notes on Indian Affairs.

Thus, one imagines, would run the entry on F. J. Shore in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in the *Who's Who* or in *Burke's Peerage*. What such a potted and rather mundane biography of F. J. Shore leaves unsaid is that in many ways, in the context of the early Raj, Shore was a remarkable man. He often represented the voice of dissent within the imperialist establishment in India. He was a keen and minute observer of Indian life and customs, and a carping, if at times intemperate, critic of British policies then in the throes of its new-found civilising mission in India.

Avarice, Shore believed, was the motive force behind the Raj : "...the realization of the largest possible revenue. This has been the daily and nightly vision which has ever been present to their imagination, and which has been pursued but too often at the expense of justice, good faith and ...policy...From the chief governor to his lowest subordinate, the same principle is in action, and the same object in view" (p. 70). Governed

by such a motive the Raj "had no permanent interest in the welfare of the country" (*ibid.*). From that premise flowed Shore's many specific criticisms. Regarding land tenures and revenue policies Shore took his position against the then prevalent view influenced as it was by the spirit of Utilitarianism and Ricardo. His chief adversary here was naturally Holt Mackenzie, who, Shore felt "was mainly guided by theory but...was unfortunately deficient in that local knowledge and matter-of-fact experience, without which the fairest theories have failed" (p. 109).

According to Shore the new regulations between 1819 and 1822 had only served "to destroy all security of landed tenures" (p. 108) by raising the land-tax as high as possible and by instituting a special commission to resume rent-free lands. Shore felt that overassessment was so rampant in some of the districts of the N.W.P. that "diminution is imperative, to the amount of from five to ten, or possibly fifteen percent..." (p. 114). (It should be mentioned here that regarding overassessment many of Shore's statements approximate to the findings of present-day researches of Asiya Siddiqi, Irfan Habib or Tom Metcalf.) Shore believed in a permanent settlement of tenures and revenue (pp. 114-115) as this would lead to security and thus to agricultural improvements. Sitting in Farrukabad or Saugor, Shore, was

probably unaware that the kind of developments he was looking for by way of a permanent settlement never happened in Bengal where the experiment was tried. There security of tenures and revenues spawned a parasitic landlord class, a sprawling chain of sub-infeudation and mass of small peasantry suffering an enormous rent burden.

CLASS POSITION

Shore's support to the permanent settlement probably sprang from the view he took of the landed gentry. This view was linked to his own class position in England. Shore, after all, was supporter of the Whigs (p. 13). His racism also had a peculiar class twist to it. Upper class Indians, especially if they were landed or titled, were perfectly acceptable, but the "lower orders of natives are...like dogs" (p. 173). Indians could be compared with the English but not with the British upper classes (p. 30). Though a critic of British rule, Shore was not opposed to interference in the affairs of Indian powers. In these, Shore shared some of the common assumptions held by imperialists. He was a critic of British rule, its conscience, perhaps, pushing it to rectify itself, to develop an interest in the welfare of Indians which was the only way British rule could become permanent. In some senses he was the precursor of William Digby and the advocates of un-British rule but unlike them he was a believer in the illusion of permanence.

To scholars interested in the ideology of empire, its many strands and contradictions, Shore is a remarkable man. This book about him is a pedestrian one. All it offers is a selection from *Notes on Indian Affairs* with an editors' introduction.

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The introduction, more in the nature of an undergraduate tutorial essay, offers a summary of the contents. There is no effort at an intellectual history of empire, or an awareness that such a subject exists. Eric Stokes, Ranjit Guha, Peter Marshall or Francis Hutchins may not have written at all, as far as the editor is concerned. There is no effort to place Shore beside men like Bolts, Paull, Burke, or the anonymous author of *Dacoities in Excelsis*, who in their own time made criticisms of the Raj.

There is no effort to track down Shore's contradictions and their basis. Scholars well be well-advised to read Shore in the original and form their own judgements. To cap it all, the book is ill produced with innumerable printing errors and also has a misleading title. Shore was no rebel, a dissenter maybe, and he was also not merely a critic of Bentinck's India.

Rudrangshu Mukherjee lectures in History at the University of Calcutta.

The Approach of a Purist

Sukhwant Singh

India's Wars since Independence : Vol. III General Trends

pp. 100, Vikas, 1982, Rs. 60.00

Reviewed by P.K.S. Namboodiri

This last volume in late Gen. Sukhwant Singh's trilogy deals with three crucial aspects of Indian defence—the evolution of Indian military concepts, the military leadership and administration & logistics. There is also a brief discussion on the future prospects of the country's defences.

BRITISH LEGACY

The basic theme of the author in the first chapter on the evolution of military concepts is that nothing much has evolved in strategy and tactics of independent India's army and that our military is still suffering heavily from the hang-overs of World War II and the outdated British concepts. The British posture was essentially defensive, allowing an initial enemy advance well into one's own territory; later stemming the tide by means of natural obstacles and eventually launching a counter-offensive after long periods of preparations. The British could afford to even lose a part of the territory (if elsewhere it could be beneficially traded), since for them it was alien territory. The Indian army trained over years according to typical World War II step-by-step approach found it hard to adjust to swift battle and mobile

warfare. The result was a failure of military concepts and the resultant preparations for war.

The second chapter on leadership brings out the author's assessment of inadequacies in the personnel management sector of the military and suggests that to overcome partisan decisions, an all party national defence council be set up. The present recruitment system and the system of annual assessment based on confidential reports also need drastic changes, according to Gen. Sukhwant Singh.

In the chapter on administration & logistics, the author has noted grave shortcomings in the procurement of equipments, stockpiling policy, indigenous production practices and research and development. He has called for "rationalisation" of all aspects relating to stores by making the Master General of Ordnance (MGO) solely responsible for procurement, research, development and trial of all stores and equipment, including food and petroleum. He should also control the ordnance factories.

In the last chapter titled "What Next?" Gen. Sukhwant Singh asserts that the next war in the subcontinent will be even shorter than its predecessors. Our strategy and preparations, therefore, should

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be geared to achieve conclusive results within the tight time schedule of a short war.

CRIPPLING THE ADVERSARY

The only way to achieve our right victory in war is to cripple the adversary's war machinery so that his resistance collapses and he loses the will to fight. "This is the ideal and should form the basis of all war preparations," the General says. However, this ideal cannot be realised in modern wars, which are short and limited in nature and international political and economic pressures are so great that no nation will be allowed to go down to utter defeat.

The next best option is to secure such objectives as hurting the adversary's economy and political prestige to the extent that his capacity to wage war and his bargaining power in subsequent negotiations are seriously impaired. One indecisive war leads to another. Therefore, all our military planning and preparations should be geared to securing a "conclusive decision" in war. The shorter a war, proportionately speaking, the greater must be the superiority over the enemy to achieve a decision or be at least in a dominant position at the end of it. The sole aim of higher direction for short wars is to develop concurrently the peace time concepts and capabilities of the forces to serve our strategy and objectives in war.

A PURIST'S APPROACH

These, then, sum up the author's assessments and his views on important aspects of Indian defence. There is, indeed, immense scope for disagreement on the author's facts and analyses since they are highly opinionated, personalised and subjective. However, no one can question the sincerity, honesty and frankness of this distinguished soldier which are major assets of this book. Gen. Sukhwant Singh's was a brilliant military mind and like most professionals, he had a purist's approach.

In his military idealism, all other components of the nation's

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defence policy had little or no relevance. That is why he failed to understand Nehru's nonalignment. Krishna Menon's ideas about indigenous defence production, China's behaviour in 1962, political and economic compulsions on India to turn to the Eastern bloc for arms, and so on and so forth. That is why he ends up

in blaming every one—the political bosses, the military leaders and the entire system-like a disillusioned and desperate man and not like a mature and balanced man.

P. K. S. Namboodiri is on the staff of the Institute for Defence Studies & Analyses, New Delhi.

In Search of Meaning

Arun Joshi

The Last Labyrinth

pp. 224, Orient Paperbacks, 1982, Rs. 14.00

Reviewed by Anna Sujatha Mathai

Arun Joshi won the Sahitya Akademi's 1983 Award for his novel in English, *The Last Labyrinth*. Certainly he is one of the most absorbing and sincere novelists at work right now. However, I cannot help feeling that he got the award for the wrong novel. He should have got it earlier for his *Strange Case of Billy Biswas*, an almost Conadian novel on the magnetic call of an other-worldly, elemental civilization, in which he explored the true nature of Reality. Joshi's first novel, *The Foreigner* was also a deceptively simple story, which flowed smoothly and spontaneously, while examining questions of detachment and commitment, life and death, and giving us the alienated outsider, Indian this time.

METAPHYSICAL AWARENESS

The Last Labyrinth is an extension of this strong metaphysical awareness, a piercing sense of unseen worlds, of the many hungers that beset us—"destined as we are to cry unfulfilled to the stars". "Hunger of the body. Hunger of the spirit. You suffer from one or the other, or both". And all Joshi's characters are born by this hunger—Sindi Oberoi of *The Foreigner*, Billy Biswas, and now, Som Bhaskar, the industrialist, a typical Joshi hero.

Som Bhaskar, has become a millionaire by the time he is thirty-five. He had everything—an extraordinary wife, a fine education, a

father who had hungered to know what the First Cause was. At Harvard he had completed a paper on Pascal. He knew of Krishna and the Buddha at Somnath. He knew too that "money was dirt, a whore. So were houses, cars, carpets". Yet he has a terrible sense of emptiness, of voids within and without, and the cry of 'I want, I want' haunts him all the time. Seemingly in search of the material (some shares in this case), Som Bhaskar gets drawn into an obsolete world, decaying yet vibrant—the world of Anuradha and Aftab, and into the labyrinth of the *haveli* they inhabit.

The labyrinth becomes a metaphor for life itself—in the mazes of which we are all lost. And "at the core of that labyrinth lies Death." Anuradha herself, beautiful and scarred, becomes a symbolic being, the unattainable, the obsession which can only be realized through suffering and death. Billy Biswas knew this obsession with the unseen world, with a mystery which he pursued to the doors of death. And so does Som Bhaskar. Som's wife, Geetha, is all that a wife could be—trusting and loving—"like birds fly, like fishes swim .. (trust) radiating from her two eyes, like the beams of a lighthouse..." and yet, Som is drawn into an aching, painful, obsessive love for Anuradha.

ANURADHA

Anuradha is mystery; her terrible sufferings as a child and woman,

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the small-pox which scars her face and body—her suicidal attempts—she is life itself. All his life Som Bhaskar, the passionate romantic, has sought "something, somebody, somewhere, in which the two worlds combined." He does not find it in his wife, or in Leela Sabnis, the clever young professor, who could quote from Freud or Descartes—"Oh yes, Leela Sabnis knew a lot, even if she had experienced little and suffered even less."

Gargi, the mysterious old woman part of Anuradha's world, promises Som, racked by restlessness and haunted by voids: "God will send someone to help you—someone who has known suffering." Who but Anuradha, whose suffering has made her extraordinary, who "was like the ocean; one could never reach the bottom of her. Her mother never told her about her father. For all I knew he might have been a genius". Anuradha, whose "gaze had been forged for carrying out transactions of the soul. Looking at you like that she seemed to put her hand on your shoulder and invite you to open your heart, promising you all the while that there was nothing that would surprise her".

When Som makes love to Anuradha, he becomes citizen of another world : "The coloured light, fusing over our bodies lent them a fourth dimension, as though we coupled high above the earth, independent of time and space, like a pair of asteroids, locked in each other's gravity...We circled high above the empty cities". Later, speaking of Anuradha to a friend, Som Bhaskar says: "For many years now, I have had this awful feeling that I wanted something. But the sad thing was it did not make the slightest difference when I managed to get what I had wanted. My hunger was just as bad as ever. A year ago, I could not imagine a wish, which if fulfilled, would have made the least difference to my life. Then came Anuradha...so different from the women I had known...There was more to her than met the eye. A world spinning all by itself. I was infatuated with this mysterious world. Here was a woman, I thought, who could make a difference to me, to my

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life. The more I took of her, the more I wanted".

THE ULTIMATE SACRIFICE

At the height of the love affair, Anuradha cuts herself off. And this carries echoes of Graham Greene's *The End of the Affair* in which Sarah, (the sinner-saint, adulteress, but with a capacity for compassion which clothes her in a radiant purity lesser women may never know) gives up her lover, so that his life may be saved—the ultimate sacrifice. Anuradha too gives up her lover, Som. He goes in wild and desperate search of her; the search leads him to a mountain and it is here that he discovers Truth and also Death. Here also, he loses his great love, Anuradha—a vision which will forever haunt him.

The love story, which is central in *The Last Labyrinth* is extremely moving, and profound in its implications. However, the excessive symbolism of the story tends to weigh it down. The characters tend

to stay shadowy and unreal abstractions (except for Som's defeated passion which is very real) and Aftab is positively seedy. The symbol of the *haveli* is taken over by the climbing of the mountain—the hill of the lepers (here again is the idea of truth and beauty lying at the heart of deformity). The symbols become rather laboured, the story too complicated and self-conscious, and this is where the weakness of the novel lies, yet also its somewhat sick fascination. Azizun, Aftab's mistress had sung of love and life in the *haveli*

LYRICAL

Joshi writes lyrically of the song: "It reminded you of that core of loneliness around which all of us are built. It might have emerged from the slums of Benaras but centuries had gone into its perfection. It rode the night like a searchlight, lighting up the ruins of an ancient abandoned city with which I too was familiar. All my life, at intervals, I, too, had flown across its blacked out

skies, flapping, my weary wings, not able, for all the striving to chart a course".

And now upon the mountain, there is the chant of the priest, which "rose on the still air, each syllable carved out of stone like the notes of Azizun's songs. And if her songs had delineated all of life's possibilities, these hymns outlined those of death". Death and Desire walk side by side in the novel. Gargi, the simple mystic, puts it well: "We are like children trying to reach upto a crack in the door to peep into a room." "One had probably to rise up to the crack by oneself" muses Bhaskar.

And on the mountain there is this beautiful memory of Tolstoy's Prince Andrew. Som Bhaskar lies down by the stream"...the vast canopy of the sky suddenly appeared as though I had never seen it before. I was reminded of Prince Andrew, knocked down like a dummy without firing a shot.—Lying in the mud, canon balls flying over him, he had stared at the vast cosmic

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INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

June 16, 1983

impersonal dome of the sky and had wondered: "My God, where have I been all these years? Why have I never looked at the sky before?"

In spite of the rather distracting and loaded symbolism, and the fact that Joshi appears, at times, to use his characters like pawns-to probe the mysteries of existence—and the possibilities of the chess-board : "God is like having a third king in a game of chess". In spite of these flaws, Arun Joshi's agonized quest

for the world of spirit, carries us along like a rushing river. His novels move always at different levels, simply telling a story, piercing the cold mask of reality, walking the tight-rope between life and death, and reiterating the truth of a poem I have almost forgotten: "To really live is to almost die".

Anna Sujatha Mathai is a Delhi-based writer and poet.

Reflections on the Executive world

Peter F. Drucker

The Changing World of the Executive

pp. xiv + 271, Allied, 1982, Rs. 60.00

Reviewed by R.K. Gupta

During the last three decades no author has influenced the thinking of practising managers as much as Peter Drucker. No wonder both academicians and businessmen always look forward to what he has to say on the present and future of business, especially in the USA. Here is a collection of articles by Drucker which appeared in the Wall Street Journal from mid-seventies to 1981.

The task of the reviewer has been made rather difficult by the variety of subjects.

Through several articles Drucker has drawn one's attention to the changing composition of the labour force in the USA and consequently to the problem of industrial wages and to the suitability of jobs for more knowledgeable workers.

The changes in the labour force not only affect the wages and jobs, they also change the demand characteristics for various products. For example, the wife's earnings being considered extra, young couples go in for expensive cars.

The retired people, whose number is likely to grow to 40 million, 25 million among them being affluent, are not just customers for hearing aids or wheelchairs but also for such things as vacations, recreation vehicles and prepared

HIGH TECHNOLOGY

In a few articles Drucker has dwelt on the heavy investment by developed countries like the USA in high technology. According to him the only way for the United States to regain its international competitiveness is to encourage a fairly rapid shrinkage of traditional blue-collar employment. America should gear manufacturing technology to the available labour supply of knowledge workers; it would require shifting manufacturing work from operating machines to programming machines, and indeed to programming plants and processes rather than individual machines and lines; this would require extensive planning for early retirement with attractive benefits, retraining workers for new jobs and other related problems.

He advocates that labour intensive stages of production that cannot be automated or mechanised—sewing shirts, tanning hides or assembling parts—should be shifted to the developing countries with their growing surplus of low-skilled young people qualified only for manufacturing work. In another article Drucker cautions against American wages going beyond eighty percent of the value added if the U. S. has to successfully com-

pete with Europe and Japan.

BUSINESS ETHICS

The final note in the book on the Matter of Business Ethics is really absorbing. Drucker argues against the theory of one set of personal ethics and another set of ethics attached to the position an individual holds, in other words against the way a casuist would approach the ethical problems of business. In his opinion Lockheed corporations earnings and stock price would have gone up, if it had not paid bribes to secure a large order for L-1011 large aircraft from the Japanese airlines in the interest of maintaining jobs for its 25,000 employees at a time when Southern California was suffering from substantial unemployment owing to sharp cutbacks in defence orders in the aerospace industry and job scarcity in the aircraft industry.

Drucker is for the ethics of prudence and self development. Despite the possibility of prudence decaying into hypocrisy of public relations wherein appearances matter more than substance, ethics of prudence is surely appropriate to a society of organizations: in such a society an extra-ordinarily large number of people are in positions of high visibility by virtue of their responsibility to take right action. And this is exactly what the Ethics of Prudence is all about. Similarly executives in organizations set examples, and lead or mis-lead. The ethics of self development, according to Drucker, would seem to be tailor-made for the specific dilemma of the executive in modern organization. His function demands the self-discipline and the self-respect of the superior man.

ETHICS OF INTERDEPENDENCE

Drucker pointing to the ethics of interdependence as an all important factor in any organization, stresses that one has to relate oneself to one's subordinates, equals and superiors even to perform routine tasks. Drucker draws our attention to the Confucian ethics of interdependence where the same rules and imperatives hold for every

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individual. But there are different general rules according to the five basic relationships of interdependence, which for the Confucian embrace the totality of individual inter-actions in a civil society: superior and subordinate, father and child, husband and wife, oldest brother and sibling, friend and friend. Right behaviour, according to Confucian ethics, is that individual behaviour which is truly appropriate to the specific relationship of mutual dependence because it optimizes benefits to both parties.

Since this review is meant for Indian readers, a word on the article, India and Appropriate Technology would be appropriate. There always can be two opinions on what is appropriate technology for a country like India. But one cannot deny the need for increasing productivity which will give the largest number of jobs and maximum purchasing power suited to an economy like ours. Drucker argues for more cycles, scooters, radios, synthetic fertilizers, pesticides, pharmaceuti-

cals and the like. All these industries generate four to five times secondary or tertiary jobs throughout the economy for everyone in the manufacturing plant.

The subjects covered in the articles contained in the book are so varied in nature—from appropriate technology for India to business ethics—that though they have been grouped under five parts, atleast a few articles do not fit into the categories they have been included. This is however, a minor blemish. By and large the articles refer to the situation obtaining or likely to obtain in the USA and hence more relevant to an American audience. But Indian managers will also find much food for deep thought and thus will derive considerable benefit.

I wish the book had been priced at not more than twenty five rupees or so to command more sales.

R. K. Gupta is Professor of Management at the I.I.T. Madras.

Novel But Disappointing

Byron T. Mook

The World of the Indian Field Administrator
pp. 194, Vikas, 1982, Rs. 95.00

Reviewed by Alok Sinha

Why is it that most governments throughout history and in all kinds of systems—feudal, or autocratic, or western liberal, or colonial, or totalitarian, or communistic, or even democratic—have never really been thought to have been even partly successful in catering to the needs of their subjects?

Indeed one charitable and fairly widespread view has been that governments have, wittingly or otherwise, distanced themselves too much from their people so that the latter's feelings have not been perceived or demands met. If the promoted product is not being lapped up by the public at which it is thrown, neither of them may be at fault. Instead, perhaps, the promoter—in the guise of the government—might well be the one

to blame. And “communication gap” might be the name of this non-starting game!

It is in this context that Byron T. Mook set out to study in immense detail, over a five year period in the early 1970's, the offices of Deputy Inspector of Schools and Agricultural Extension Officer in Tamil Nadu, and whose findings he has compiled methodically and presented well in his *World of the Indian Field Administrator*.

NO STRUCTURAL CHANGES

As the former colonies of the Third World started attaining national liberation after the Second World War, their politically independent ruling regimes went in for an orgy of developmental and

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modernising activities, almost in unending spasms, as if in a desperate, no holds-barred race to catchup with time lost during their colonial bondage. And yet, as Mook puts it, most Afro-Asian nations still rely on pre-Independence, indeed colonially-oriented administrative institutions to perform tasks for which they were never designed—since colonialism cast them in the “regulatory” mould of status-quo, not the “developmental” one of change for the better. This absence of structural changes in the governmental systems makes the contradiction between status quo and change not only sharp but also somewhat instrumental in undoing efforts towards progress.

But what is surprising as well as lamentable is that even though performance of public administration is so crucial to the Third World's attempts towards State inspired modernisation—since the all-pervasive presence and therefore predominance of the bureaucracy remains unimpaired after Independence—it has not yet been examined closely enough by social scientists.

According to Mook, this oversight might well be the result of a reaction against the formal, “non-behavioural” approach which political scientists have traditionally taken to the study of administration. Maybe it is because of the attractiveness of new organisations in Afro-Asia as subjects of study, not only because they appear to be “where the action is” but also because they tend to be highly visible. Or maybe because of the difficulties of scholarly access to governmental administration.

In an attempt to fill up this scholarly void, Mook has jumped into the deep world of micro-research (a bold and hence praiseworthy step), but only to pin-point (unwittingly?) the pitfalls of an exclusively close look that a micro-researcher must always be wary of—that a frog-in-the-well, being inevitably short-sighted, cannot have a wide enough over-view.

NOVEL CONTENTION

It is Mook's novel contention

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that whatever little research has been done on field administrators in non-industrial societies has concentrated out of proportion on cultural explanations of behaviour instead of focusing on, as it should have, public administration's structural and organisational facets. But if that was indeed so, he swings to the other extreme, with the traditional zeal of a "total revolutionary", of wishing away altogether culture and socialse.

He raises the interesting and pertinent question of, for example, is Indian bureaucracy the way it is because "Indians are Indians"? He suggests that organic aspects of administration have been neglected in previous studies because field research has hitherto confined itself to the top layers of the administrative hierarchy and not percolated to the implementation levels where the action is. According to Mook, "it is very dangerous to assume that the performance of an organisation can be explained even mainly in terms of the characteristics of its members".

And therefore he delves deep and low into the worlds of the Deputy Inspector of Schools and Agricultural Extension Officer to see where the ticking goes awry. He confidently puts forth that "behaviour which appeared (to him) early in the research as 'traditional' or 'Hindu' was almost always explicable later in terms of particular administrative pressures". Now such academic boldness can be admired only if it is backed up by sufficient data. Unfortunately that kind of data Mook does not offer, because his data-collection questionnaire, however elaborate, does not take cognisance of caste and community.

Mook's proffered findings that organisational, NOT cultural, circumstances explain Indian bureaucratic behaviour might hence be charmingly flattering as also sweetly heady to one's chauvinist ears, but cannot be smoothly stomached in a sober vein. In fact, human administrators are not heartless, soulless machines. The heart is ruled by centuries of tradition and culture, while the brain that makes it tick is in effect conscientised by familial culture and societal mores, not just by blood

and plasma. And cultural factors would go a long way in throwing light on administrative behaviour not only in our Assam and Punjab but also in Mook's Mississippi and the American Deep South.

"CULTURAL" & "STRUCTURAL"

If in the administrative context Mook had not perceived "culture" and "structure" as mutually exclusive but sought to harmonise the two as they in fact always are, he would then have wisely expanded his data-collection questionnaire from its present skeletal dryness to include factors of caste and community. How the social science researcher in Mook could ever hope to survey and understand Indian administrative action in the rural areas in all its intricacies without accounting for these two perennially present social aspects is simply inexplicable! And here he also belies his immodest claim that the main contribution of his present analysis is clearly empirical rather than theoretical-as if a purely factual approach can be forgiven its inadequacies merely because it stops short of theorising and conceptualising!!

In a historical sense, Mook is very right in tracing the two Indian administrative traditions of the technical department. He is correct in summing up that the district officer emphasised field work, flexibility, personal initiative, and decentralisation; whereas the technical department was characterised by increasing office work, standardisation, and personal conventionality. And there is confusion and uncertainty and tension between the two because presently the district

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officer has under him not only generalist subordinates like him but also technical ones unlike him.

But his field research in its methodology ignores—and deliberately too—cultural intricacies. In such a socially inadequate academic output, Mook's debate on whether regulation or distribution or education should decide the kind of twist there ought to be in the official life of a Deputy Inspector of Schools or an Agricultural Extension Officer sounds artificial and simulated—rather like a semantic unreality. Indeed, in the government's promotion of its educational and agricultural extension (or for that matter any other) products to the public, such mutually exclusive styles of functioning may not, in practice, ever obtain. Without some basic regulation, can there be any intelligent education? And without such education, can there be any kind of distribution?

DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND

Also, some of his statements, given in the fashion of a conclusion—though without any adduced evidence!—are difficult to understand. For example, according to him, "in India today, as described above (but where? !), there are many commercial organisations active in the agricultural field particularly. And so Government must ask if extension officers could not better be engaged in concentrating on other activities". What kind of reforms he is pushing here is not clear.

Therefore when Mook calls for Indian public administration's improvement through investment (with which conceptually one can-

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not really quarrel), what is impossible to comprehend is the nature and variety of his remedies. Having diagnosed the illness as one of communication gap between the State and the people, he recommends the acquisition of transport, telephone typewriter, duplicating machine, and good supplies of paper for the Deputy Inspector of Schools and the Agricultural Extension Officer.

He insists that these wonderful accessories "could revolutionise low-level administration", the implicit achievement being thereby closing the present receptivity gulf between government functionaries and the people. As if moving

around, speaking about, and writing off (that is, if these mechanical wonders always work) by themselves could set right all the social and structural maladies.

By peddling such way out cures to the same old recurring illness, all that Mook seems to have achieved is to give a deservedly bad name to the stop-go-stop erratic game of micro-research. A disappointing book indeed.

Alok Sinha is Deputy Director of the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie.

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review latter on)

Datar, Kiran Kapur, Malaysia : Quest for a Politics of Consensus. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. x, 228 p. Rs. 95.00

Presents within a historical, chronological and analytical framework the developments in Malaysia from 1980 to 1981.

Kumar, Shiv K. A Portrait of India: A selection of short stories. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. vi, 111 p. Rs. 60.00

This anthology celebrates afresh the much celebrated 'unity in

diversity' in Indian life and thinking. The stories, each individual in theme and approach, weave a pattern of exquisite harmony that unfolds the reality that is India.

Malamound, Charles, ed. Debts and Debtors. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. xi, 237 p. Rs. 100.00.

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Srivastava, R.S. The Aged and the Society. Delhi, Citizenship Development Society, 1983. x, 89 p. Rs. 30.00 (Paper) Rs. 40.00 (Cloth).

A pioneering study done for the first time in the country that indeed sets the tone for other similar works to follow.

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Murli M. Sinha
200pp Rs 95
- WITH TIGERS IN THE WILD : An Experience in an Indian Forest**
Patch Singh Rathore, Tejbir Singh & Valmik Thapar
175pp illus. Rs 495
- ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION IN INDIA**
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Indian Book Chronicle

Vol. VIII, No. 13, July 1, 1983

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EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH

Asian Trade and European Expansion

Commercial, political, military, technological and cultural interactions between Europe and Asia have moulded the human civilisation during the past several centuries. The state of the world to-day is due in large measure to the pattern of this intercontinental Euro-Asian competition and co-operation. But the course of evolution of the Euro-Asian relations is replete with ironies. Today, the West is considered rich and developed while the bulk of Asia is poor and under-developed, but this is the opposite of the image that existed even two centuries earlier.

How did a poor, backward and semi-barbarian Europe manage to become so advanced while pushing much of Asia and Africa in the opposite direction ? This is one of the questions that fascinates the author of this book*. It is also a question to which Asian intellectuals and policy-makers must pay full attention, because they cannot overcome the present backwardness of their countries without understanding its historical roots. Unfortunately, this is not what the intellectuals and policy-makers in Asia, particularly India, are doing.

COLONIALISM OF THE MIND

As Rothermund has pointed out elsewhere, the "colonialism of the mind" that resulted from European imperial rule has proved much more difficult to overcome than actual political domination. Hence, India to-day continues to operate largely as it did as a colony so that its developmental efforts in different fields, such as education and scientific research, benefit other countries more than itself. The relationship between Western Europe and Asia during the age of imperial expansion has been designated by Rothermund as "parasitic symbiosis."

Whereas the European nations carried out the industrial revolution, underwent domestic political transformation towards democracy and socialism, expanded territorially, experienced a vast expansion of scholarship and scientific knowledge, the countries of Asia stagnated in most areas of social activity or even deteriorated. The two patterns of historical experience are not unrelated but were mutually interdependent. European nations were able to suck the life blood out of the then more developed Asian societies but without killing them. In this respect the European conquest differed from the earlier forms because it did not destroy the societies which it subjugated; rather the Europeans took pains to keep them going but remoulded the socio-economic activities in order to derive continuing benefit from them.

As the author has stated elsewhere, "By setting examples in many fields and yet preventing the Indians from emulating them, the British unwittingly encouraged Indian nationalism in the political as well as in the economic sphere. In some respects the goals which were set for India in this way were not necessarily the most suitable for the country's development as they were based on the experiences of another nation under different circumstances." Rothermund argues that without the services of a superb administrator like Murshid Ali Khan, the conquest of Bengal would

*Dietmar Rothermund, *Asian Trade and European Expansion in the Age of Mercantilism*, pp. xii + 170, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1981, Rs. 75.00
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July 1, 1983

have been of no benefit to the British, far from its becoming the spring-board for the conquest of India.

Economic theories have masked the reality of trade relations and exploitative policies. The earlier phase of European trade with Asia coincided with the mercantilist theories which argued "that the gain of one country was bound to be the loss of another country." This dictum was used by the major trading companies, as such the British, Dutch and French East Indian ones, to organise monopolist control over import and export. The doctrine of free trade would have justified the dissolution of monopoly of trade and freedom to every commercial entrepreneur to enter into the business, but that would have prevented mercantilist budgeting of gains and losses at the national level.

After the European monopolies had established politico-economic domination over Asian territories, of course, they themselves had become obsolescent. Trade between the imperial and colonial countries could not be restricted to monopolies but was thrown open to everyone who could make a profit. Nevertheless, this freedom of trade was not extended to the merchants of the colonial territories. Thus there was an inherent contradiction between theory and practice.

IDEOLOGY & TRADE

During the mercantilist period of monopoly trade between Europe and Asia, manufactured goods, such as textile, were imported from the Asian countries, particularly India, and precious metals, particularly silver, was sent in exchange. Rothermund argues that "the preservation of the precious metals and their acquisition was considered to be essential" in mercantilism; it was "also supposed to ensure the employment of labour to which the mercantilists paid great attention." Thus the merchants made use of mercantilism where it suited them, that is in justifying their monopoly of trade, but ignored it elsewhere, e. g., in exporting precious metals that hurt employment in their own country.

After the industrial revolution in Western Europe, its pattern of trade with Asia was reversed. Manufactured goods, including textiles, were now exported to Asian countries and precious metals were extracted in return. This was justified on the basis of the theory of free trade, which maintained that the natural flow of exports and imports would eventually benefit all countries concerned because it would lead to optimum use of the resources everywhere. However, during this period of "free trade", the dominant European powers in fact practised mercantilism and "highly restrictive trade practices which would have impressed the mercantilists prevailed in an era which was supposed to be governed by the principles of free trade." Thus, mercantilism was preached when free trade was practised but when free trade was the dominant economic ideology, mercantilism became the actual practice. "These historical contradictions," writes the author, "have aroused my interest in the subject." The book under review is an attempt to explain what actually happened from the sixteenth century onwards.

At the beginning of the period, there was virtually no demand for European goods in Asia but a growing demand for Asian goods in Europe, reflecting the relative industrial development of the two regions, but there was also the growth of shipping and commerce in the West. Control over trade with Asia was a lively, indeed a deadly, issue in Western Europe, whose rulers were naturally involved in the competition between the different companies. But Asian rulers were not interested; it was a seller's market, so to speak, and their feudal revenues were sufficient for them. Because of the life and death competition between the different European states, they evolved institutions, policies and tools for the trade, whereas the Asian nations stagnated and gradually declined. European societies evolved gradually into political communities, Great Britain faster than the others because it was then the most backward in Europe but had the benefit of being an island.

More advanced communities, such as Venice, that had dominated the

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trade with Asia, declined rapidly, to be supplanted by Portugal. It, in turn, was pushed to the side by the newly liberated Spanish colony of Holland. France also shone briefly but was perhaps too cultured a nation (some what like the Asian ones) to withstand the assaults of Britain which emerged as favourite of the sun-god for almost two centuries.

THE INFANTRY REVOLUTION

Rivalries between the different European mercantile powers pushed them forwards, even though some were left behind. Portuguese were the pioneers and also among the earliest to be eliminated, like the Venetians. The major contenders in Asia were the Dutch, the French and the British. Rothermund outlines the rise and decline of the Dutch and the French, but points out that in some sense they also assisted one another. In particular the Dutch, when they were elbowed out by the growing British sea power, specialised in country trade between the different Asian countries, particularly between India and China and between Japan and Indonesia. However, though the French were not such an excellent nation of shopkeepers as were the British, nevertheless the French too were seized by the ambition to become the greatest world power. Indeed, in order to counteract French ambitions, for which the French had begun to train Indian soldiers, the British also started establishing territorial political control by using the same means, namely, Indian armies to defeat Indian rulers.

As Rothermund points out, "Indian rulers traditionally depended on their cavalry and looked down upon everybody who could not face them on horseback" (or better still, on elephant-back, one might add). "They also used artillery but most of them were not very adept in coordinating cavalry and artillery properly... In this context a disciplined infantry could easily become the master of the battlefield by mowing down the valiant cavalry, avoiding the fire of the immobile artillery and capturing the guns before the gunners knew what had happened." Rothermund

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argues that this so-called "infantry revolution" introduced by the French into Indian warfare was quickly mastered by the British, who first defeated the French at their own game and then conquered India. They could not have done this with British soldiers for "a maritime invasion would never have been possible in that age of the sailing ship but Indian mercenaries under European command needed only a minimum of maritime support."

TRADE & EXPANSION

One may argue that the British democratised warfare in India and thus triumphed over its imperial-feudal rulers. They were able to do this, and learn and outsmart their rivals like the French, because Britain had undergone something resembling the bourgeois democratic revolution. In prolonged warfare among European nations, which exhausted many of them financially, the British were able to draw upon the public finances that they mobilised for overseas trade. After the battle of Plassey, the Moghul emperor suggested to Robert Clive that the British should take over the collection of land revenue in Bengal. Clive in turn wrote to William Pitt that the British government rather than East India Company should take over this profitable responsibility. Pitt refused for he feared that, if the revenue surplus from Bengal reached England directly, it might strengthen the position of the King of England and reduce the power of Parliament. As a result, the money and power went into hands of East India Company and its servants, including Robert Clive, who greatly enriched himself.

Surplus revenues from Bengal financed the further expansion of British territorial expansion in India and paid for purchases from India to export to Europe. There was no need to export silver to India; indeed, the reverse process started. Moreover, control over territory enabled direct purchase of raw materials and agricultural products, which were now exported from India instead of the manufactured goods. Raw cotton was exported

not only to Britain but also to China. Farmers could be induced to grow opium for the trade with China; industrial and commercial activities that were harmful for the British were put down. British merchants supplanted Indian traders in the profitable areas of commerce.

Why was a small and initially backward country like Britain able to dominate, exploit and conquer a vast and initially more developed India? The question has intrigued scholars everywhere and continues to do so today. It is unlikely that a final answer will be given now or in the near future. Although Rothermund does not mention Karl Marx, and refers to "oriental despotism" only to dismiss it with one gesture, his explanation is in fact not irreconcilable with Marxian analysis of history. In fact, just because he does not take any ideological position, either left or right, his exposition forms a more valuable contribution to the ongoing debates than if he had some ideological predilection or prejudice.

He argues, for instance, that "the smooth transition from the commercial to the financial revolution in England" (and, one might add, from the financial to the industrial revolution) "was facilitated by the high degree of social communication between businessmen and the political elite." Many political leaders were skilled in business management. William Pitt, as we have seen, saw to it that the acquisition of territorial empire in India did not accrue to the profit or power of the British monarchy. Thus, "the haughty disdain of the nobleman and warrior for the merchant and the profit motive which marked the attitude of political elites elsewhere did not predominate in England."

On the other hand, "there were Indian merchants who were as shrewd and competent as any British merchant of their day and age but their contact with the political system of their country was marginal. In fact, they often lived in fear of the political elite and even if they could bribe those who were in power, or put them under some obligation by lending them money, this would never lead to a situation

in which the political elite would be collectively obliged...to the business community."

TOWARDS THE NATION STATE

One might go a step further and argue that there was then little consciousness of India as a coherent society or nation. No one seems then to have argued about what was in the interest of India as a whole. The very concept of mercantilism was based on furtherance of the national interest in the area of commerce. Whether the doctrine was strictly followed or disregarded, the notion of what would benefit the nation was always in the air. Thus, even the pursuit of self-interest by businessmen was expected to somehow promote the general good. This may have been a naive presumption, but it implied that some corrective action would have to be taken if the pursuit of self-interest harmed the public good. In other words, the important point is that the notion of the public good was there, even though the pursuit of "sacred" selfishness was considered the main road to maximise it.

Marx had argued that the notion of national public good was product of the bourgeois democratic revolution or, less melodramatically, a concomitant of the growing predominance of commercial and economic motivations. Louis Dumont has added a footnote to the Marxian thesis by arguing that the dominance of economic motivations or activities necessarily implies and promotes individualism. However, he fails to add the dialectical counterpoint to the growth of individualism which is the emergence of a counter balancing framework or power-base, namely the nation-state. Individual self-interest cannot operate in thin air; at some point it must be correlated with the collective public interest. Of all societies, Britain made the transition most successfully but, by an ironic twist of historical dynamics, it did so by establishing a relationship of parasitic symbiosis with the feudal-agrarian society of India.

Here the analysis offered by Rothermund adds to and amends the Marxian prognosis that Britain

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would operate as the engine of industrial revolution in India. The dialectics of global history is a bit too complex for such a simplistic and uniform path of progress for mankind.

During the age of imperialist expansion, the Asian elite did not know what type of evolving economic and political power was represented by the European companies. The elite could not evolve any theoretical basis to understand and counter the European thrust or benefit from it. Therefore, "the one-sidedness of economic relations between Europe and Asia which emerged in the age of mercantilism also determined the future. The trading nations of Europe derived many benefits from Asian trade but the Asians did not. If they had used a different type of currency and left the silver to the Europeans they would not have lost anything." The tragedy is that intellectual blindness endures in India to this day. Rothermund's message is that "colonialism of the mind" has yet to be confronted and conquered in India by Indians.

CORPORATE INTELLIGENCE

The growth of semi-autonomous commercial, manufacturing and political institutions led to what Rothermund has elsewhere termed "corporate intelligence", that he defines as "a method of gathering and storing information, on ability to learn and to adjust to new situations which was transmitted to and sustained by all the members of the respective institution from the most brilliant to the most mediocre ones." Thus, the operation of corporate intelligence had two dimensions. One was that of expecting the unexpected and being ready to innovate and change oneself in order to meet the situation or derive benefit from it. The other was a form of group dynamics where the different individuals had considerable leeway but fed information to and maintained loyalty to the group. The loyalty or subservience to the group was not absolute and "despotism" was ruled out, but so was the pursuit of personal self-interest beyond certain limits.

Clearly, the functioning of

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"corporate intelligence" was a product of the historical experience of a society that had not yet frozen into a mature civilisation but had to cope with more advanced societies and potentially hostile forces. It was young enough to be able to learn and grow, drawing upon the experiences of its more mature rivals and parasitic-symbiotic hosts. To-day, this phase of development in British and other European societies is drawing to a close as they have reached economic and technological maturity. But the question remains whether the so-called developing societies are able to profit from them, non-parasitically if possible, as the mature industrial societies did at the earlier period of history that Rothermund has outlined in his book.

Japan has certainly been able to do so by developing its own method of pursuing corporate intelligence. This is based on the primordial social solidarity that still remains powerful in Japan. Family ties are so strong that these are universalised into virtually every other group relationship, e.g. in an office, factory,

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or class room. Instead of pursuing the chimera of Western organisational techniques because of the persisting "colonialism of the mind", India has much to learn from the Japanese experience, particularly about how to develop and progress by being true to its own social,

cultural and human reality.

Surrindar Suri who retired as Professor of Political Science from the Punjabi University, Patiala, is currently a fellow of the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.

Public Enterprises

Prabhat Kumar Basu

Public Enterprises—Policy, Performance and Professionalisation

pp. xv+99, Allied, 1982, Rs. 40.00

Reviewed by V.A. Pai Panandiker

The theory of "commanding heights of the economy" over the last two decades or less has massive nationalisation as well as investments in the public sector. With an estimated Rs. 24,000 crores investment today, the public sector in India is a giant.

Reading P.K. Basu's two principal papers published in a book form, however, one only gets the confirmation that the public sector is an unhealthy giant. While Basu does not say so in so many words, it is quite clear what he has to say. While the Ministries do the real "running" of the public enterprises they take little responsibility for the performance. As Basu says "It is very rarely that the head of Secretarial rolls if the performance of the public enterprise under his Ministry is considered below the line or even totally unsatisfactory. In such circumstances the danger of a public enterprise chief being removed is much greater".

Basu's major concern is "How to bring about harmony between policy" and "performance" when there is apparent conflict owing to the domination syndrome" (p.40). In simple English, how to keep the politicians and bureaucrats running the Ministries off the backs of the public sector managers consistent with public accountability.

Every evidence over the years, however, shows that it is not the "accountability" issue which has really created problems for the public sector enterprises. It is the patronage, kickbacks and other issues

which are responsible for the "domination syndrome". In that the unholy alliance between the

politician and the bureaucrat is seen to be believed. And an occasional clean bureaucrat has learnt to his great regret that simple constitutional proprieties do not pay. Increasingly, over the years, the Gresham's Law has been brought to bear upon the public sector managements to a great extent.

As the public sector grows, these issues will inevitably grow into major political issues. They will be raised not by the politicians and the well meaning bureaucrats like P.K. Basu but by the people. Basu's papers give a clue to what the real issues are, even though not explicitly.

V.A. Pai Panandiker is Director of the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi.

A Tourists' Paradise

Manoj Das

Introducing a Wonderful Land and a Wonderful people : India—a tourists' paradise

pp. xv+490, Sterling, 1983, Price not stated

Reviewed by Samuel Mathai

From the earliest known times men have travelled from their own lands to other lands for one reason or another. The journey might be undertaken at some ruler's bidding, or for trade, or in a spirit of adventure; travellers went also on religious missions (e.g. Buddhist and Christian missionaries) but it was rarely for pleasure. Travelling in the ancient world, and until comparatively recently, was always risky, and what a traveller might encounter on the way was unpredictable. 'Travel' is a variant of 'travail', meaning 'toil and painful exertion'. In the middle ages in Europe travelling for various purposes increased and certain facilities for travellers began to come into existence : 'host' and 'guest'—both words originally meaning 'stranger'—brought into being hospices, hostels, hospitals and, later on, hotels (all words related to 'host') and the hardships of travel were eased to some extent.

Travelling, in the sense of going from one's own country to visit other countries, greatly increased

after political developments led to the emergence of distinct 'nations' and 'states'. Invading another country for conquest or seeking refuge is not 'travelling'. Among the earliest recorded travels are those of Marco Polo (1254-1324). *The Book of Marco Polo, Citizen of Venice, Called Million, Wherein is Recorded the Wonders of the World* (c. 1239) is one of the great travel books of the world. Marco had travelled with his father and uncle to Cathay and the court of Kublai Khan, and was away from Venice some 25 years. He travelled by land and sea, and kept notes of some of the things he observed. He passed through India on his way back and in his book referred to the St. Thomas Christians of South India.

Interest in the world outside Europe steadily increased, and encyclopaedias and books of travel describing the 'wonders' of far-off lands began to increase also. One of the most interesting of such books of travel was *The Voyage and Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, compo-

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sed in the 14th century. It is not certain whether Mandeville was the author's real name, and it is almost certain that he himself did not travel; he seems to have collected his material from other people's writings and from encyclopaedias. But his book, describing routes to and wonders to be seen in, Constantinople, Palestine, Egypt, etc., and taking the reader through many diverse lands... "through Persia, Syria, Arabia...through Amazonia, India the less and the more a great part; and through many other Isles that be about India : where dwell many diverse folks, and of diverse manners and laws, and of diverse shapes of men."

Some of the great voyages of exploration and discovery during the 15th century were partially inspired by such travel books; and these voyages in their turn opened up the world and made available a more accurate knowledge of geography and of the customs, manners, languages and cultures of different people. In Europe in the 16th century travel within the continent greatly increased. In Shakespeare's time it was fashionable for Englishmen to travel to Italy, and the "Italianate Gentlemen" became an object of envy and ridicule. Shakespeare speaks of a traveller who "sells his own lands to see other men's".

The changes that come about in the economic and political situation of the world after the establishment of European colonies and empires provided fresh stimuli for travel and led to the improvement of the means of travel and conveniences for travellers. The discoveries and inventions of the 18th and 19th centuries greatly facilitated the development of travelling, and the Industrial Revolution gave fresh impetus to it. The steamship, the railway train and, later, the motor car made travelling safer, more comfortable and less time-consuming. Travelling for pleasure became possible, and "tourism" in the modern sense began to develop. Books providing information and advice to tourists began to appear.

EARLIEST GUIDEBOOKS

One of the earliest guidebooks

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was produced by a German, Karl Baedeker (1801-59). His aim was to give accurate and practical information to the traveller and enable him to dispense with paid guides. 'Baedeker' has now become a generic name for guidebooks. His first book dealt with the city of Koblenz where his firm was set up; then they dealt with the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne. Later 'Baedekers' covered all of Europe and were published in several languages.

Among the earliest excursions and conducted tours were those organised by Thomas Cook, an—Englishman. 'Cook's Tours,' became well-known. Thereafter many 'travel agencies' came into existence in many parts of the world, providing information and making all the arrangements (purchasing tickets, booking hotel accommodation, sup-

plying foreign exchange, etc.,) needed for a safe and carefree tour.

'Tourism' has now become an 'industry' and most countries officially promote tourism and encourage visitors to come to them, by putting up or helping to put up good hotels by producing books and pamphlets that describe the sights to see and the special arts and artifacts produced by them, and the travel facilities available. In India we have created elaborate arrangements for developing tourism. There is an Indian Tourism Development Corporation and most of the States have their own Tourism Development Corporations, Departments of Tourism Directors and Managing Directors.

It is natural that books intended for tourists should advertise their countries in as attractive terms as possible. For certain kinds of vis-

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itors a little information about the history, customs and manners, and aspects of the cultural and artistic manifestations of the country is a desirable addition to the usual material provided by guidebooks. But in *INDIA—A Tourist's Paradise* Manoj Das and Sterling Publishers have gone beyond utilitarian considerations and have sacrificed modesty and historical veracity in the attempt to boost the "wonderful land" and its "wonderful people".

LIVING IN MYTHOLOGY

In a prefatory "note from the Publishers" we are told: "This book is not just meant to be a run-of-the-mill travel guide. It is an introduction to India. In this [his?] aid and inimitable style Manoj Das introduces you to the vast Indian subcontinent which stands like a colossus on the world map." What is a colossus? In Manoj Das's Introduction (which runs to 3 pages) he says, "True, few travellers come to India with the intention of sounding the profundity of her philosophy or spirituality. But there is hardly an aspect of the Indian life, apart from the bare surface of the 'modern' Indian's existence, which is without some influence of a pristine philosophy or the touch of spirituality. And so as the said surface is concerned, truly, no traveller has any reason to be enamoured of it: it is as dull [sic. colourlessly?] as lifelessly modern as elsewhere in the world. A traveller surely comes to have a feel of the culture and the civilisation that is India—through a travel across this vast country, gazing at her magnificent monuments and coming to know her people."

Manoj Das's main thesis is that India's forte is her spirituality", visitors to this country should look for this spirituality and not anything 'modern'—for everything 'modern' is the same everywhere, and is dull and lifeless. Indians, he says, are "a people who live in mythology". He seems to see very little distinction between mythology and history. Manifestations of the 'spirituality' of the Indian people (who are all assumed

to have a single culture and to derive from one main ethnic stock) include such practices as 'sati' of which he speaks nostalgically. He might have added that though 'sati' was prohibited by the British government and can no longer be openly practised, we now burn young wives who do not bring adequate dowries!

As a guidebook this publication has some useful features, but is written in poor English complicated by the printer who seems not to have heard of 'proof-reading'. There are several photographs (black-and-white) of buildings and scenes but the reproduction and printing are so poor that they seem to be indicators of the poor quality of workmanship in India. The list of travel agents is useful, but it is not certain that any tourist can make much use of the addresses of all the Directors of Tourism in the country. Naturally the book says nothing of the poor quality of roads and other travel facilities in this country; of rapacious taxi drivers and indifferent official functionaries; of the difficulties of making reservations in trains or planes; of the poor quality of food available in trains and the 'hotels' in small towns; and of the ill-maintained and ill-equipped hospitals and the difficulty of getting reliable medical attention anywhere except in the metropolitan cities.

TOURISTS' PARADISE

The fact is that although we want tourists to come to India we do little beyond putting up expensive hotels in a few places to make travelling a pleasurable experience. True, we have some world-famous "monuments" like the Taj Mahal (not a product of Indian spirituality); but few people will come long distances just to see a few monuments; nor will many (except hippies and besotted females in search of a libidinous 'guru') come in search of the mythology or alleged spirituality of India. We must develop good quality middle class hotels and restaurants, provide reliable and comfortable bus and train services, improve our roads, and so on, so that middle income groups can spend several days travelling about in

reasonable comfort. Section of the book entitled "Features of the Country" and "Practical Briefings" are particularly useful. The reader is "assured that the average Indian is tolerant at heart." "If sometimes he surveys you with eyefuls of philosophy, don't mistake that to be a sign of misgiving or suspicion!"

The section or chapter called "Tours in a Planned Space of Time" is helpful. Most tourists appreciate organised itineraries. The value of the book would be greatly increased if in the suggested tours fuller details of the mode of travel available (plane, train, coach), the time required for the journey, facilities for stay (hotels, inns, guest-houses, the "class" to which they belong and approximate costs), and things to be seen at various points on each trip, were given.

'Paradise' has been defined as a place characterized by favourable conditions, special opportunities, or the abundance of something desired. India has an abundance of many things that tourists might wish to see and enjoy, though different tourists would be interested in different things. But conditions and opportunities are not as satisfactory or favourable as might be desired. If we wish to promote tourism we must do more than advertise our specialities. Everyone who comes to India is not a millionaire and cannot afford to stay in five-star hostels. Many ordinary visitors might wish to travel by train instead of by air. Some visitors might wish to explore the country by travelling by road in a car driven by themselves; this would mean the availability of cars for rental, good road maps and roads with reliable signposts, and convenient hotels or motels along the routes.

It must be hoped that the growing awareness of the importance of tourism in India, of which *India: A Tourist's Paradise* is one example, will soon result in an abundance of the kind of facilities referred to, and we shall be able to compete successfully with other tourists' paradises.

Samuel Mathai who retired as Vice-Chancellor of Kerala University, lives in retirement at Trivandrum.

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Education as Power and Property

Nirmal Singh

Education Under Siege

pp. 238, Concept, 1983, Rs. 90.00

T.S. Sodhi

A Text Book of Comparative Education

pp. 416, Vikas, 1982, Rs. 45.00 (limp cover)

P.D. Shukla

Administration of Education in India

pp. 216, Vikas, 1983, Rs. 95.00

Reviewed by S. Shukla

Nirmal Singh's title does not refer to the Jawaharlal Nehru University, where he lives and works—or, for that matter to the near-siege, troubled state, of other campuses—nor to the fact that we are besieged by indifferent lecture notes presented as treatises and circulated surprisingly—or, not so surprisingly?—by prestigious publishers, demolishing the very academic contours of the disciplines they are supposed to be dealing with.

Education Under Siege is a sociological study of private colleges based on (a) a radical—and in the reviewer's view, wholesome-theoretical perspective and (b) near-participant observation of 7 private colleges of Kanpur. His basic proposition is that the use of education in this case, higher education, as property and power by managements and the acquiescence, if not encouragement, by the state—negates the very function of education. He criticises the advocacy of private managements in the name of autonomy in education as erroneous at best and shows how this fits in with to-day's social structure and the current hierarchical/stratified system of education—e.g. government or aided common school for the majority at the bottom central schools (Kendriya vidyalayas) as the subsidised middle level of selective schooling for the bureaucracy and the high fee paying private (misnamed "public") schools at the apex. The last category among schools and colleges both includes, indeed, a small number of very good institutions but also a large number of those which by virtue of the high fees at the school

level they charge are only socially selective—and, of course, profitable in terms of perks, use of property and of power to the managers—without necessarily being academically excellent.

SOCIOLOGICAL UNDERPINNING

Singh does, however, more than delineate—and illustrate on the basis of his 7 Kanpur colleges—these more or less well recognised contours of Indian education, particularly higher education. Viewing education as a social phenomenon, he feels impelled first to demarcate his methodological and substantive position in social science itself. It is as well. For, the sociologist who takes a basically Marxist or near-Marxist position in which history and praxis are central, studies of cases—almost a built-in formula for non-Marxist anthropologist stances—or a phenomenological-looking advocacy action (and knowledge through it) do call for a clarification of position.

This he does quite explicitly and forcefully both in order to lay the basis for his departure from the empirical—almost empiricist—methods of much sociology and

other social science and in order to distinguish himself from phenomenologist or symbolic interactionist or other "Subjectivist" positions as well as from mechanical objectivity and, for that matter, determinism from which some Marxists are not exempt. "To look for reality is not only to look for what 'is' but also for what it 'can be' which inheres within it 'should be'" (p16). He goes on to quote approvingly from Trent Schroyer, critical theory, on the other hand, transcends its facts, rendering them meaningful, but at the same time placing them in the context of the tension between the given and the possible" (p 16).

To comment on just this one position, it should be apparent that while the 'is' or the 'given' need to be viewed along with the 'can be' or the 'possible', 'should be' introduces quite another dimension even if 'can be' inheres within it. Singh's concern with 'should be' (perhaps it can be translated as value—or bias?—or what else?) is not unconnected with his later statement "The type of sociology one does is a function of the conception of the problematic nature of social reality" (p.29). Besides value, the question of perception even the social location of the observer, who is doing his kind of sociology are involved. Singh recognises this and goes on "It is society itself which is full of contradictions and hence problematic. As a consequence we have many contradictory sociologies" (p 29).

There is no monolithic sociology under divided society (p. 31). There is hint here (is it hope or mere habitual positing of a millennium-Marxist or for that matter even religious?) wherein all contradictions

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(division) will have ended. Singh's own kind of sociology is dialectical i.e. it recognises the theses that (i) "man and society are engaged in a continuous process of producing each other in ever newer forms of continuity and change at the same time and (ii) society is both a subjective and an objective reality" (These theses) "dissolve the mutually exclusive dichotomies factor-systems, value-meaning, conflict-consensus, micro-macro, order-control, society-culture, etc. without wishing away the contradictions" (p 33). He dissociates himself by implication, from the oversocialised conception of man being overdone but is at the same time quite explicitly critical of "overly voluntarist and subjective views which lack in awareness of historical concreteness or objective existence of social structures and would leave man without adequate knowledge to master the existing human reality" (p 33).

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

This basic orientation helps us to see the method of Singh's study, selecting 7 private colleges—though, as Moonis Raza's foreword suggests, not the universality or generalisability of his findings, to all privately controlled/managed colleges to illustrate his view ("By whom and in whose interests, control is exercised in an educational institution decisively determines the immediate context in which education takes place... (and) the hidden curriculum for both students and teachers" (p. 47). What his theoretical position does not establish with any logical inevitability is his proposition that "only self fulfilment can ideally serve the normative orientation for educator's behaviour...to the extent that other principles of societal organisation enter the field, the process of education is distorted (and)...in all ongoing societies and at all stages of development, autonomy of education is relatively ensured, to protect education against being atrophied by alien principles of societal organisation" (p 46).

Here, possibly, however cautious and careful the phrasing, the

teacher's idealism or respect and commitment for his own professional self-image may have got the better of the social scientist in the author. Or, is it an expository mechanism with the device of contrasting to-day's deplorable condition with a stated ideal position? Such could well be the case when Singh approvingly (?) cites either "national" goals or J.P. Naik's far from Marxist (or critical social science-based) critique of post-Independence education alongside A.R. Kamat's critique of how India's dual system of education mirrors its class society (pp 2-4).

Singh takes strong issue superficially a position ironically in contrast with his earlier postulates on education as self fulfilment with protagonists of autonomy in education almost synonymous with support for private managements, such as Adiseshiah, Amrik Singh, V.V. John, Suma Chitnis *et al* showing how the former serves as a smokescreen for the latter. Curiously he spares Nurul Hasan, Satish Chandra *et al* (through omission) whose educational policies were a special mix of statist centralisation of the curriculum and financing, on the one hand, and support for elitist autonomous colleges on the other. This position is no less capitalistic in orientation than that of the ones coming in for critical mention at the hands of Singh.

His substantive study is documentation of the well-known subversion of education norms, conditioning of teacher's role and the conditions of students in private colleges. Unfortunately, these phenomena are reserved for personal knowledge (and even profit) by policymakers and educational leaders, even by academics studying education, but not mentioned in either policy documents and reports or learned writing. Singh's contribution lies in placing these within the framework of a cogent theoretical sociological perspective. He shows also how "national" values are subverted by RSS in managements. He draws attention to the differentiation among colleges along class lines expressed in higher and lower academic and sports attainments

etc. respectively which, again, is an illustration of the proposition presented schematically earlier in the book (p 8) how from the same subsidised levels of tuition fees the more privileged groups classes succeed in deriving better higher education.

But the author seems to have a problem. For example the term "pure management" used by him is somewhat euphemistic. The reference here is to entrepreneurs pure and simple who have little to do with education as such and run mammoth institutions, and through them control universities as well mainly using the private property created through public subsidy to colleges for private profit and patronage. The volume abounds in insights as well as in ambiguities and euphemisms of this kind. While the radical Marxist social scientist and the activist opponent of capitalism in the author sees it all-and knows it all-for reasons of his own, perhaps larger than education, and extending to the character of the Indian state—whether it is to be supported as a national democracy and reformed (rather than through socialist revolution destroyed and created anew) a problem of 'is' 'can be' and 'should be'—moderates many propositions, implicit or incipient in the argument. Nevertheless, the book should be seen as an important beginning in the sociology and political economy of Indian higher education.

P.D. Shukla's textbook on Indian educational administration should, by contrast, have been dismissed as a simple-minded recitation of the facts were it not for the high and responsible positions from which he has had opportunity to view the phenomenon he describes. Perhaps he does not choose to share with us all that he knows and thinks. In any case he is no sociologist or political scientist who might view the administration of education as an exercise in power and in balancing conflicting social and class interests in and through education (or for that matter establishing the dominance or supremacy of one class or group over another.)

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He starts the treatise with a reference to the new pattern of education (10+2+3) and its administration which is curious, thought understandable. He was Joint Educational Adviser and Chairman Central Board of Secondary Education largely responsible for putting this scheme on the ground. Happily, the book quickly takes off into the rest of the field, provides useful information e.g. population of various states and speaking various Indian languages or adhering to different religions, provisions in the Indian constitution affecting education, structure and organisation of education in the Central government and in the states, and so on. The book could have easily done without some of this information. For example the specific directorates and division of responsibilities between them change over so often and these details in any case are not really crucially connected with the process of educational administration. Seven chapters on legal bases for education, organising educational administration, district level of administration of education, educational planning, administration of educational finance, supervision and inspection and administration of higher education-besides an initial chapter on general background and a final one on conclusion make up the book. There is an appendix and an index, the former being "Copy of the guidelines for Drawing up Educational programmes in the New Plan 1977-83 issued with the Planning commission D.C. Letter No m. 130 11/77 Edu dated Novmber 4, 1977" which is obviously by now dated and superseded!

At a number of points some recurrent issues in educational administration are discussed e.g. the appointment of IAS officers as Directors of Education, the division of responsibility between education secretary and director of education, the role of the Educational Advisory Service in the Central Ministry of Education on which the author holds strong views and argues them. For instance, he is definite the Education Minister should not be an

educationist!

The book will certainly inform the foreigner and the general public. The fact that such material can be offered as a textbook for Master's level courses (that is the level at which it is taught) is not very very pleasant. Theorisation, abstraction, bringing out the linkages between theory and fact, leading to creative development in the former and a closer look at the latter characterise neither this book nor the courses which may rely on it. T.S. Sodhi's *Textbook on Comparative Education* does not fare much better in this regard. Its 13 chapters do provide usable reading material for examinees in the average Indian university but are far from even hinting at the theoretical propositions of comparative

education. The political, sociological ("Social method" p. 17) and historical dimensions of education studied comparatively require general concepts as well as theory. Of this there is little evidence. What we find are facts and supposed facts stated rather boldly and not always accurately. Vikas are not doing a very good service to the study of education through textbooks like this. For a good text should reflect the current state of the subject—internationally—and help shape teaching and learning along authentic and intellectually substantial lines.

Suresh Shukla is Professor of Education at Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi & editor of the Journal of Higher Education.

Withering Indian Economy

P.R. Brahmananda

Productivity in the Indian Economy—Rising Inputs for Falling Outputs
pp. xvi+279, Himalaya Publishing House, Bombay, 1982, Rs. 80.00

Reviewed by Shantilal Sarupria

The study essentially deals with three aspects : (a) comprehensive review of productivity trends, (b) causes of productivity decline, and (c) ways out of productivity impasse. Viewed from a chronological retrospect of author's writings since 1956, in none of these aspects, the present monograph can be considered unexceptional. Over the years, Brahmananda's bitter disenchantment with India's policy makers (which includes politicians) and the planners (inclusive of Planning Commission and the economists who support it) has only increased. The volume, a further elaboration, in particular, of the author's earlier work *Planning for a Futureless Economy* (1978), turns out to be a severe indictment of India's development strategy and a forecast of a bleak future. The book, no doubt, makes a distinct contribution in terms of a comprehensive treatment of productivity trends in the Indian economy, notwithstanding intricate methodological problems and weaknesses of data base.

DECLINING PRODUCTIVITY

The central phenomenon of Brahmananda's latest book, namely, declining productivity, has been apparent for quite some time now. The fact that the net domestic saving rate has moved from around six per cent in 1951, when the country embarked upon the so called 'path of planned development', to as high as 19.6 per cent in 1978-79, and 16.7 per cent in 1981-82, without any significant impact on the economy's growth rate, is a matter of serious concern. What is furthermore disconcerting is the fact that since the mid-70's, the economy has been faced with 'stagnation'; the term does not mean a 'static' or 'no change' situation, it is used by economists to indicate that the economy, in terms of growth (both its quantum and structural dimensions), is not doing as well as in the earlier years. In simple statistical terms, the capital stock (at 1970-71 prices) of the economy increased from Rs. 7585 crore to Rs. 29,827 crore in

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1980-81 (i.e. by 293 per cent), while the net domestic product moved by only 93 per cent, from Rs. 9859 crore to Rs. 18,902 crore. It, in other words, means that the overall capital productivity has declined by over 51.5 per cent in the three decades, of which as much as 35 per cent occurred during the last decade only (1971-81).

Obviously, productivity performance cannot be judged in capital terms alone. Brahmananda's treatment of productivity is quite wide-ranging, encompassing both the neoclassical and classical economics. The author has used five key concepts : (i) Single Factor Productivity (SFP; single factors being land, labour and capital) (ii) Total Factor Productivity (TFP); (iii) Gross Output to Gross Input (GOGI); (iv) Net Output/Consumption Output to Gross Input (NOGI/COGI); and (v) Surplus to Capital Ratio (SK). The last one, Surplus Ratio, is based on the Ricardian/classical economic theory, with the objective to treat maintenance of labour force at par with the maintenance of capital stock, and finding out the profitability potential of capital. In practice, Brahmananda has used 1950-51 wage level as the 'maintenance wage' for the labour force for the subsequent time-points.

Having spelt out the analytical tools and their conceptual foundations (Part I, Chapters I-IV), the author looks at the productivity performance of the Indian economy sector by sector and sub-sector by sub-sector, both together some 20 of them (Part II : Sectoral Trends, and Part III : Perspectives on the Sectors, Chapters V-IX). Being keen to enlarge the scope of the study into the areas of political economy, Brahmananda regroups these sectors into four sub-sets : Commercial sub-set and its three sub-variants—Private Commercial, Public Commercial and Private Non-agricultural Commercial (Part IV : Aggregative Trends, Chapters XI-XVI). The result is some 124 statistical tables, usually in sets of five (and, at times, seven) for each sector/sub-sector/aggregation. Each of the table is followed by a stereotype, mechanistic and monotonous description, especially since the

emerging trends are so very universal. The 'productivity content' of the book would certainly have been greater if there were fewer tables, may be large-sized ones, with a more compact description.

THE PUBLIC SECTOR

The author rarely misses an opportunity to snipe at the public sector institutions. Talking about public sector-owned air-transport, to give a typical example, the author says, "Since...the sector serves...predominantly the top political leaders, legislators, salaried managers and executives, no special effort seems to have been made to make the operation of the sector viable from a dynamic angle" (p.87). If a poor reader missed such a statement at any one place, it gets repeated at several places! A part of the inter-sectoral discrepancy in productivity performance can be attributed to the internal inconsistency of the C.S.O. data, which the author has not examined. For example, the C.S.O. definition of value added/output in Government sector accounts for only salaries and wages paid out, excluding both the government purchases and the services of assets held. Similarly, the treatment of inventory capital is different. It is also known that certain sectoral incomes, especially for the registered manufacturing, are under-reported. Again, Brahmananda's analysis is based on four points of time/years, giving rise to known sparse data problems. And lastly, as the author himself concedes, some of the assumptions (such as existence of competitive conditions, relative weights, etc.) underlying his theoretical formulations may not be easily acceptable.

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE PRODUCTIVITY SPECTRUM

Let us take a quick look at the broad productivity spectrum of the Indian economy as revealed by this impressive monograph. Considering the three-decade period (1951-81) the TFP for the economy as a whole increased by an annual rate of just 1.15 per cent, contributing about one-third of the increase in the domestic output. But then the vital sectors like agriculture and allied activities (less than half per cent), forestry, mining, and registered manufacturing (all showing a negative change) recorded a far more disastrous performance. With the exception of 'transport other than railways' and public administration, all other sectors showed less than two per cent annual increase in TFP.

More telling, however, is the trend noted in the last decade (1971-81), wherein over half of the sectors (including entire primary and manufacturing) showed a negative TFP growth in a range of 0.16 to 6.75 per cent. For the economy as a whole, the TFP rate was less than half a per cent (as against 1.72 per cent for the period 1951-71). Concludes the author: "...during the first two decades productivity and accumulation both were nearly equal sources of growth, in the third decade the overt emphasis seems to be only on accumulation" (p.146). And this phenomenon comes into still sharper focus in terms of capital-output ratios, more familiar concepts of productivity measurement. For the aggregate economy, Incremental Capital-Output Ratio (ICOR, indicative of how we use our additional capital resources), rose from 2.79 in the first decade (1951-61) to

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6.22 in the last decade (1971-81). This increase has been particularly significant in the case of public sector enterprises, in whose case ICOR jumped over three times, from 3.12 to 10.58. For the sectors of forestry and mining, the ICOR has risen by as much as 1190 and 1201 per cent, respectively. The other productivity measures tell the same story. It should, however, be noted that in per unit terms the relative productivity has risen fastest for land, less for labour, and least for capital. For the economy, the actual profit rate as a percentage of maximum rate (calculations based on SK ratio) has declined from 54 in 1960-61 to 45 in 1980-81.

In the last section of the book (Part V, Chapters XVIII-XX), Brahmananda rejects the standard explanation given by economists (based on "choice of techniques") for the *Productivity Fade Out* and addresses himself to the subject, so close to his heart, of overall Development Strategy in an attempt towards formulating a "New Theory" and an "Integrated Policy" for productivity growth. In his overall critique of India's development strategy and his own strong views about the alternative, Brahmananda is unlikely to win many friends. There are several suggestions such as restructuring the investment pattern and technology-mix (both inter-sectoral and intra-sectoral), better management, population control, curbing the parallel economy etc., which will receive universal acclaim; (although experience shows that such an acclaim by itself does not make the task of realizing these goals any easier).

For a full exposure of the policy-frame that Brahmananda is advocating, one has to wait until one reaches Appendix II of the book and the experience may be quite unsettling, (of course, if you will, you may start all over again!). What Brahmananda seems to be advocating is an incredulous intermarriage, to say the least, of the Gandhian approach (with its emphasis upon curbing the materialistic pursuits), *Kautilyan* polity (virtual totalitarian control by the self-enlightened 'king' with his "well spread-out spy system"), and the American (or western) *laissez faire* economy.

Thus, he would want a lot of voluntary action, scrapping up of anti-monopoly legislation and controls (not on the grounds that they do not work, but on the basis that they certainly inhibit productivity growth), giving up import substitution policy (and reap the comparative advantages of international trade), imposition of an *Economic Emergency* (not much different from the one that we experienced a few years' back), suppression of politicians (who are "good for nothing") and trade union leaders, so on and so forth, and thus "time that we brought about a U-turn in our pers-

pectives..." (p. 247). Brahmananda himself has little hope (and that may come as a relief to many) that these "solutions" will ever be taken up, grudging that "there is no invisible hand in Indian political economy", and ends the book by reminding us of the good old adage: "Hope is good for breakfast, and not for supper." It is difficult to get away from the feeling that Brahmananda's voice, Messianic at times, is a voice lost in Wilderness!'

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Deeply Involved

Manorama B. Trikha

Robert Frost: The Poetry of Clarifications

pp. 259, Arnold-Heinemann, 1983, Rs. 60.00

Reviewed by Manju Jaidka

"The figure a poem makes. It begins in delight and ends in wisdom... It ends in a clarification of life—not necessarily a great clarification...but a momentary stay against confusion." This famous quotation from the prefatory note to Robert Frost's *Collected Poems* serves as an epigraph to Manorama B. Trikha's book and raises expectations in a discerning reader. If Frost's poetry is one of 'clarifications', Trikha's book should offer, if anything, a 'clarification of clarifications'. Like the figure a poem makes, one hopes to see the book beginning in delight and ending, if not in wisdom, at least in understanding.

As the author admits in the preface, a new critic of Frost begins with the handicap that far too much has already been written on the poet. Consequently, one has to make a conscious effort not to be guided or influenced by the critical material available in abundance, as also to explore new dimensions of an already overworked subject. As it is, we see no clear evidence of a new point of view emerging in this study, although we watch the author leaning at almost every step on the massive Frost scholarship,

IN THE INTEREST OF ECONOMY

The book is divided into six chapters titled "A Backward Glance", "Beliefs : Poetic or Otherwise", "Definitive Choices", "Vastness of Forces", "Contraries and Antitheses", and "Towards the Source". Trikha begins with a chapter detailing Frost's life, background and the main influences on his life and art. The information gathered here is truly and breathtakingly wide: we are told of Frost's initiation into poetry, of his courtship and marriage with Elinor Miriam White, of the ups and downs in their marital life and of the deaths in the family. While some of this biographical information is undoubtedly essential for the understanding of the poet, our attention is often distracted by what appears to be irrelevant trivia of the obvious kind: does it help to be told that once in 1962 Frost "saw in a delirium the vengeanceful (sic!) face of one of his children staring at him accusingly"? Or that there were moments when Frost wished his secretary, Kathleen Morrison, would divorce her husband and marry him? And does

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it really matter to us that the secretary's husband once called Frost "a bad man" (p.25)? Since nothing is made of this information in the explication of the work, one would have wanted to be spared of it the interest of economy and critical decorum.

The second half of the introductory chapter is a summary of the influence of Emerson, William James and Bergson on Frost. Here again Trikha relies almost completely on critics such as Untermyer, Yvor Winters, Joseph Warren Beach, Lawrence Thompson, R.L. Cook, Reuben Brower and Arthur O. Lovejoy. After this ensemble of critical eminences, one wonders what else is left to say. Trikha, conscious of this fact, simply collects their views to illustrate her own premise that in spite of these influences, Frost "maintained his own integrity...the sources of his strength lay...in his own 'beliefs', poetic or otherwise" (p. 49).

FROST'S BELIEFS

The discussion of Frost's 'beliefs' draws upon the poet's prose works and interviews. Taking her cue from Frost's essay, "Education by Poetry", Trikha discusses three major beliefs—self-belief, love-belief and art-belief—which ultimately lead to his God-belief. "If Frost's 'self-belief' is a celebration of his independence, his 'love-belief' shows his awareness of human dependence, that is, emotional reliance on those he loves" (p. 61). A synthesis of love-belief and self belief creates art-belief. "Love convinces the poet to go ahead with his creative designs which are delicately shaped by his 'art-belief'" (p. 64). The art-belief relates to his poetic style, his use of sound, rhythms and tone in order to achieve a particular effect—that is, "the common speaking tones of living individuals" (p.77). The section concludes with a discussion of Frost's God-belief as it is developed in his *Masques*. These beliefs are seen in relation to Frost's poetry so copiously cited in the book. However, Trikha never leaves her critical crutches and what we do get eventually by way of explica-

tion is a simple repetition of earlier views. A pity this, for the author misses a welcome opportunity of engaging the reader in a critical debate over poetry and belief in the context of a significant modern poet.

CONCEPT OF CHOICE

Like all sensitive individuals Frost ponders the meaning of life, feels the precariousness of human existence and is aware of man's 'definitive choices' in the face of vast hostile forces. Frost's characters are often required to make a choice that determines the course of their later lives. This point inevitably brings to mind the Kierkegaardian concept of choice (even though Trikha studies Frost in relation to Paul Tillich): man is free to choose from a given set of alternatives. He will have to face the consequences of his choice and suffer anguish and despair at the risks involved. This aspect of Frost's belief—the concept of choice viewed from the existential point of view—is left untouched by Manorama Trikha. There are cursory references to Karl Jaspers (pp. 123, 125), but no serious attempt is made to tackle the issues at stake. Frost's characters make their choice in spite of hostile forces both internal and external. Internally they are divided within themselves and externally they are pitted against societal pressures, race, science and even nature (something that Thomas Hardy's characters also suffer). "The direct encounter with (conflicts) teaches man the art of coming to grips with them...and to an artist it provides his much needed artistic detachment" (p. 162). Frost's desire is to create order out of chaos, a "momentary stay against confusion". Analysing Frost's exploration of contraries to reach

his personal conclusions, Trikha once again fails to place this exploration against, say, Blake's and Yeats' search for wholeness through contraries. A comparative assessment would have made the discussion more substantial than it actually is.

The themes tackled by Manorama Trikha have, unfortunately, already been worn almost threadbare by earlier and more authoritative critics of Frost. Her own contribution is descriptive in nature. She could have gone into greater depth by making thematic comparisons between Frost and Hardy, or seen Frost's nature philosophy in the light of changing attitudes to nature. Or, again the critic could have focussed on Frost's intense moments of realisation, 'a lighting-up of hope and a dimming-down to wisdom', to quote Irving Howe's memorable description of them.

READABLE

And yet, in a curious sort of way, the book is readable. For one thing, it conveys the author's deep involvement with her subject. She shows genuine enthusiasm, even though sometimes this enthusiasm carries her away, as when she goes ecstatic (well, almost) over a poem's imagery (p. 105), or when she defends Frost against hostile criticism a bit too assertively (pp. 113, 139, 140, 178). A little extra editorial attention to the latter half of the book would surely have resulted in its much-needed trimming and eliminated printing errors, particularly in the punctuation of the bibliography.

To sum up, while a serious scholar looking for a fresh insight

Our reviewers, knowledgeable and perceptive as they are, need not be allowed to have the last word. It is for you to argue with them. Our columns are as much open to you as to them.

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to Frost would probably be disappointed, Ms Trikha's book would be useful to a beginner: without having to read his Frost critics separately, he will find them all

collaged here.

Manju Jaidka lectures in English at the M.C.M. College for Girls, Chandigarh.

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An Important Contribution

Philip G. Altbach

Higher Education in the Third World : Themes & Variations

pp. 28, Maruzen Asia (P) Ltd, Singapore, 1982, Price not stated

Reviewed by Amrik Singh

Philip G. Altbach is one of those few American scholars who in the course of their professional career have looked beyond the borders of their own country. Going by the book in hand he gives evidence of having first-hand knowledge about India, Singapore, Malaysia, Kuwait, Japan and quite a few other developing countries. It is important to call attention to this aspect of Altbach's work while reviewing this book.

When one comes to think of it, it is astonishing that so far very little attention has been given to Higher Education in the Third World. The Third World is not one unified concept. It includes countries in three continents—Asia, Africa and Latin America. In terms of numbers, their number would come to about hundred. Whatever be the other variations, as noted by the author, they share the following three characteristics:

(1) The Third World academic systems serve a small proportion of the relevant age group. Whereas in countries like the U.S. more than one-third have access to higher education, in these countries the percentage of the relevant age group which goes to college is hardly 1% or 2%.

(2) Largely because of historical reasons, each one of these countries is linked with one of the major academic systems in the developed world. The three countries which exercise the largest measure of influence in this regard are Britain, the United States

and France. Consequently, the advanced countries being the intellectual 'centre' and the other hundred countries being on the 'periphery' is a concept which is very much applicable to their respective situations.

(3) In most of these Third World countries, except perhaps Latin America, the key medium of instruction in higher education is by and large a European language which was popular in that particular country before the period of de-colonisation.

There three characteristics are so marked that they set these hundred odd countries apart from all others. These are countries in Europe for instance which are not substantial in size and yet at the same time they cannot be described as peripheral to the 'centre.' Belgium is one example. Another example can be Czechoslovakia.

CENTRE & PERIPHERY

The key concept in this entire discussion is the concept of the Centre and the Periphery. A separate chapter is devoted to this theme wherein it is brought out clearly that knowledge is produced mostly in these advanced countries and then exported to the Third World through books and journals. Quite logically, one of the sub-themes of the book is the Distribution of Knowledge wherein the whole gamut of issues dealing with scholarly publishing in the Third World as well as the channels of communication are con-

sidered in depth. This is the strongest part of book and deserves to be read with care.

What is stated is not all that new or earth-shaking but the very tact that it is stated in some detail and forms the core of the argument by a scholar who is based in one of the American universities is significant by itself. Most scholars in the developed world are so self-centred that as far as they are concerned the rest of the world exists mainly for their sake. In their world view the centre of the stage is occupied by their country or by a few other developed countries. Altbach's book provides a refreshing contrast to this approach and is to be welcomed from that point of view also.

An important question to ask here is why no one in the Third World has yet taken initiative to even convene a seminar to discuss these problems. The answer, sad to say, is the very issue about which the book is written. In each of the Third World countries, the university is one of the peripheral activities and seldom at the centre of things. Altbach has dwelt on it with great insight and eloquence but there is one dimension missing from his analysis.

WHY PERIPHERAL

How is it that despite more than a century in countries like India the university still continues to be on the periphery? One important reason for it is the fact that in developed countries literacy has been a universal phenomenon for almost a century. In most of these countries everyone goes to school till the age of 15-16. It is only after that that one reaches the stage of higher education. Not only that, in addition to the school system which covers the entire population, there is the whole infrastructure of bookshops, public libraries, magazines, journals, the daily press and now of late the ever present media.

Each one of them is an educative force and each one of them moulds the thinking of children as they get shaped into citizens. For some years now the media has been blamed for playing not exactly a constructive role. That controversy apart, the

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fact remains that there is hardly any gap between the town and the country and whatever be the differences of class the educational system covers each and every child. It might have been helpful if the author had also probed this aspect of the problem in some depth.

The fact however remains that Altbach has uncovered a new set of problems which require intensive and detailed discussion. He also has a separate section dealing with Teachers and Students and the crucial role of the professoriate. In particular, he dwells upon the

attitude of servitude which most professors in the Third World display. In their professional outlook as well as conduct they underline the point that they belong to a university system which is on the 'periphery' and not at the 'centre' of things. This is what calls for some heart-searching on the part of those who not only are victims of the system but also choose to perpetuate the psychology of being victims.

—Editor

Harbans Singh. *The Heritage of the Sikhs*. Delhi, Manohar, 1983. 398 p. Rs. 150.00

Quarries significant patterns and leitmotifs, out of the riches of Sikh civilisation, that define the existence of the community.

Manekkar, D.R. *Sheer Anecdotes: Leaves from a Reporter's Diary*. Delhi, Allied, 1983. 475 p. Rs. 60.00

Comprises vignettes of diverse experiences, the author gathered during his professional life and his impressions of the interesting events he covered and eminent personalities he came across during his peregrinations worldwide and of confreres in his own profession.

Puri, Harish K. *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*. Amritsar, Guru Nanak Dev University, 1983. 218 p. Rs. 80.00

Provides a deeper understanding of the Ghadar Movement and of significant issues related to the theory and practice of revolutionary change.

Sharma, Dhirendra. *India's Nuclear Estate*. Delhi, Lancers, 1983. 195 p. Rs. 115.00

Recommends an amendment to the Atomic Energy Act of 1962 to open nuclear research to those who may like to pursue it and demands that the Department of Atomic Energy be made accountable to public and subject to regulatory supervision by formal independent agencies.

Singh, K.S., ed. *Economics of the Tribes and their transformation*. Delhi, Concept, 1982. 449 p. Rs. 160.00, \$ 32.00

Presents an all India conspectus of the economies of the tribes through case studies from different parts of the country on various modes of production.

Letter

Sir

I am writing a line on Prof. Fauja Singh, one of your distinguished reviewers who passed away a couple of weeks ago.

For years Professor of History and Chairman at the Panjab University in Patiala, Dr. Fauja Singh was an historian primarily of Panjab history who was known far beyond the state's limited confines. He wrote a large number of books of which two stick out in my memory: *Military System of the Sikhs*, 1799-1849 and the *Kuka Movement*. Both these as indeed his writing on the whole bore the clear imprint of a dedicated researcher who was fair to his evidence and cautious in draw-

ing his conclusions. In personal life Professor Fauja Singh was generous to a fault, soft-spoken, warm and friendly. He was lucid in expression and even though forthright in his views rarely caused offence. The most controversial of seminar discussions with him was a pleasant experience—one understood him, learnt a lot but no heat was generated and no sparks ever flew.

In Professor Fauja Singh's death Indian history in general and Panjab history in particular has lost a great scholar and a fine man and the *IBC* a columnist whose reviews one always looked forward to reading.

Yours Truly
Parshotam Mehra

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Bipan Chandra, ed. *The Indian Left: Critical Appraisals*. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. 446 p. Rs. 150.00

Attempts at a sympathetic understanding of the growth of Left in India with special reference to Left resurgence of 1950s that remained unfulfilled.

Gupta, Janak Raj. *Burden of Tax in Punjab: An Inter-Sectoral and Inter-Class Analysis*. Delhi, Concept, 1983. 223 p. Rs. 90.00, \$ 18.00

Examines the redistribution effects of both taxation and expenditure policies. Builds a strong case for tax on agri-

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D.S. Mehta

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NEWS AND REVIEWS



A VIVEK TRUST FORTNIGHTLY

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Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf

Regional Inequalities in India

Gujarati Short Stories : An Anthology

Maharaja Suraj Mal 1707-1763

A Study of Sweeper Women in Delhi

Critique of Indian Philosophy History and Culture

Challenges to Trade and Industry : Some Reflections

The Victorian Novel

Issues Before Non-Alignment

Framework of Indian Politics

Tribes of India : The Struggle for Survival

SPACE (A Novel)

by James A. Michener

The countless readers who are familiar with such great Michener works as *Hawaii*, *The Source*, *Centennial*, *Chesapeake* and *The Covenant* will recall that they are all set in vast time frames, ranging from hundreds to millions of years, and that their actions take place in settings all around the world. The action in *Space* is confined to a tight frame of only forty years, but in a scene that extends for billions of miles beyond the surface of Earth.

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Space is a compelling narrative, fiction for the most part, but solidly built on the factual and the possible.

First published by Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1982, and now available in its first Indian edition.
1983 (rep.) 640 pp. Rs. 60.00

Original price : £. 8.95

A TIGER FOR MALGUDI (A novel)

by R.K. Narayan

R.K. Narayan's magnificent new novel is about a tiger possessed of the soul of an enlightened human being. Raja leaves his home in the Mempi hills only to find he is captured and made to perform in a circus and on a film set. When he finally regains his freedom he is led back to the hills by a holy man who talks to him about the mysteries of life. They live in perfect harmony until old age overtakes Raja and he is once more imprisoned, this time in a zoo.

A haunting tale told with all of Narayan's customary wit and subtlety.

First published by William Heinemann, London, April 1933, and now available in its first Indian edition.
1983 (rep.) 192 pp. Rs. 40.00

Original price : £. 7.95



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Indian Book Chronicle

Vol. VIII, No. 14, July 16, 1983

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Regional Inequalities

The stresses and tensions generated through disparities in the levels of regional development in the Indian polity have, of late, acquired alarming dimensions that threaten to strike at the very roots that sustain the nation's federal system. This has brought to a sharp focus the need for a better understanding of the structure of spatial inequities and of the inadequacies in the strategies, evolved since independence, for reducing the regional imbalances in India. It is in this context that the efforts of the Society for the Study of Regional Disparities in organising an All-India Conference on the problems of regional disparities, centre-state relationship etc., and in bringing out the present volume comprising a select set of papers of the conference becomes relevant and extremely important.

WIDE CANVAS

The book* has quite a wide canvas. A few papers deal with the problem of interstate inequality in terms of the distribution of income (per capita) while a few others examine the problem focussing on individual sectors viz. agriculture, industry and education. A couple of these review the functioning of the institutional mechanism designed for transferring resources from centre to states or that of the public distribution of foodgrains and assess their impact on interstate inequalities. The analysis in the remaining papers is confined to the intra-state variations in agriculture, industry or overall development. The areas covered by the last set of studies are the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, Haryana and Karnataka and the district of Bangalore.

METHODOLOGY

Being a latecomer on the academic scenario, regional science has the dubious advantage of being saved the trouble of developing its own methodology. The sisterly disciplines have attained formidable heights of mathematical sophistication from where the techniques are flowing freely into the field of regional analysis. While quantification and methodological rigour are welcome in every branch of social research, it is important to note that the implication of a technique must be examined before applying it in a given context, especially if its assumptions happen to be not well-known. Besides, when a scholar is addressing a larger audience within the social science fraternity, as seems to be the case in the present book (and also that of the Society) it is desirable that he uses well accepted and simpler tools of analysis so that the methodological discussion comes only in the background and the focus is on the empirical issues, which unfortunately is not the case in the present volume.

The clarity with regard to the direction and purpose has been lost in the book at least partially because the papers, a good many of them, fail to concentrate on the basic questions because of their predisposition to the techniques of analysis, and also because the volume mixes up macro and micro level issues. Ashok Gupta's paper on the determinants of the von-

*L. S. Bhat et al, Editors, *Regional Inequalities in India—An Inter-State Intra-State Analysis*, pp. 272, Society for the Study of Regional Disparities, 1982, Rs. 80.00 U.S. \$ 20.00
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July 16, 1983

Neumann trajectory for balanced socio-economic development is an interesting methodological exercise but totally out of place. Hemalata Rao identifies the backward talukas of Bangalore district using the principal component analysis but the study would be more important for those who want to use the methodology. This is an extremely useful study although a statistician may raise his eyebrow at the application of this technique on eleven observations with thirteen indicators. V. K. Seth's description of various indices of industrial concentration and shift, in the first (larger) half of the paper, is redundant and not free from typographical and conceptual errors. The "lorenz curves" (or perhaps they are called so by mistake) make one wonder how they have acquired such peculiar shapes.

NO ATTEMPT TO INTEGRATE

The interdistrict variations in educational development in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka are articulated through composite indices in two separate papers by J.B.G. Tilak and Usha Ram Kumar. In computing the indices based on constant cost or varying cost weightages, Tilak multiplies the percentages of population with different educational attainments by the corresponding per pupil costs. This implies that the composite index is only an approximation of the aggregate per capita cost. The question one may ask is why approximate when the actual is available. The method used by Kumar for composition is open to criticism as he does not distinguish between the positive and negative indicators and simply aggregates the rank scores of all the indicators to determine the overall levels of educational development. Also, one notices that the papers on intra-state analysis specially relating to education hang about loosely in the volume and the editors have made no attempt to integrate the different pieces within a comprehensive framework.

There are, however, a number of papers that put forward substantive empirical findings relating to the macro-economic issues. Grace Mazumdar's paper analysing the inter-state income inequality (showing an upward trend) and consumption inequality (showing no distinct trend) casts serious doubts on the effectiveness of the strategies for balanced regional development. K.N. Kabra examines the variation in the availability of foodgrains before and after the state intervention (excluding the movements in the free market) among the major states. The negative correlation between the output and procurement prior to the mid-sixties and the subsequent reversal of the relationship throw open several important policy questions. The papers by K.R.G. Nair and K.K. George look into the problem of centre-state financial relations and argue that the central transfers have been inadequate and lacked the progressiveness to equalise the budgetary expenditure at the state level. O.P. Mahajan, on the other hand attempts to show that in the location of the central sector industrial projects the backward states have enjoyed a distinct advantage.

To sum up the book is a welcome addition to the regional studies on India. Most of the papers are asking the very important questions of how and why of spatial inequality and are attempting to find empirical answers. For future ventures one may suggest that the papers primarily concerned with methods of analysis or with micro level situation may be excluded from a collection of the present sort. On the other hand, an attempt should be made to make it comprehensive by including the macro level analysis of few other sectors of the economy like power, transport, banking etc. and a review of various governmental policies including the licensing policy, designed to ensure a balanced regional development.

Amitabh Kundu is Director of the Institute of Urban Studies, New Delhi.

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

An Odd Collection

Sarala Jag Mohan, Editor

Gujarati Short Stories : An Anthology
Vikas, 1982, Rs. 75.00

Reviewed by Ayyappa Paniker

The blurb says :

"*Gujarati Short Stories*, prepared in collaboration with the Author Guild of India, will certainly give an insight into the social reality of Gujarat, its manifold problems, as well as the aspirations of people belonging to different strata of society".

The editor in the Introduction says :

"A marked feature of the present day Gujarati Short story is that in respect of its technique and style, except in the case of a few writers, they are hardly typically Gujarati. They are Gujarati short stories in the sense that they have been written in that language. They could have been written in any other language. However, there are still some writers whose short stories do reveal the landscape of Gujarat, but they are an exception to the rule".

LAZY GENERALIZATION

The twenty stories in the collection prove the truth of the editor's observation and belie the blurb-writer's lazy generalization. It would even appear that the editor wanted to prove her point by carefully selected stories which had very little of Gujarati life and landscape reflected in them. The two or three exceptions only prove the rule. Even the first story by Gulabdas Broker, who should know his Gujarat well, tells the life story of a girl who grew up in Calcutta and moved to Delhi seeking the career of a call girl. While the narration is smooth, no doubt, one has the feeling that it is not one of the author's best or most characteristic stories. It has the sweep of a novelle, but being squeezed into the length of a short story, it has had to forgo the richness of details.

Pannalal Patel's "Magic of the Flute" is more Gujarati in spirit although the balance is titled "

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

July 16, 1983

like most of the stories in the collection, these two stories by two masters also resort to a last minute reversal in the plot. More than half the stories in this collection seem to depend on this Aristotelian device for their effect.

LOW CLASS LIFE

"The life Inside" by the late Chunilal Madia (who died at the early age of 47) is one of the best stories in the volume. In the space of less than six pages he has packed a genuine drama of low class life, typical of the Saurashtra country-side. Its universality comes from being rooted in regional life. Jamlo and Gomli speak and act in character. The humour and the tragedy of their daily life dramatise the plight of the have-nots everywhere. The bitter irony and sarcasm in this description of the behaviour of the passengers in the train are the result of a close and concerned observation of human nature. Between the illiterate couple outwit not only the passengers who did not welcome their entry into the compartment, but even the ticket examiner who probably thought he knew all the wiles of ticketless passengers. Gomli's cry invoking "the life inside" deeply touched the heart of the ticket collector. This story ends in a fine blend of humour and pathos:

"The ticket collector quickly put back the pencil in his pocket and abandoned the idea of demanding money for tickets not only from Jamlo and Gomli but likewise from the other passengers in the compartment. And he had no inclination to sleep into any other compartment that night. Gomli's crumpled and humiliated womanhood continued to trouble him.

Even the ticket collector, who well, fell asleep after day break, when he was bundled across the longish stretch of a river, he saw in the bright morning air a male sarus crane tenderly passing food to the female from his beak. That sight brought peace to the Saheb's mind."

MASTER CRAFTSMAN

One of the more remarkable stories in this collection is the very

short story "The Cycle", by that master craftsman Suresh Joshi. Unlike most of the other stories, this has been translated well. "The Cycle" represents a new concept of the short story. There is no elaborate plot covering a long period of time. There are very few incidents and very few characters: It is a psychological story, describing the abnormally paranoic sensibility and hallucinations of Labhshanker, who, after the death of his wife and two children, is haunted by the images of death.

The abandonment of the plot has not been an unmixed blessing to the Gujarat short story as shown by Saroj Pathak's "The Trump Card", Shivkumar Joshi's "A Top Secret" and Jyotish Jani's "Third Seat! Seventh Row!", which are too thin and laboured. Mohammed Mankand's, "When He Dreamt of Her" is distinguished by the reversal of situation at the end: there is little else in it. "Red Glow of the New Moon" by Kundanika Kapadia is an interesting episode in the life of a mother in her last days when she begins to develop a new and beautiful relationship with her American-born daughter-in-law, who is not as insensitive as her Indian daughters-in-law.

OTHER STORIES

In Dhoruben Patel's "The Revelation" too there is a reversal at the end, but this time, it is internalized as far as the protagonist Visans is concerned. In the holy Manikarnika Ghat, the sceptical son comes to realise that his mother was a far more complex character than he had taken her to be. This is a story with symbolic overtones, one of the better ones in the book. Ela Dave's "The Stranger" somehow fails to click in spite of the effort made by the author, or perhaps because of that effort. On the other hand, Madhu Rye's "The Building" and Himanshu Vohra's "A Member of the Family" are both stories of some psychological interest which are rendered well. Both are characterized by a subtle sense of humour which gives credibility to the situations described. The reversal of situation in "A Member of the Family" is very effective.

tively brought out.

Radheshyam Sharma's "Photographic Diary" and Vibhoot Shah's "Only a Woman" are just ordinary pieces. Ghanashyam Desai's "The Crow" is a fine story in the surrealistic vein. It is an allegorical fantasy which brings out the carnivorous self-consuming passion in the man. "The Mirror" by Utpal Bhayani, the youngest contributor to the volume, is also psychological, but he prefers realism to fantasy and concentrates on social or political types. Ila Arab Mehta's "The Horizon", like Kundanika Kapadia's story mentioned earlier, is a delicate exploration of feminine sensibility caught in the glow of expected death. "The Horizon", neatly rendered into English is a tribute to the benign influence of nature on man felt even in the heart of Bombay described here as a jungle of concrete.

"The sea. I can see it filling the entire horizon from the balcony of my apartment. It's a wonderful sight. After returning from office every evening I look at the sea for long hours. As the sun sets, I see its varied hues reflected in the waters. I see the restless waves and as they tumble on the lands on the shore. The fierce movement of the waves and the calm of the shore. I feel they symbolise life".

The reviewer would be failing in his duty if he did not mention the fact that the majority of the stories are very badly translated. Among them are those translated by the well meaning editor. One wonders how the linguistic howlers and typographical blunders escaped the attention of the ever vigilant editorial assistants of Vikas.

Ayyappa Paniker is Professor of English at the University of Kerala, Trivandrum.

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July 16, 1983

History as Biography

K. Natwar Singh

Maharaja Suraj Mal, 1707-1763

pp. xi+136, *Vikas*, Rs. 35.00

Reviewed by V.N. Datta

The eighteenth century India has served as a deterrent to the historians working on it. It is to Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Decline and Fall of the Mughal Empire* to which scholars will turn again and again as a storehouse of valuable information. K. Natwar Singh, the author of the book under review, laments that the Jats, though a brave and proud race, have no historian to record their achievements—the Sikhs had their Cunningham, the Rajputs their Tod and the Marathas their Duff. K.R. Kanungo produced his *History of the Jats*, a vivid account of the political fortunes of the Jats but this was a chronological political history, lacking integrated analysis.

The eighteenth century has eluded historians. This is largely so due to the scattered nature of the variety of source material requiring knowledge of Persian, English, Marathi, and French languages. The eighteenth century was a period of creative confusion, an age of trouble when anarchy and disorder prevailed, when people settled their disputes by resort to wars, when men no longer wrestled with religious or social ideas. The Great Mughals turned pygmies and the invaders from the north, the south, and the east were gaining ascendancy through negotiations, parleys and limited wars. The question is how to tackle the history of the eighteenth century!

One method could be to reconstruct the whole period by providing a political narrative of principal events. The other approach, more meaningful, is to concentrate on some of the principal figures of the eighteenth century. Sir Lewis Namier, perhaps the greatest of the historians in this century, regarded history as the biography of men. Natwar-Singh's biography is welcome because such a venture might help us in understanding the politics

and culture of the period under study.

RISE & ACHIEVEMENTS

The author traces the history of the rise and achievements of Suraj Mal who by virtue of his reckless courage, diplomatic skill, remarkable sense of timing and physiographic tact established himself as perhaps the 'greatest commander and statesman of the Jat race'. Suraj Mal, the author

maintains, was not an intellectual or a scholar of the library but a practical man of wisdom. He was primarily a man of action. He would not turn back or worry about the future. What mattered him was here and now.

At the siege of Kumher he defeated the combined Mughal-Maratha army of 80,000. He maintained independence of character and neither *chauth* or *serdeshmukhi* to the Marathas. He never bowed his head. He had a high sense of honour. He would break rather than submit to any nonsense. He destroyed a mosque, employed Muslims in his service and followed the Muslim style of administration. He treated the Maratha refugees generously when they fled from Panipat after having been vanquished by the Abdali. He became the undisputed

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master of the Jamuna tract controlling most of the districts round Delhi. He made the Jats a nation and gave them sense of pride, security and welfare.

At the last battle with Najib, he died at 56 which deprived the Jats of their 'finest statesman'. He weathered many storms and never lost his *sang froid*. Such was Suraj Mal : a man of extraordinary flint and iron, cunning but far from evil, who knew how to come to terms with life and who combined in him the best of the worst age in the history of India. He just missed being a great man.

CENTRE PIECE

The centre piece of the story to this writer is the third battle of Panipat. What was Suraj Mal role in it? Did he side with Sadasiv Rao Bhaos? Initially he was inclined to assist Bhaos but later advised the Maratha commander to carry on an irregular warfare against the Abdali and not to fight a pitched battle. This advice was sound but Bhaos, an obstinate and arrogant general, destitute of military comprehension, and suffering from self-righteousness paid no heed to Suraj Mal's advice. Further Bhaos appointed Naro Shanker as the new *wazir*. He had also made Shujah-ud-Daula his enemy. Bhaos knew nothing of diplomacy and military strategy. In these circumstances, the wisest course for Suraj Mal was to keep aloof from the war. This Suraj Mal did, and Natwar-Singh calls it 'statesmanship' and not 'treachery' (p. 91).

Quietly Suraj Mal slipped out to Ballabgarh. My quarrel with Natwar-Singh is that Suraj Mal chose the easiest course i.e. to remain neutral. The Abdali ensured his neutrality through the offices of Shujah-ud-Daula who worked out a mutually acceptable compromise. Suraj Mal would have emerged as a statesman if he had succeeded in averting the third battle of Panipat and brought a settlement between the Abdali and the Marathas. But that was not to be! After all, the Abdali was a foreigner, a plunderer who had played havoc with the lives of the people in this country.

Suraj Mal made an alliance with the Abdali. This is a sad commentary on the period when we find brilliant, bold and far-sighted man not inspired by patriotism or nationalism. Each one was for himself, for his own caste, his tribe, his territory or as Dostovesky said, for his own tobacco.

The author, a senior career diplomat is concerned about the future of India. He writes, 'Not for the first time in our history had an outside power (the British) restored order in India. Let us hope and pray that it was the last such occasion' (161). It is a reminder to us of what we did to ourselves in the past, and a warning for the future. Within a few years, the U.S. is likely to tigh-

ten control over Pakistan. The U.S. is also extending her influence in Nepal. The possibility of India being 'encircled' is there. All this creates apprehension in our mind when internal dissensions threaten us. But this theme falls outside the scope of this book. When we hear the author's warning, one feels that these hints illuminate the policy problems of the present.

The real merit of Natwar-Singh's work does not rest in the scholarly apparatus but in the brilliance of his creation. His insights and shrewd judgements are rooted not in particulars but in universals.

V.N. Datta is Professor of History at Kurukshetra University.

Poverty and Women's Work

Malavika Karlekar

A Study of Sweeper Women in Delhi

pp. vi + 158, Vikas, 1982, Rs. 75.00

Reviewed by Ila Pathak

Poverty and Women's Work by Malavika Karlekar is a study of sweeper women presented with the background of other studies of poor women done over the last three decades. The author relates her sample to the overall situation in the country and at times extends her view to compare it with that in both Western and Eastern countries like USA and China.

In the first part, 'Overview', the author states and discusses certain concepts like the role of employment and its impact on a woman's life, her status and self-perception. The author also examines the feminists' contention that women form a self-conscious class, exploited by male-oppressors. The women she examines are exploited by other women, of the employer class. On the one hand that cannot be denied, and on the other, the author goes on to show that these women are also exploited by their own men.

Even when they earn as much as their men do and enjoy the same status in the organised sector, at home their husbands treat them subservient. They are not con-

sulted while taking major decisions, nor is their housework shared. Worse, some get beaten by their husbands. On the other hand, the wives support the unemployed husbands and look up to them as their 'maliks'. Moreover the women stick to the conventional occupations and set men free to seek new futures.

The author's observations in this study differ in many details from previous studies by other researchers. For example she points out that in an earlier study, Singh and de Souza had mentioned that over 40 percent of financial decisions were taken jointly. In this sample, this was never the case. However, these women were made responsible for handling housekeeping money purely because men did not want to take the responsibility of making two ends meet. This finding is similar to the one arrived at by Sulabha Brahme in her study of the *Hamal* women in Pune. Women don't seem to challenge either the men's right to take decisions or the extra fact responsibility put on themselves.

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The last Chapter, 'Conclusions' which discusses 'Some Issues for Change' is based on the women's perception of their needs and not on the author's interpretation of the possible needs of these women. She does not want to project her views but has remained faithful to what these women considered relevant to their future.

About education, these women seemed to opine that skill training would be more practical than formal schooling for their children. While this may remain a debatable issue, the need for literacy has been emphasised throughout the book by the author.

It is suggested that in order to improve their lot, the sweeper women working in private houses be organised, creches be provided and civic facilities improved upon. Child-care facilities may ease women's domestic situation and help their mobility also.

The autor adds that when such studies are made, the policy makers have to step in and indicate corrective action so that the position of women may not deteriorate further. But the schemes of the government or legislation by itself cannot be of much help. The role of voluntary agencies and social workers as

demonstrated by SEWA is considered to be important and useful in organising poor-women so that they collectively demand better wages from the employers. A researcher points out while a social worker organises. In point of fact, both are needed.

Malavika Karlekar has no doubt the researcher's objectivity and wide scholarship as is obvious from the book. She also appears to have deep sympathy for her respondents. The urgency in the tone of the concluding paras and the eager enthusiasm with which she has pleaded the cause of her sample cannot be lost on her readers.

The book gives clear insight into the lives and employment conditions of poor women in general and the sweeper women of Sau Quarters, Delhi in particular. Future researchers and contemporary social workers will find the book very useful. It is hoped that Malavika Karlekar would be involved in more researches like this so that much needed data for both social workers and policy makers are built up.

Ila Pathak is Secretary of the Ahmedabad Women's Action Group.

Revolution or Anarchy ?

Rattan Mann

Critique of Indian Philosophy, History and Culture

pp. 112, Mann Publishing House, Delhi, 1982, Rs. 45.00

Reviewed by Virendra Shekhawat

The book creates mixed feelings in the mind of the reader. On the one hand, one is dismayed by the author's lack of knowledge of Indian philosophy, history and culture, while, on the other hand, one is also impressed by some element of creativity in the book. Stray remarks, unintended but comical, also provoke laughter.

In this short book of 104 pages, the author promises to present a critique of Indian *Philosophy, History and Culture*, as is evident from the title. But he makes a bad beginning by laying down seven obscure and superficial theses on Indian

philosophy and culture. For instance, in Thesis 1, the author says, "All the Indian philosophy can be explained within

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fifteen or twenty minutes." But, next, in Thesis 2: "There is no such thing as Indian philosophy. All Indian philosophy is basically psycho-technology...." The question of caste system in Indian society is not strictly a philosophical question, it being primarily sociological, although it is intimately related with the analysis of values. But the author believes that it is the central question in Indian *Philosophy*. In his own words: "In fact I found the question so deep that I am convinced that any departure from traditional Indian philosophy must inevitably begin with a critical, scientific analysis of caste, and that some day a future Indian Marx would have to write three volumes on "caste," corresponding to the three volumes on "capital." The possibility of my being that future Indian Marx is not ruled out(10)."

Furthermore, the author wrongly presumes that Indian philosophy is exhausted in the classical Brahmanical systems such as Samkhya, Yoga etc., conveniently forgetting the competing paradigms of Buddhism and Jainism which, incidentally, oppose caste-systematisation of society. Even if we include these two, the classical Indian philosophy represented by these cannot be considered a synonym of Indian philosophy as a whole. The author commits such fundamental errors as asserting Samkhya as the materialist philosophy whereas it is actually dualistic, and that of Nyaya Vaisesika as "atomistic"—which represents Greek materialism—whereas it actually represents subjective realist trend of Indian thought.

DOUBLE CATASTROPHE

Considering, now, the central contention of the author, what he

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seems to hold is that Indian social reality faces *double catastrophe*. The first catastrophe is the Biological Catastrophe and the second one the Social Catastrophe, both originating from the fact of caste mechanism in the society. Caste mechanism operates as a "cut-off factor" in the material development of the society as well as of the human species of which it is a society because it interferes with the process of natural selection on the one hand and with the intensification of caste struggle on the other hand.

At the biological level the correct genes are replaced by wrong genes gradually leading to a state of total ignorance and inefficiency. At the social level the "caste operator" transforms 'class' and 'commodity' into caste thus making revolution impossible. Just as class-contradiction guarantees the inevitability of revolution in the Marxian model of society, the caste-contradiction guarantees the inevitability of anarchy in the model of the author. The conclusion is that since caste-contradiction and class-contradiction operate simultaneously in the Indian society, a non-violent revolution of the Gandhian type is not ruled out.

This argument of the author is based firstly, on a wrong understanding of the historical materialist outlook of Marx, and, secondly, on the wrong presumption that the 'caste operator' will continue to *operate* on the class operator. To put it very pithily, historical materialist thesis is that the material conditions of production dissolve all distinctions of sects, religions and castes in its bourgeois stage of development. The superstructural relations of production must necessarily correspond to the basic forces of production so that every other outlook that opposes the growing antagonistic outlook of the contending classes must in the process disappear.

Which means that in the Indian context, although caste mechanism is given and is a reality and in the beginning it may also be influencing and operating on the mechanism of production and relations of production, it cannot continue to do so for ever. Therefore, the cause of a non-violent revolution will not be the caste-mechanism, as the author

supposes, although intervention by other factors does not rule out such a possibility in the long run.

In the end it can be said that in spite of some basic failures, the attempt is welcome and interesting. The author should have given detailed references rather than presenting the manuscript as a prison diary. If

he is denied access to libraries, which if true, must be strongly resented, he could borrow books from friends at least for the purpose of referencing or, does he have no friends either?

Virendra Shekhawat is Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

A Business Leader Reflects

Ramkrishna Bajaj

Challenges to Trade and Industry : Some Reflections

pp. vii + 140, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1982, Rs. 50.00

Reviewed by Debdas Banerjee

The book is mostly a collection of speeches delivered by the author at various business conferences and annual general meetings. Thus, repetitions have appeared and emphasis on major issues has frequently changed. However, the book has covered a wide range of problems including 'Management in the Eighties', and 'Consumer Protection Legislation'.

The author has considered India's economy in the global perspective. The major features of the present stage of development, according to him, are worldwide inflationary spiral, widespread shortage of foodgrains and drastic depletion of natural resources. He also mentions that the worldwide development took place in a pattern which has encouraged to increase consumption faster than the production, and to plan production in utter disregard of its effects on our environment and the world's limited resources.

Are these the factors affecting India's economy most? To mention, increasing trade and technological collaborations with east European countries, specifically, with USSR have, to a great extent, helped Indian economy to divert the problems imposed by the western developments, obviously, at the cost of certain other problems. Secondly, the author has failed to ascertain the developments that took place in a number of Third World countries. In short, the problem of aggregation of the develop-

ments in various countries is there.

OMISSIONS

The major characteristics of the Indian economy, that the author emphasises, are low agricultural as well as industrial growth, high unemployment, low capacity utilisation, and rapid increase in the prices of essentials. Moreover, 'bureaucracy has grown six times as big as it was in 1947 and many States often face bankruptcy as they have no money even to disburse the salaries of their employees' (p. 9). However, the factor, such as, the day-by-day increase in the population below the poverty level, or the increasing trend of skewed distribution of income giving rise to many structural maladies have been tangentially touched upon.

He suggests some short-term remedies to the problem—de-control of production and utilisation of the market as a stimulant to output. But it needed explanation how the pricing mechanism ensures higher utilisation of capacity in a market dominated by monopolists or the oligopolists. The long-term solution, as he suggests, lies in the increasing utilisation of indigenous resources. 'Instead of using our abundant indigenous resources, we relied heavily on scarce materials and capital intensive methods' (p. 12). He also feels the need for closer contacts between businessmen, economists and political scientists teaching in

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different universities in the country.

According to him, increase in population, spiralling inflation, credit curbs, power shortage, industrial policy, inefficiency of the public sector, and the Black market are the roadblocks to economic growth. The author is aware of the importance of the rural market. And he asked the business community to undertake programme of rural development and welfare activities. The Government of India, indeed, spent huge sum on various rural development programmes. But that largely failed to change the basic issues relating to rural sector. It was expected that the author, being a leading industrialist in the country, should take up the issue of land reforms at length. What do the histories of economic development in the presently developed states teach us? Or, was it not the radical land reforms that unleashed tremendous growth in every sector of the economy of China?

EFFECTS, NOT CAUSES

Moreover, the author has

stressed upon factors which, it seems, are the effects and not the causes of stagnation. The author observes: "Unless our industrial policy is revised and made pragmatic, free from dogmas relating to socialism, foreign capital, etc. and is implemented honestly with a view to improving production and productivity and ensuring self-sufficiency in essential commodities, stagnation cannot be overcome" (p. 99). But, in the era when the multinationals are sprawling tremendously, technological achievements have concentrated in a few countries, the developing economies, be it partially controlled or free enterprise, inevitably face certain constraints in the orthodox way of development. Indeed, the export-led strategy has helped some countries to grow. But, at the same time, the economies became vulnerable to world economic developments. For example the growth rates of Singapore, Korea, Taiwan have declined in recent times as the western developed countries face recession. Secondly,

it is not clear what the author considers as the index of economic development.

The author observes that whenever the regulatory functions of government increased the rate of growth of industrial production decreased. How he proves that was not the other way round? The government imposed certain restrictions under various circumstances. For example, while the economy faced stagflation the government had to contain public pressure and thus maintain the parliamentary democratic system. Or, consider the regional imbalance in growth in India that gave rise to increasing demand from the underdeveloped states, or the shortage of foreign exchange, have led the government to impose restrictions such as through the licensing mechanism. He has rightly pointed out that one of the results was the rise of the black market. It appears inevitable in a loosely governed mixed economy and where the government, *de facto*, could exercise

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control only over an insignificant part of the total assets of the country.

According to the author nationalization has enhanced uncertainty and undermined the basic confidence of the private sector while the efficiency and turnover of the nationalized units have declined. He is against the wholesale trading of rice and wheat by the government. But who are being benefited by it? Say, for example, through the distribution system in the urban and other industrial towns the government has, in effect, subsidised the private sector. Otherwise, the increasing prices of foodgrains could have induced demand for higher wages and thus made the industrialists perturbed.

TECHNOLOGY & DEVELOPMENT

He has made certain observations on science and technology for development and suggests : "technology to be fruitful has to be developed in the context of our resources and requirements and it must blend well with our socio-economic environment" (p. 86). And, he emphasises the development of such type of technologies that would help improve life in rural areas by evolving small-scale, decentralised, and labour intensive industries based on local resources. To say euphemistically, these can well confuse the people of the country who experience the increasing trend of foreign technical collaborations in the private as well as the public sector. It is simply xenophilia?

His mode of analysis fails to give answers to the questions : What induces technological change to take place in an economy? Or, what are the sources of innovations? What induced Satish Das Gupta to continue to make innovations whether he was in Bengal Chemicals or in the Khadi enterprise he ran at Sodepur?

In the early years of the industrial revolution in Britain, the major innovations did not simply come in flashes of genius, but were built upon the skills of mill-wrights, carpenters, mechanics, and other such craftsmen. At a slightly different

stage and in another country, viz., Germany, the growth of the industry provided the material on which German technology could prove itself. Kenneth Arrow (*American Economic Review*, May 1969) put down the difficulties of underdeveloped countries in effecting technical change to two major types of causes : (a) international differences in productivity, and (b) the failure of the educational system to reduce inequality. In the Indian case, very often both the consultancy and the technology float in from outside and remain in a semi-airborne condition all the while, leaving little room for the people to acquire any genuine mastery over the skills, mechanics and processes. Unless these factors are analysed all the policies regarding science and technology should remain utopia.

The author has cited a lot of evidence to show the degree of unscrupulous practice of the business community in collusion with the government officials. For example, fully a fourth of all food items in India are adulterated. Indian consumers had to incur a loss of approximately Rs. 11,000 crore per year due to 5 per cent inaccuracy in weights and measures. Also, there exists a huge black market of various essential items. The author, at one place, mentions : "Black market of cement from non-government stocks therefore cannot take place unless Government officials and some of these committee members are also a party to it" (p. 103).

RISK & REWARD SYSTEM

However, the author has put forward a number of concrete policies. And for this he has frequently referred to the experience of the Chinese economy since the death of "Mao's dogmatic extremism". In regards to industrial growth the policies were based on the central theme: "The concepts of 'monopoly' and 'concentration of economic power', which have no relevance to the modern economic or technological conditions, have prevented a healthy growth of large-scale enterprises and made ours a high-cost in-

dustry and economy" (p. 112). In the perspective of the present structure of the Indian economy the frequent citation of the Chinese experience and policies seems irrelevant. Apart from others, the regulatory power of the Government of China is radically different from that in India. So that, efforts 'to inject a combination of risk and reward into the system by empowering the enterprises to introduce efficiently oriented reforms' (p. 115) should still leave the State of China with dictatorial control.

The author has referred to cases that show how the bureaucratic controls have resulted in an increase in the time-lags between the decision to invest and the commencement of production; and the increase in the costs and losses of benefits. Moreover, 'the total cost of Central and State Governments on mere administration of these regulations (of business—D.B.) should today exceed Rs. 1000 crores per year. The question is: can we afford this huge-bureaucratic expenditure and do we derive any corresponding benefit from it?' (p. 134). But the author fails to take into consideration the shortages of some basic raw materials, such as, steel, cement, etc. and the simultaneous demand from the large industrial concerns to increase capacities. This has, naturally, made the government the arbitrator and hence various controls—not to curb the growth but to reconcile the demands of the various industrial houses.

Lastly, the sociological observation made by the author deserves attention : "because of the expansion of Government bureaucracy and its control over practically every segment of the economy, a very large number of people have become dependent of the Government for jobs, licences, permits or grants. This has made the growth of an economically independent middle class difficult. As the middle class always provides leadership in political, social and cultural fields, this has deprived our polity of a chance to develop a healthy political opposition" (p. 9).

Debdas Banerjee is a doctoral fellow at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta.

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A Little Known Aspect of Victorian Fiction

Basudeva Sharma

The Victorian Novel : Problems and Portraits of Children
pp. 196, Arnold Heinemann, 1982, Rs. 50.00

Reviewed by Sarojini Shintri

Basudeo Sharma's claim that his book, *The Victorian Novel : Problems and Portraits of the Child* is a comprehensive work of research into a comparatively unexplored area of Victorian fiction is to be readily granted taking in view the immense labour that he has put in collecting, analysing and interpreting material which is not so easily available to an Indian scholar. It should be conceded, with the books of this kind coming out in a good number that Indian scholarship in respect of English literature is attaining maturity. England of the Victorian period which was midway through the most far-reaching change in her history presents a complex picture.

It was a period of great advance in material things, no doubt, but beneath the surface of ease and comfort of economic progress and industrial expansion there was gnawing discontent resulting in immense misery. Poverty and pauperism that fell to the lot of toiling masses had its culmination in the increase of crimes and social wickedness of many kinds. Carlyle and Mathew Arnold voiced a warning that the growth of materialism if unchecked would result in anarchy. There was a growing zeal for reform and it should be said to the credit of the contemporary novelists that they succeeded in drawing the attention of the Victorian society to the miserable condition of the children and their inhuman exploitation in mills, mines and factories. This led to the rise of the boy hero, as Sharma puts it, which became almost a craze after the publication of *Oliver Twist* in 1838.

The book is divided into seven chapters. In the first chapter the author makes a sociological study

of the condition and status of the child from the medieval times upto the begining of the 19th century and shows how Locke and Rousseau were mainly responsible for the emergence of the child from the Baptists' and Calvinists' view that it is naturally vicious to that of Blake and Wordsworth that it is an angel of innocence and all natural virtues and later to that of the novelists that childhood is a definite stage in human life with laws of its own which we must discover and obey.

CHANGING ATTITUDES

The author studies thirty-novels of fourteen major novelists. And he has chronologically traced the changing pattern of attitudes of the novelists towards the child. If the intention of the novelists in the beginning was to expose the evil and mobilise a strong public opinion against it, that of the later novelists was to collect evidence of scandalous conditions. If Dickens belonged to the first category, Charles Kingsley, Charles Reade belong to the second. But the author does not stop with the study of these two groups only.

The child after having been once, introduced in the novel continued to hold his own later. He was no longer the exploited child.

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The various reform Acts which were promulgated in the forties and the fifties and the sixties of nineteenth century delivered him from the clutches of the miners and owners of the textile mills. So the author has rightly pointed out, that we have beautiful portraits of children in the novels of Bronte sisters, Mrs. Gaskell and George Eliot. Hence, the sub-title of the book is *Problems and Portraits of the Child*. It may be noted here that Eppie of *Martine* does not receive as much attention as she should. Psychological perception, in a sense, the change that brings about in the life of Silas has been woefully bypassed. On the other hand, child portraits in the novels of the Brontes and Meredith get emphasis that they deserved. A fact every novel that has a child character in it need not have a portrait in it need not have a child. brought under this study. Darkest first, *Origin of Species* and *Father of the Nation* concept of the unconscious shaped a new angle of vision, the understanding of child nature. As a result of this there has been a steady growth of interest in children. And Sharma certainly taken note of this.

Sometimes one feels that Sharma has quoted more discussion is required from the novelists, who emphasize his thesis but it may not overlook taking into consideration the honest and sincere efforts he has made in exploring something that remained unexplored.

Sarojini Shintri is Reader in English at Karnataka University, Dharwar.

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Issues Before Non-Alignment

Vasudev, Editor

Issues Before Non-Alignment—Past & Future
Indian Council of World Affairs, 1983, Rs. 75.00

Reviewed by John Lall

The non-alignment movement, NAM for short, attained the ripe age of twenty two years this year. For India, the occasion was twice blessed because the Seventh Summit was held in Delhi. It was indeed the time that NAM had 'arrived' in India and under the chairmanship of the daughter of one of the founders of the movement. That in itself invested the occasion with a special significance.

Learned societies were promptly set up by paroxysms of intellectual activity. Seminars were held, articles written and books published. One of these, but not the first, was from one of the most respected Indian institutions conscious engaged in studies of international relations, the Indian Council of World Affairs. A two-day seminar in January and growth of QUES BEFORE NON-ALIGNMENT, PAST AND FUTURE is result.

A thirteen page summary of discussions and recommendations, which is useful in itself, but it may not be treated as a substitute for careful study of what follows. It is not uniformly easy though each one has something of value to offer. Non-alignment, which started as a radical creed in a dangerous world, has graduated to one with a wider outlook, in which the principal concept is self-reliance through mutual co-operation. A new urge, born of the conviction that in the last analysis the developed world remains primarily concerned with its own viability, yet to make headway in a international system. Although by definition NAM has itself military might, it is in the developing world that most of the wars since have and are being fought.

Such economic power as it has it has not yet marshalled. So what clout does it possess that can be authoritatively expressed in world councils?

FEW ILLUSIONS

That wise veteran of the movement, President Nyerere, has few illusions. 'Seven of the twenty five nations which participated in the first Belgrade Conference, and six of those who joined later, now have some kind of military connection with one or other of the super-powers'. In fact, it was because of this that India became current chairman, impressive as he is, Fidel Castro's Cuba remains the centre of controversy. With a hundred members, and yet more to come, the movement embraces two thirds of the world's countries. It would have been extremely surprising if one and all had remained steadfast in the purity of the faith. No one could have put it more picturesquely than President Nyerere. There have been cases where a country has 'compromised its non-aligned position as a result of what can only be called successful reduction'. Let us have no illusions.

All the same, staying with him on the lowest possible assessment of its usefulness, the non-aligned movement provides a collective conscience—an alternative view of the world—which both super-powers find it necessary to consider. Usually they attempt to propitiate it, or to muzzle it by the methodology of their actions or by other measures'. Need more be said?

ECONOMIC MUZZLING

Economic 'muzzling' is being imposed with a heavy hand. With his unrivalled knowledge of the working of international

institutions, S.R. Sen has no illusions about the ability of NAM to make a dent in the strongly entrenched system created at Bretton Woods in 1945. The USA has been using its overwhelming weighted voting power in the World Bank and IMF 'to control the economic policies of the developing countries in particular'. Sen has made a number of suggestions to circumvent rather than directly attack the impenetrable barrier created by the advanced countries in the international economic system. NAM could form the spearhead, provided its member countries are united in purpose.

Unfortunately, as Tarlok Singh points out, the greatest obstacle to collective self-reliance so far has been internal. But there is a way around this too. Regional co-operation offers the best hope of breaking out of the impasse. 'Mutual co-operation has to be developed at several levels-bilateral, regional and inter-regional'. He reminds us of four proposals formulated at Caracas in 1981 which need not await an affirmative response from the rich countries. These include networks of scientific and technological institutions, training arrangements, cooperative efforts to strengthen the negotiating power of developing countries to secure technology transfer, strengthening the food and agriculture base and cooperative development of energy resources.

A. Rahman has further elaborated the theme of scientific cooperation. The horizon could be considerably wider and brighter if resources were shared. He points out that the resources for R & D in the advanced countries are being provided by the non-aligned countries which are purchasing weapons of war. These incidentally, they are using against themselves. The solution is to divert these resources to R & D in their own countries. They must have the strength of purpose to get out of the habit of heading straight for the established centres of economic power.

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NEHRU'S WORLD VIEW

Non-alignment as a concept had its birth in Nehru's far-seeing world view. Though Krishna Menon claimed to have invented the term, Bimal Prasad has recalled Nehru's first official broadcast on September 7, 1946. 'We propose, as far as possible', he declared, 'to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led in the past two world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale'. Though the seventies were the decade of detente, the cold war has returned with ferocious intensity. In a closely argued and deeply researched paper, P.R. Chari exposes the weaknesses of the super-powers. Because their strategic perceptions are divergent, precise equivalences in weapon systems are virtually unattainable. What should disturb them even more is what Chari calls the asymmetries that exist between them regarding their nuclear doctrines and their approaches to deterrence. Are they playing the game according to the same rules? Deterrence is a hazardous concept. Perhaps self-interest might persuade them sooner than appeals to a moral sense or concern for the rest of the world.

And NAM has taken the initiative. Armed, though only with the authority she possesses as chairperson of the Non-aligned Movement, India's Prime Minister made a stirring appeal to the advanced countries at the June 1983 meeting of UNCTAD in Belgrade. 'Today's arms could deny us our tomorrows'. It is this instinct for survival in a dangerous world that brings the developing countries of the world flocking to the non-aligned movement. They may have their own notions of what it stands for, but its "collective conscience" could become an increasingly potent force in an anxious world.

In perhaps the most perceptive article in the book, Dr. Farajalla, who is professor of International Relations at Cairo University, is unable to give a precise answer to

the question of what non-alignment is. I doubt if anyone could, but he says something with which few students of world affairs could disagree, namely, that it is a philosophy which can shape policies on specific national issues rather than a policy itself. As he puts it, 'it would be quite natural to expect a variability of contentas a result of the wide heterogeneity of its constituents'. It is the old story of the goose and the gander. What a nation pursues in a particular case is its own enlightened self-interest; or as he says 'non-alignment is then a declaration of independence in world politics'. It could not have been put better.

NEW DIMENSIONS

Differences of orientation in such a diverse group of countries are inevitable. Dr. Farajalla argues that the movement's unity would best be preserved by recognition of the need for ideological pluralism 'as a pre-requisite to genuine political and economic emancipation and to the vitality of the movement itself'. This is an academically correct statement of the ideological basis of non-alignment, unconnected with what has been viewed by some countries as the temporary

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fall from grace of Nasser's successor and the tardy return of the prodigal. Over the years there has been a distinct change not in the character of non-alignment but in the problems with which the movement is primarily concerned. With the demise of colonialism, the demagogues of the movement waited expectantly for the demise of the movement itself. On the other hand it has gathered force. It is not as if the pioneers were despatched in search of problems to its members together. In a topsy-turvy world a host of problems forced themselves on the movement—the rise of economic imperialism, or neo-colonialism for instance, the one-sided information order, science and technology orientations and the whole over-weighted panoply of the international monetary system. The real significance of the Delhi summit is that it focussed sharply on issues that were not visible beyond the colonial horizon in the year of NAM's birth. One of the merits of this brief but well-arranged book is the analysis it offers of these new dimensions.

John Lall retired from I.C.S. some years ago. Recently he published a book on the City of Agra.

Lacking in FOCUS

M.M. Sankhdher, Editor

Framework of Indian Politics

pp. 329, Gitanjali Publishing House, 1983, Rs. 125.00

Reviewed by M.R. Pinto

The opening lines of the Introduction state that the Framework of Indian Politics, "comprises mainly the constitutional system as the mirror of Society and polity". An examination of the contents of the book reveals that it has far more extensive coverage; it includes articles like "Personalization of Power", "The Janta Party" and "The Rural Lobby." This would be in order if the statement of the Editor in the Preface is taken into

account. According to him, "selectivity is confined to the subject of Indian Constitution and politics". This widens the scope of the work considerably and in a way negates the implications of a framework. However given the work as it stands significant omissions, like regionalisation of politics, strike reader.

Framework is a collection of 16 articles, written largely

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academics of the Delhi University. They constitute a mixed bag of varying standards in terms of quality and style of presentation. The latter, at times, makes for hilarious reading.

The articles on the Constitution proper, particularly those dealing with the judiciary, are well researched. The piece on "Constitutional Philosophy", highlights the conflict between Parliament and Judiciary. It also manifests the author's predilection for Parliamentary supremacy, its right to strike a balance between the individual and common good and invariably to promote the latter when at variance with the former. "The Basic Structure" is a well-written piece, working right through the Golaknath case and the various constitutional amendments up to the present position. The article on "Judicial Review" makes interesting reading. It examines the doctrine of judicial review, its inherent strength and weaknesses and offers remedial measures. The author strongly supports the use of the power of judicial review to enlarge the ambit of civil liberties but is critical of judicial review in relation to property rights and other economic issues which has led to confrontation between the Supreme Court and Parliament. He is generally in support of the 42nd Constitutional Amendment which among other things states that no amendment of the Constitution shall be called in question in any court on any ground and that Parliament has unlimited power to amend the Constitution (even to destroy its basic structure).

"Parliament Planning and Law" is in a different genre. Written with a flourish, in a pompous, rambling style, and replete with quotations, it makes out a spirited case for economic democracy with distributive justice. This is in sharp contrast to text-book type presentations like "Lok Sabha Elections of 1980" which gives a lot of relevant data but is more descriptive than analytical. The same can be said of "The Rural Lobby" which does no more than make an inventory of facts and figures.

The articles on Federalism are a disappointment, particularly the first piece. The sub-heads, in fact, even the title of the piece, leave much to be desired,

In general, what detracts from the value of the book are the frequent spelling errors. Even the jacket of the book is not spared. Editing too, ought to have been more carefully done. For instance, attention must be paid to linguistic niceties to ensure clarity of thought,

proper statistical data presentation, correct spelling of proper-names and such other details, all of which affect the standard of the work, its academic worth and impact on the reader.

Neither a research work nor a text-book, one fears that it falls between the two. Neither fish nor fowl!

M.R. Pinto is Reader in Politics at the University of Bombay.

Tribes & Survival

Christoph Von Furer-Haimendorf

Tribes of India : The Struggle for Survival

pp. 342, Oxford University Press, 1982, Rs. 100.00

Reviewed by Sachidananda

The tribes of India, which are concentrated in three zones, comprise a total population of more than 40 millions. In middle India, the tribes have always been in contact with the villages in the plains: In north eastern India where the tribals have been in majority, such contact has been less frequent. During the past half century, on account of the opening up of large areas in middle India for exploitation of mineral and other resources, the peace and isolation of tribal people in those areas have come to be disturbed. In some areas, the more economically advanced peasantry impelled by land hunger have infiltrated in areas in which the tribals lived, moved and had their being. The new encounters in which the tribals were invariably losers deprived them of their ancestral land and turned them into impoverished landless labourers,

This book unfolds the processes of expropriation and oppression in selected tribal areas, mainly in the state of Andhra Pradesh among whom the present author has followed the fortunes of the tribes for four decades. This diachronic perspective gives the author, unique insight into the forces responsible for the steady erosion of tribal liberty and well-

being. The picture emerging from Andhra Pradesh is not atypical. It is symptomatic of all states where the tribals have been living with more economically advanced groups for ages. Anthropologists reporting from Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa have the same tale to tell. Although, Verrier Elwin's warning that the tribes in middle India, would ultimately suffer from a loss of nerve has not come true, there is no doubt, that the bulk of them have lost in the bargain. From the position of confident and gay agriculturists, they have been turned into a group depending on the Government doles. They are now disgruntled and insecure. The injustices and privations they had to undergo burst out many a time in the shape of either violent uprising or of revitalisation movements. It is no wonder that in some pockets in the tribal areas Naxalism has taken strong roots.

TRIBAL LANDS

Haimendorf deals with various facets of the struggle for survival with particular reference to land and forest. He deals with the problem of tribal land in the three districts of Adilabad, Warangal and Khammam.

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INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

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through a number of case studies, he has shown how the Gond and Koya in those areas were expropriated from their holdings, by the scheduled castes, backward castes and forward classes. In regard to shifting cultivation, it is good that the government recognises the part it played in the economy of the Saora, Jatapu and Konda Dora.

Dealing with the forest policy and its impact on the tribals the author has shown that the conditions existing in the tribal areas and the policy pursued at the local level is quite different from policy declaration at the central level in which a plea has been made for reconciliation of the interests of the tribal communities and forestry development largely by the economic involvement of the tribals in the management and utilisation of forestry resources. The author takes up the cases of hunters and food-gathers like the Chenchu, shifting cultivators like Kolam, Naikpod and Hill Reddi as well as the settled cultivators like the Gonds. Haimendorf rightly observes that "It is ironic that the state has not asserted its absolute right to forest which the traditional inhabitants always considered their own property but the servants of the State such as the officials of the Forest Department have compensation in compelling the original owners to work for a pittance in the forest of whose resources, they have been largely deprived."

The author examines in some detail the impact of economic development of tribes at different levels of economic growth. In some cases, it was seen that well intended innovations could not be sustained because the tribals are mentally not adjusted to economic pursuits different from their traditional way of food quest. Horticultural enterprises adoption of cash crops have been slow to take root. Some tribals, however, are engaged in mining as whole time labourers. It seems that the best way to help most tribal communities to improve their economic prospects is to concen-

trate on development of agriculture.

EDUCATION AND TRIBES

In another chapter, the problem of education in the tribal areas has been discussed. Education is indispensable to enable the tribals to interact with advanced communities and also to cope with many novel forces impinging on their day-to-day life. The author started the Gond Education Scheme in 1943 in which Gond Children were given education through their own mother tongue. In course of time, the scheme was given up and general education came to be imparted. However, educational progress in the area has been slow. Education has not brought about fundamental change in the position of tribals largely because the other social, political and economic forces are all the time working against them.

The processes of social change in the Andhra Pradesh with particular reference to participation of the tribals in the social and political processes in the neighbourhood has been examined at some length. There have been many changes in beliefs and rituals. Some tribal festivals have undergone a transformation. The expectations that with education the tribals would interact with other communities on equal terms has not been fulfilled. In another chapter, Michael York explains why despite an increasing flexibility of cultural barriers, the Gonds are far from being accepted as integral part of the greater Hindu society. The Gonds have been developing as one community with caste-like character. The language and the clan-cult are being emphasized as important elements in a new identity of tribal ethnicity. This identity is being fostered by new schemes for the tribal development and the protective discrimination provided for the tribals.

THREE CASE STUDIES

In a separate chapter, Jaiprakash Rao presents three case studies

from Konda Reddi areas showing changes which have taken place in Reddi society during the last four decades. These people have suffered on accounts of the shrinking of the area of shifting cultivation. Their food resources have been further diminished by granting the right to fell mango trees in the forest for the setting up of a plywood factory. Thousand of cases of non-tribal occupation of tribal lands have been detected and since the seventies the protective legislation is being implemented. This was only done after the Naxalites spread their influence, in the area.

As a contrast to a disconcerting picture of tribal development in Andhra Pradesh Haimendorf presents a highly optimistic picture of tribal development in Arunachal Pradesh. This is another area in which he has been working for more than four decades. Among the Apatani and Nishi of the Subansiri district specially, he has himself seen the change over the years. In this region, the change has been rapid. The area has been now opened up and the tribes men are masters in their own house. The bulk of the posts in government service are held by the Adi, Apatani Hill Miri and Mishmi. Education has made rapid strides and many of the tribesmen have taken to business and are making quick money.

The youth among the tribals are awakened and many of the tribals have their own youth associations which work for social reform and also attributes the spectacular progress of the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh to the restriction attendant on the Inner Line Regulations and ban on entry of missionaries. The tribes in the area have gained economic efficiency and political maturity. They had also the advantage of working under liberal policy framed by Verrier Elwin and implemented by sympathetic civil servants who were more sensitized to the tribals than in other areas.

DIVERSE POSSIBILITIES

Haimendorf ends the book with the problem regarding

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diverse possibilities of tribal development. The two contrasting pictures are provided by Apatani, set on an upward path and the Gonds who are threatened by an apparently irreversible decline in the fortunes. The issues with which the planners are faced is whether the experience in North East can be used to improve the situation in Middle India. It may be that the differential response to development is due to location. It is also not possible to have an Inner line all over.

Added to this is the fact that the fortunes of the tribals in tribal majority areas are quite different from those in tribal minorities areas. Thus, the contrast would persist even though attempts should be made to provide a better deal to the tribals in middle India.

Sachchidananda is Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at the A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna.

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Proposes a new forest policy that gives priority to the people's rights and rural economy, without degrading industrial environmental interests.

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Krishna Iyer, V.R. *Indian Society in Crisis*. Madras, Affiliated East West, 1983. xii, 145 pp. Rs. 35.00

Puts on the dock India's social justice system and searching cross-examines its tenets, traces its present crisis to omissions in the commissions of the country's legislative, judicial and executive operators.

Dayal, Ishwar and Dayal, Amrit Kala. *Organisation for Management in Developing Countries*. Delhi, Concept, 1983. xi, 274 p. Rs. 30.00

Examines existing concepts of organisation commonly used in most industrialised countries and assesses their applicability in the developing countries.

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EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH

India's Exports

This is a weighty book and is likely to remain as standard reference on the subject of India's external commitments and earning prospects for quite some time to come. The book arose out of the World Bank's natural interest in the viability of one of its largest borrowers. Though there may be difference of opinion regarding the part that World Bank loans have played in reinforcing that viability, nobody can doubt that a critical situation now faces the country, so far as its external balance prospects are concerned, and the need for a careful scrutiny of the problems that beset India, in this respect was never more urgent.

It is not unusual for studies undertaken by international agencies like the World Bank to be bland and non-committal, since such agencies have to be careful that the sore spots of their members are not inadvertently hurt. The present report is to a large extent exceptional. It does not feel shy of critically examining controversial theories and policies and, Wolf's prejudices against India's economic management system notwithstanding, offers on the whole sound advice. The usual assumptions of a self-regulatory price and incentive mechanism lurk in the background, but instances of inefficiency in policy development and administration are held up with considerable care, so that even those inclined to take a gloomier view of the working of the private incentives system will have a number of lessons to learn.

EXPORTS & GROWTH

The book opens with a short account of India's performance in keeping up her importing and debt-servicing capacities during the decade 1970-71 to 1980-81. In the last two years of this decade exports were contributing only 40.2 per cent of the *addition* to import capacity, while 'current transfers' (mostly remittances) were financing 24.8 per cent of this capacity and as much as 23.8 per cent was being financed by drawings on the International Monetary Fund. Despite a mounting debt redemption obligation, India was receiving enough of aid funds to cover 13.7 per cent of additional imports through the use of the aid finance, net of repayment provisions. Made to look at the matter in this way, the reader has no option but concede that a big export drive is a vital need and Wolf is at his persuasive best to establish that an appropriate change of policies is all that may be needed to attain success in this drive.

In the next chapter of the book (Chapter 2) Wolf institutes certain comparisons between India's export performance in the 1960's and 1970's and the similar, but more remarkable, performance of the "fast growing exporters of manufactures", viz. Argentina, Brazil, Hong Kong, South Korea, Mexico and Singapore. Wolf is aware that such comparisons leave many things untold. His purpose in making such comparisons is primarily to show that faster export growth rates than those attained by India in the last two decades are by no means unattainable. However, the growth rate of India's exports, on the basis of the trade quantum index, already surpasses that of developing economies in general. Between 1970-71 and 1978-79 the overall volume

*Martin Wolf, *India's Exports*, pp. xiv+203, Oxford University Press, 1982, Rs. 100.00.

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index went up at the rate of 7.6 per cent per year (7.3 per cent, if the weights used are those of 1976-77) according to the author's own calculations.

When this fairly rapid rate of growth is still considered inadequate, the obvious implication is that the current restrictions on imports, (and additional restraints that would have been necessary in the absence of adventitious or policy determined factors) are taken to be of doubtful long-term value. India cannot grow by turning her back on the world, but must progressively open up to foreign trade as she develops—this is the basic assumption on which the author's comparison between India and several other trading countries rests. So it is but natural for the author to reach the conclusion (p. 25-6) that "India's exports have not grown enough to sustain increases in the purchasing power of exports above the modest rate of about 4.5 per cent a year between 1960-61 and 1978-79, and this has provided little room for manoeuvre in managing the economy".

The author does not think it worthwhile to have a look at development models where trade with the rest of the world plays a minimal, rather than a so-called 'optimal' role in terms of unrestrained preferences and options. Hence his anguish at India's failure to usher in a sufficiently liberal trade regime in which much larger exports, developed on a more selective basis, will easily pay for a growingly free flow of imports.

In fact, in the specifically Indian context, one does not know for certain what should be the share of foreign trade, in particular merchandise trade, in the Gross National Product. It is not even unlikely that more than one alternative mixes of traded and non-traded goods will give the same rate of growth. And what should we say by way of criticism of people who value self-reliance above a more rapid rate of economic growth? Be that as it may, once a certain rate of growth of exports has been shown to be indispensable for securing national economic interests, it stands to logic that the same should be achieved in the least costly way and here the criticisms offered by Wolf of official policy and performance stand, in any opinion, on much stronger grounds. Such criticisms and suggestions for corrective action occupy the last three chapters of the book.

DOMESTIC & INTERNATIONAL CONSTRAINTS

In Chapter 3 the author deals with domestic and international constraints on the growth of India's exports. His conclusion is that, except for some specific export categories, "the external environment has not been a major constraint on India's general export growth". But no definitive quantitative studies have been undertaken to justify this assertion. Granted that policy-making in India has been on the whole poor, time-consuming and vacillating, the impact of the external factors on some of India's major exports has by no means been inconsequential. Besides, when the author takes a rosy view of export capacity growth on new lines (e.g. electronics, non-cotton garments etc.) he perhaps makes big assumptions about resource flexibility inside the economy as well as the development of a stream of new designs and products.

Chapter 4 is concerned with a critical evaluation of India's export policies and programmes. This develops, as it must, into a critique of Indian planning which has, almost from the beginning, laid stress on the variety of products that a modern economy needs and will have to produce, and not on the efficiency which specialisation and large-scale production will confer. As a result, the author legitimately concludes, the country has been endowed with productive capacity in many new directions, but such capacity is frequently too small for low-cost production and international competitiveness. However, in some cases at least, our attempts at rationalisation and modernisation have been thwarted by the sudden advent of adverse factors on the trading front. The internal lapses cannot be all of our own making. Our richer neighbours and trading partners must share part of the blame for our failure to specialise.

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE STRATEGIC ISSUES

In the concluding chapter (Chapter 5) on Strategic Issues Wolf takes up India's trade policy options one by one and pronounces on their efficiency and workability. Many of his judgments on the actual working of export promotion policies are undoubtedly based on a careful study of their impact, but the evidence can also be interpreted to establish that export earnings would have been even more stagnant if such promotional measures had not been introduced. On a prior basis one can point out a number of shortcomings and inconsistencies in such policies, but can there be any room for doubt that taken as a package they worked more successfully in the 1970's than in any other period after Independence? The room for further nationalisation will always be there, but the official policies on export promotion need not, for that reason, be made a scapegoat for our slippages elsewhere,

So far as Wolf's plea for greater openness in India's development policy is concerned, I have already stated some reservations above. Wolf cites with approval Krueger's observation that "For Brazil there seems little doubt that the outward-looking strategy of the late 1960s was responsible for the heightened pace of economic growth" and follows this up with his admonition that "If this is true for Brazil, there seems to be no reason why it should not also be true of India". This book, published in 1982, should have at least grudgingly recognized that Indian policy-makers were perhaps wiser than their Brazilian counterparts in not indulging in an orgy of international commercial borrowing to make the economy more trade-oriented in order to develop faster in a certain sense!

All the same, the contents of the book, in so far as they have a bearing on the formulation of export development policy, must be brought to the notice of our policy-makers in order that certain gross errors in policy framing and execution can be avoided in future. As can also be expected, the book is a store-house of very useful information regarding

trade, other balance of payments entries and policy modifications through the decade of the 1970s. Apart from drawing on published data, the author has made good use of his access to the country files of the World Bank in drawing up this report. It will remain a valuable work in its field and is sure to find its way to every research library in the country where data on trading

problems are stored. The author has also drawn amply upon theoretical and statistical work done in the recent past regarding international trade and tariff policies and other related matters.

Dhires Bhattacharyya is Professor of Economics at the University of Calcutta.

Evoking the Imperial India

Geoffrey Moorhouse

India Britannica

pp. 288, Harvill Press, Distributors : Rupa, 1982, Rs. 188.80

Reviewed by A.G. Noorani

About three decades after they quit India, the British became, all of a sudden, nostalgic about the country and started reminiscing. So, it would seem judging by the spate of books on India. Not that there was a dearth of them ever. But the recent ones are not so much political or even historical. They are just chunks of memorabilia strung together. Charles Allen's scrapbook *Raj* and his *Plain Tales of the Raj* were only the more obvious ones.

LOVE-HATE RELATIONSHIP

Geoffrey Moorhouse's book is not an obvious one but its historical resume is sketchy to a degree and is suffused with nostalgia. "My people had marked India to a degree that startled me, and India had marked us. Some of the things my predecessors had done there, as I knew by then, were rotten and others were noble. Mostly they were a mixture of the well-meaning and the selfish. Every visit I subsequently made to India was to confirm what I had only conjectured before I first went there: that the history of the British in India is something more than an account of conquest and submission, rebellion and imperial retreat. It is also the story of a complicated love-hate relationship that no other peoples so vastly different in origins and cultures, have ever known. Indians must speak for themselves about the relationship today.

But they should know that their country haunts the British still, as nowhere else ever did, as no other place in the future possibly can."

What follows is essentially a narrative of the Raj as superficial as Attenborough's *Gandhi* and, in places, about as inaccurate. The book is superbly illustrated and falls pat in the category of the hybrid now increasingly in vogue-as, beautifully illustrated as a coffee-table book but with a text written by a recognised writer and aimed at the lay reader. Geoffrey Moorhouse's masterpiece on Calcutta earned him deserved recognition.

FADING MEMORIES

This book is of a wholly different genre. Sample these paragraphs ; "The sharpest memories are starting to fade, as old men and women who can tell of British India die and are succeeded by those who took no part in the ruling process, who care little about that past. The successors are puzzled when they hear of ageing couples like Tusker and Lucy in *Staying on*, eking out their genteel lives on pensions in the hill stations, because they couldn't bear to tear themselves away from India when the time came for going home. They are amused when they read an obituary in *The Times* which marks the passing of yet another burra Sahib, because that life now seems ridiculously remote and because the

obituaries sometimes read like parodies of material that even the satirists have stopped using. ('He was much liked in Hyderabad society by reason of his quiet efficiency, broad and scholarly outlook, and social gifts', according to one such notice in 1981). The old men who remain look forward like billyho to exchanging the familiar gossip about those days with others of their kind. There are still annual luncheons for the surviving ex-officers of Skinner's Horse and King George's Own Central India Horse. Once, not so long ago, Claridge's or the Guards Club world have played host to annual dinners of these old Indian Army cavalrymen, but now the memories must falter in the middle of the day—either because the chaps are getting on a bit to stay out late at night, or because according to one of those subtle distinctions of precedence, British India has at long last slipped a notch in the natural order of things".

"Do you remember, they say to each other, that time we were up at Swat when one of our daffadars carried young Jenkins six miles out of the hills, though he had a broken collar bone himself? Where was it Willy found a first edition of *Gulliver's Travels* underneath all that junk in the bazaar, with Henry Lawrence's book-plate on the cover? D'ye know what I reckon the most marvellous thing about the Taj was?—It was the way those stones retained the heat right into the cool of the evening, so that you could feel it comming off them ten paces away. Frightened as hell, I was, when that mob started coming toward us—wouldn't have minded so much if that beggar Gandhi had been there, taking his chance with everybody else, instead of just inciting 'em from God knows where. When did you last hear from old Gupta; lovely man. Did I ever tell you how he once got me out of the most dreadful mess? Who was that girl Palanpore married not long before we left? Australian girl, became a Muslim...? I still miss it, y'know; and the funny thing is that I miss most of all the things I didn't much care for when we were there, like the smells and the noise of all

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those crowds pushin' and shovin' their way through the bazaar...

"Bless'em," they muttered to themselves, when they heard that India's parliament had gone into recess to mourn Lord Mountbatten, as soon as the news reached New Delhi that he had been killed by an IRA bomb". This is what

the book does. Evocation of a by-gone era is its purpose. Good entertainment with a few insights thrown in. It deserves to be read for both keeping in mind the unambitious aim of the book.

A.G. Noorani is a Bombay-based lawyer and writer.

Caste in Tamil Culture

Bryan Pfaffenberger

The Religious foundations of Sudra Domination in Tamil Srilanka

pp. 258, *Vikas*, 1982, Rs. 100.00

Reviewed by M. Gopalakrishnan

The author's aim is admittedly "to unveil the Tamil Cultural underpinnings of the Tamil Caste System" (P 34) Ch. 1.

Chapter 1 is written as if to accept and expatiate on Louis Dumont's theory that the South is "more religious about impurity, and does not fit into the varna theory, as it lacks the two intermediate Varnas..." (*viz* Kshatriyas & the Vysyas)* Many researchers into the social structure of South India—particularly into the first and second millenia after Christ—feel that the Dravidian culture presents a regional variant of the Gangetic tradition of Hinduism—on essential aspect of which is the four-fold caste system (the Chaturvarnasramas).

BASIS OF TAMIL CULTURE

The author posits that "the coherence and unity of Tamil Culture are achievements of Brahmins and Sudras working together for a thousand years. The castes that developed in these centuries had Brahmins at the top. But a working understanding was arrived at between the Brahmins and Vellalars whereby the former brought the latter up to a position next to them only in the ladder of social groups and the latter took hold of the agrarian field and developed economic controls which were then in their hands. This Brahman—Sudra alliance from South India extended to the Jaffna area of

Ceylon across the narrow strip of sea. The Vellalars held the Brahmins in the highest esteem "due without doubt to the Brahmins' great purity and cleanliness..." (P 36) Among the "Touchable" castes the artisans came below the landowner castes who themselves were below the Brahmins. The Dhoby was at the bottom (for obvious reasons?)*. The 'untouchables' came below. However, author argues that it is "far more accurate to say, as Ludden recently perceived (1978), that these statuses emerged and were sustained in a process of ritual-relations which established their rights and responsibilities in the total agrarian order" (p 31).

Even in this century, the author states that, "According to many high cast folks in Jaffna, the untouchables are unclean and deserve the social disabilities—servitudes, landlessness, poverty, and lack of access to wells, temples and cremation grounds—that Vellalars still try to impose on them" (P. 46). In spite

*The words in brackets are mine.

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of the prevention of Social Disabilities Act 1957 passed by Sri Lanka Government (and strengthened in 1971) the untouchables of Ceylon still suffered disabilities as late as 1974-75. (Indian States are still in the throes of such sufferings and not a day passes without the newspapers and magazines splashing sensational, and sometimes barbaric, news of atrocities on the scheduled castes by the upper castes.

To get back to Jaffna, the author states that in Jaffna "Untouchable women traditionally were forbidden to cover their breasts, to wear gold ear-rings, to be the object of Brahman—associated life-cycle rites or to live in a concrete home. Untouchable men forbidden to wear shirts, to cut their hair, to use umbrellas, or to ride bicycles. All untouchables were forbidden to sit higher than vellalars, to buy land, to cremate their dead, to enter temple, to enter vellalars' homes, to enter tea-shops, to walk on pavements if vellalars were using them, to insult vellalars, or to marry without vellalar's permission. All of these features add upto a lifestyle that, vellalars say, epitomises pollution. Yet many of these imposed features make no sense at all in terms of the pollution concept" (P 52). This is an amazing array of taboos indeed (atleast to a civilized man of today!). Many of these are familiar to an Indian villager even today.

An interesting legend is narrated in the book (Chapter 2, p 54 & 55) about the claim of paraiyans (the untouchables) that they are the cousins of Brahmins but having incurred the wrath of God Shiva, were condemned to an eternal doom and social ostracism.

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The Vellalars (Sudras) in Jaffna, states the author, have a claim to handle the production side of the agriculture which is denied to the paraiyans and in this ritualistic process lies the foundation of their domination.

TEMPLE WORSHIP TRADITION

Towards the end of chapter 2 the author comes out with the thesis that the study of temple worship tradition which has invested the system with authority will help in a better understanding of this cultural stratification. Chapter 3 is thus devoted to the temple patronage and Sudras authority derived from it. "To support temples is an act that, throughout the Tamil lands, is constitutive of Sudra's greatness. From the generous support that Vellalars give to temples eventually issues, what is, for Hindus, a convincing—and what is more, a public—display of primacy & high rank" (p 62). The belief that these rituals invest them with authority is passed on from vedic (the gangetic) tradition. "The Brahman's rituals are really rituals of installation, granting to the person for whose benefit they are performed, the entitlement to bring prosperity, and fertility to a realm" (P 69).

Chapter 3 is devoted (in a well-written way) to the physiognomy of the temple—the physical features as well as the associated meanings of each aspect. It goes on thence to describe the final achievement of Vellalars as the patrons (Yajamanas) of temples, the myth of their ancestry—the conflicting relationships between the untouchables of the "right" & "left" sides with the Vellalars and the threat to the domination of the latter from the "left" side untouchables.

In chapter 4, the thesis is put forward that the "left" side untouchables were recruited aborigines from the forests (this was a natural consequence of degradation of forests into which the agrarian order spread, depriving the inhabitants of their habitat). After describing this, the author introduces a new element (which prima facie is not a connected subjected) viz. the beliefs, superstitions and what not, associated

with wild creatures of the forests including ghosts and spirits that do harm to man. These autochthonous beliefs in fact, have prevailed in almost all continents in the last several centuries and even today the so-called civilized nations of earth do have extant forms of such superstitions. From ghosts and spirits to Gods is but a single step in the narrative that goes on. It centres on Shiva, his consorts and offsprings, his son, Murugan who married Valli, the daughter of Vishnu (one of the triumvirate of top Hindu Pantheon). There is also an absorbingly told narrative of king Katirgama (an incarnation of Vishnu) which is popular over the centuries among the Sinhalese.

We are then (abruptly) introduced to the science of building homes, the visitation of pain and misfortune if they are built against norms that ancient architects had put down in their codes. There is another jump to "the origins of the concept of disorder" namely the older texts and concepts as discovered in Tamil literary traditional searches, viz, the Sankam texts, believed to date back to the first to third centuries after Christ. Historians regard themselves deeply beholden to V.V. Swaminatha Iyar (1855-1942) who devoted a life time in the last several decades to finding them and preserving them. Several useful paragraphs are devoted to these texts.

SUDRA DOMINATION

In chapter 5 is described in detail the ritual design of Sudra domination in Jaffna—of how they invested Vellalars with feminine power and the 'grace' of God by which they possess means of reproduction for the sake of universal good. The village rituals are explored at length. Attention is paid to the leading evil feminine spirit "Mu Tevi" (who was not chaste before the spirit in its corporeal human body left it). In contrast, is described the dark 'Virgin' goddess—Kali amman—who took possession of human minds, dictating and getting her desires fulfilled through measures to appease her. A lot of space is thereafter devoted to demons and the rituals for their appeasement and

banishment (when they possess humans). All this is told excellently.

If a vallalar got polluted by various acts of contact with an untouchable, various prescriptions were there to get back to a state of "clean" ness in a process of atonement. Curiously enough, the rites associated with a girl attaining puberty are also described at length by the author! After this follows a description of the astrological influences on a human (associated with his birth-date, place and time included) and his progress through life. For obvious reasons the author is unable to give more than a few basic principles in each case.

The last chapter concludes with the nature of Sudra Domination. This in essence makes the most significant reading for a reader. "The ritual of Sudra domination might well be summarized as an attempt to establish heaven (Sri) on earth, atleast to the degree possible, by situating Vellalar Communities advantageously with respect to cosmic, divine, human and demonic powers." The Vellalar, the author goes on, "is inferior to the Brahman, but by no means is his achievement less celebrated. The entitlement of the Vellalar and the disorder of the untouchable serve, in short, to warp the sastric ranking framework which would impute high status and Aryan privileges only to those castes that follow the purity ideal and try to separate themselves from worldly affairs."

The four-fold caste system is a very ancient tradition. Some of the earliest texts (in Sanskrit) describe it. In fact in 'Purusha Suktha' (Rg Veda X. 90) which was written in Sanskrit and sung some millennia back, it is said that the Supreme Creator caused the four castes to be born from diverse parts of his body thus :—

From the face the Brahmans were born
From the shoulders the Kshat-
riyas (who were kings)
From the thighs the Vysyas
(or merchants) and,
From the feet the Sudras.

In fact, it continues to say how

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the moon was born from the mind, the Sun from the eyes etc. But we are not concerned with them here.

There was never an intention, in those august narratives, of slight to anyone, be he though a "Lowly born". It was only over the centuries that selfish men seem to have added insults to injuries by declaring that this caste was low and that caste high. They acquired a religious connotation which came to be condemned by Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Gandhi etc. All are cast in the same mould as "Adi Sankara" himself stated.

From this point of view, the thesis of the author refers to one way of explaining how dominance was sought, created and perpetuated by one or two Castes, with the help of another over a third or fourth. It seems possible and plausible to say that observance of 'purity' was one way to seek and obtain this dominance over other

castes. There could be others —knowledge possessed and practised etc. It would require a dozen more researches, if one wants to go deeper into it. There is not enough space for it here.

I enjoyed thoroughly the reading of this book as well as the writing of this review. The author has put a hell (pardon the demonic expression) of a lot of effort into it. It is a creditable achievement. He has added at the end, a glossary of Indic terms (for the benefit of a non-Tamil reader) and an appendix on ritual roles of Jaffna's castes. The effort is capped by a bibliography of over a hundred publications and an index.

M. Gopalakrishnan, a member of the I.A.S., is Agricultural Production Commissioner to the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

International Relations as a Social Science

Ekkehart Krippendorff

International Relations as a Social Science
Radiant Publishers, 1982.

Reviewed by Shanti Swarup

For over half a century, there has been considerable dissatisfaction with the state of the disciplines of political science and international relations. This is particularly disturbing because the subject matter of these two sciences impinges upon the rest of human life, Ekkehart Krippendorff argues in this little book that there is urgent need for scholars to discover the truth and central motivating forces of international relations. While recognizing that all knowledge is useful, knowledge of international relations seems today to be crucial for the "survival problem of mankind." These problems of international relations are today universally recognised as "scarcity of resources, population growth, the sword of Democles represented by overarmament, the destruction of environment, the pollution of the atmosphere and oceans".

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forcefully demonstrates that knowledge which "fails to solve the survival problems of a society...not only becomes irrelevant...but brings about the downfall of its own social organization." (p. 12) Human civilization today is standing on the edge of a precipice: while it has solved the problems of what Krippendorff calls "reproduction" by rapid advances in technology, it has not been able to solve the survival problems of our age. This is amply proved by the fact that while the natural sciences have advanced very much, international relations and political science upon which the future of mankind so much hinges, have remained backward sciences. Indeed there is so little reliable body of scientific knowledge of international relations (built around concepts and theories) about which there should be general agreement cutting across ideologies and perspectives.

The basic reason for the tardy development of the science of international relations (and international relations theory building), in Krippendorff's view, is the enormous "time lag" between the emergence of the problem of international relations and the "consciousness" of that problem. While the problem of international relations, namely global conflicts and wars date back to the 16th century, the consciousness of this problem can at best be traced back to the First World War period. And it is problem consciousness alone which leads to the development of scientific knowledge. This view may not of course be entirely valid, for in what sense can we say this of Newton's and Darwin's great discoveries? Despite the rapid development of this problem consciousness, there has hardly been any major break-

"REPRODUCTION" & SURVIVAL

Amazing though it may seem, the bulk of the literature on international relations and its theory, does not concern itself with such problems Krippendorff draws upon the example of Maya civilization (which in certain respects such as their calendar had developed a highly advanced civilization) and

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through in the theory of international relations. All we have are perspectives.

THEORY BUILDING

Of the various perspectives in international relations, Western scholars have made some significant, if limited, contribution in international relations theory building. Unfortunately even these half-hearted attempts have received a set-back by the counter-attack of the neo-classical school led by Hedley Bull. Third world scholars and the Marxists have, of course, ridiculed these theories but have themselves contributed little to international relations theory building.

It is therefore a matter of considerable satisfaction that Ekkehart Krippendorff should have made a highly sophisticated and powerful *à la marxisme* contribution to the theory of international relations. In doing so, he rightly follows an inter-disciplinary approach using at once the insights of anthropology, history, economics and political science.

Krippendorff ridicules western theories of international relations because of their failure to come to grips with the basic problem of international relations, namely international conflict. Most theorists of international relations have blinked at this fact as if it did not exist and those who have paid attention to it, have not penetrated below the surface. He takes social scientists to task who instead of working towards a theory of international conflict, have been developing anti-theories. In this context he makes particular reference to the work of Robert North et. al., who have studied international conflict by using First World War as a case study and have come up with the astounding conclusion that the war was not inherent in the pre-First World situation and with little care could have been avoided.

Of all the work in the field of international relations produced by Western scholars, Krippendorff has a good word only for Hans Morgenthau. He rejects the whole of the literature as "useless"

and a "big zero". And even Morgenthau's power analysis loses its methodological value because it misses the central point that power is not an end in itself but an instrument of control over scarce resources. The concept of power, therefore, will have to be updated in his view before it can be employed as a useful tool of analysis of international relations.

MAN-MAN RELATIONSHIP

Nor does Krippendorff find satisfactory the popularly held view that the urge for dominance (resulting in conflict, including international conflict) is innate in human nature. Krippendorff rejects this view on grounds of what he believes to be anthropological evidence : it is based on the confusion between man-nature relationship with man-man relationship. In his relation with nature, man has no alternative but to dominate it, for the alternative to this would be his own extinction. He brings to bear on this argument, a large number of known facts.

Because of his physical weakness, his "grave biological deficiencies" his "feeling of not feeling at home in nature," man is "forced to subjugate his inimical environment." Implicit in this reasoning is a rejection of the bulk of the current literature on the ecological perspective and ecological balance which emphasises the need for man to come to terms with nature. By implication, Krippendorff also repudiates the view that the process of industrialization should be slowed down in the interests of ecological balance. He does not mean that there should be unlimited exploitation of nature. What he implies is that it should be controlled for the long term good of man, but it should be the good of man which should be the criteria.

In sharp contrast to man's relations with nature, his relation with other men have to be based on cooperation, for it is only by cooperation with other men that he can overcome his biological weaknesses. The fundamental basis of man-man relation, therefore, is not of dominance but of cooperation. Every advance of technology intended to harness nature to man's

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purposes also opens new vistas of "emancipation" and cooperation.

But here Krippendorff gets involved in a difficulty. Assuming that every advance of technology opens up potentialities for higher degrees of cooperation, does it follow that this potentiality (like every other potentiality) will be actualized? He concedes that the potential for global cooperation which the great breakthroughs since the 16th century have opened up have not materialised; instead global conflict has been accentuated.

CAUSES OF CONFLICT

To deal with this obvious difficulty, Krippendorff seeks refuge under a very simplistic Marxist-Leninist explanation : the potential for cooperation was subverted by the capitalist relations of production; and the same advances of technology which held out promise of global cooperation, were as effective for "globalization of conflict." The early technological breakthroughs in certain European societies gave them an edge over others. They soon discovered that rapid increase in trade including trade in armaments enabled them to generate surplus and increase their advantage.

So far, so good. But assuming that it was capitalism which led to the "globalization of conflict," the point still remains : was conflict *qua* conflict a post-capitalism phenomenon? If conflict is *prior* and not *posterior* to capitalism, then it follows that we have to look elsewhere for the basic causes of conflict. What is, however, permissible to argue is that the pattern of conflict and its range is of an entirely new kind since the 16th century. But whether this is entirely due to capitalist relations of production or due to technologies which have led to globalization of all human relations is a matter which needs further investigation.

GLOBALIZATION OF CONFLICT

Using important historical insights Krippendorff focusses attention on three important socio-political phenomena which emerged

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almost at the same time, namely capitalism, modern nation-state and globalization of conflict, and seeks to establish correlation between them. Capitalism, he rightly maintains, needs an *assured* and at the same time an *expanding* market. The state is a necessary condition for the "birth" and "growth" of capitalism in so far as the capitalist mode of production requires the state to bring about order in society. Since capitalism has the tendency of expansion, its relation with the state has the tendency towards imperialism. So far as the economic aspects of capitalist expansion and imperialism are concerned, he relies heavily upon the arguments of Marx, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and the theorists of centre-periphery model such as Andre Gunder Frank. "The capitalist," he approvingly quotes Marx, "must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere and establish connections everywhere" for the purpose of maximizing profit.

It must be stated, however, that Krippendorff here deviates from the Marxist perspective about the relation between state and capital-

ism. In fact, he comes fairly close to Max Weber when he argues that "the modern State and capitalism exist in an interdependent relations." (p. 71) Indeed he asserts that the state in its present form never existed prior to the development of capitalism. He maintains that although pre-modern political organizations have been called state in common usage, the modern state is vastly different from all previous political organizations of society. While it may resemble those organizations in some respects, it differs from them in terms of the totality of its functions. Among other things, the modern state is a "bourgeois class rule that cannot be recognised as such.....(and) is not there even in the subjective self-consciousness of its members." (p. 75). It were such European states emerging from capitalist revolution which began the process of imperialist expansion and division of the world.

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT & CAPITALISM

Krippendorff here highlights one important contradiction (beside

Lenin's and Mao's concepts of contradictions) between two related socio-economic and political processes. On the one hand, capitalism has the basic tendency for a unified world market, on the other hand, the state (which is a *necessary* condition for the development of capitalism) becomes a limiting factor on that process of globalization of the market. Each state, in the interests of its own bourgeoisie comes into clash with other states and societies. In other words, "international conflict" is inherent in capitalist expansion. But he does not go to the extreme of neoclassical scholars of international relations to assert that the international system is an "anarchical society." Between the 16th and the 19th century, he asserts, the internal contradiction between various capitalist states was resolved by some semblance of order and rules intended to regulate (not so much their conduct as) their conflicts." They recognized their mutual sovereignty while refusing to accept any state outside Europe as "worthy of sovereignty". In other words conflict was contained

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among capitalist states by a system based on an imperialist division and domination of the rest of the world through various means ranging from papal arbitration to colonial conference. Hence he concludes that Marxist imperialism theories are the basic starting point for the proper development of the science of international relations.

But contradictions of the capitalist system have become unmanageable since the First World War. First of all, the inter-imperialist rivalry between the world's capitalist states has become intractable; as evidence he cites the compromise of the "club of Ten" in 1971 which was characterised by the American President as "the most important currency political decision taken in the history of mankind" but which did not survive even for a year!

CENTRE—PERIPHERY SYNDROME

The dominant capitalist states have sought to overcome their difficulty by a greater penetration of the economies of the Third World. Krippendorff here draws heavily upon the centre-periphery framework to assert that the states of the capitalist-imperialist centre need the state system in the periphery in order to employ it through client state for a greater penetration of the periphery. But this state system in the ex-colonial world can become an instrument of resistance against the dominant politico-economic international system and in order to achieve independent economic and political development. But as the cases of Ghana, Indonesia and Egypt have amply demonstrated, these states have to operate against heavy odds. Indeed Krippendorff demonstrates quite convincingly that even socialist states such as Soviet Union, China and East European countries cannot pursue a genuinely "socialist" foreign policy because of the necessity of having to operate within a dominant capitalist environment, and its state system.

Very often their policies are determined by strategic considerations in a hostile environment. The increasing "involvement" of the Soviet Union in the capitalist

world market and the corresponding diversification of its foreign policy" are at the most intended to prevent war in the interests of the Soviet state. Apart from the fact that this policy does not free it from the necessity of taking sides in inter-imperialist conflict," this Soviet policy has led to "an open or veiled disinterest in national liberation and anti-imperialist movements". (pp. 147 and 149) And even in the Third World it supports countries with the potential of consolidating their own capitalism, but having no social base of a pro-Soviet policy so that it is very easy for them to snap ties with the Soviet Union. And in the economic realm, the Soviet Union—and now even China—is getting involved in the capitalist system resulting from its increasing "competitive integration" into the "capitalist world market" and its mode of production. This

in his view has resulted in the induced social conflicts within Soviet and East European (and presumably Chinese) societies.

In a nutshell, international relations today must be studied within the framework of the capitalist system, "imperialism theories." Krippendorff shows competently and with great subtlety the factors which must be taken cognisance of if a meaningful theory of international relations has to be developed. He provides us with a remarkably original methodology to study international conflicts and their sources. But this does not yet (alas!) constitute an international relations theory.

Shanti Swarup is Lajpat Rai Professor of Political Science at the Panjab University, Chandigarh.

A Moving Account

Ved Mehta

Vedi

pp. 258, Oxford University Press, 1982, Rs. 90.00

Reviewed by Malashri Lal

Blindness has poignancy uniquely its own. Even as a reader scans these printed words, he may wonder what it is to be deprived of this 'simple' facility. Reminiscences of a blind childhood evoke curiosity in the first instance, and then, a literary and psychological interest if the author happens to be well-known. *Vedi*, Ved Mehta's most recent autobiographical publication, refers to several facets of human experience, and, without a trace of self-pity or melodrama, reveals the complex world of the sightless child to those who presume to 'see' by more sense perception.

The book raises a fundamental question about parental responsibility. Vedi's rich father, haunted by the fear that 'blind people lived little better than wounded animals' unless they had been adequately prepared to cope with their handicap, sent his five year old child to a Blind School in Bombay, thirteen hundred miles from home. Here, among

strangers who neither shared his language nor understood his social background, who were mostly orphans or destitutes rescued from the streets, Vedi was to learn the art of being "self-reliant" through sharing the common travails of blindness with the other occupants of the boarding school, Vedi is isolated by his special and ambiguous status as the principal's protege and as the boy who enjoys "luxuries" such as a mosquito net, fine clothes and shoes.

"Caning chairs is for the poor boys" Vedi is told p (ii) "your father would like you to go to England and America, as he did, and study there" (p. 47).

It is pitifully obvious that the Dadar school for the Blind offers no exclusive education to prepare Vedi for the grand future envisaged by his father. Would it not have been more humane to keep the blind child at home, under special tutelage, rather than thrust him out, so

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vulnerable, so young, into an alien environment?

LOVING BIG BROTHER

Nevertheless among the orphans and destitutes, Vedi finds his helpers and companions. Deoji, an older boy from a Foundling Home, assumes the role of "a loving big brother." Tentatively, young Vedi reaches out to feel what his friend looks like—"I touched his face. It felt thin and taut and rough. I shrank back". Deoji laughs and pulls at Vedi's plump cheeks. With care and affection Deoji teaches Vedi how to bathe and dress himself, make his bed and sew his shirt buttons and many other "skills" which come so slowly to those who are blind. It is Deoji who fills the child's imagination with stories about the "bathroom ghost" who will pounce on any one who stays too long in those hallowed quarters or fabricates yarns about the many "adventures" of the human soul to explain away Vedi's bad dreams and soothe his homesickness.

Another playmate is Abdul, who had once "earned" his livelihood by beggary and petty thieving. His tales feed Vedi's imagination further. "If you cut a boa constrictor, you get two snakes instead of one. And if you cut it twice, you get three snakes" (p. 63). Abdul is Vedi's companion for nocturnal adventures—those stealthy visits to the window of a Muhammadan hotel to eat delectables such as rose water, lemon drops and bhel-puri" (p. 68). Young Bhasker encourages Vedi's participation in boisterous games on the beach and in the playground whereas the partially sighted little girl, Paran, baffles Vedi's imagination by talking of reflections in a mirror. Ruling over them all is the awesome presence of the "Sighted Master", an emblem of all that was powerful and authoritarian, the bounty of average "normalcy".

FOUR YEARS

Vedi's four years at the Dadar School for the Blind is an education in human relationship. He learns to adapt to the requirements of the moment and suppress his deepest

psychological needs. In the home of the school principal, Ras Mohan, Vedi observes the discipline of good table—manners, in the boys' dormitory he shares the derelict conditions of poverty, in class he is the diligent student of Braille.

The pathos of Vedi's condition is nowhere more obvious than when he returns to his parental home after the years at school. The brutality of his father's good intentions had sent a child into an environment where poverty and destitution, death and disease, violence and crime constituted "reality". It is impossible for Vedi to re-enter the world of childish innocence and gaiety in which Vedi's four siblings are reared. Servants wait upon the children. Vedi's table—manners so painstakingly taught at the school now provide occasions for merriment; relatives heap pity upon "the poor blind lamb" the family indulges in middle class snobbery and banal gossip. At one time, Mr. and Mrs. Ras Mohan visit the Mehta household. As they leave young Vedi clings to them, his only link with the other, more real, world and cries out, "I don't want to be left behind" (p. 251).

DOWN MEMORY LANE

Ved Mehta's journey down memory lane, to a child's encounter with darkness and solitude, is indeed an act of courage. Throughout the narrative the reader is aware of two voices. Vedi's factual, non-committal reporting of the many experiences of learning is set off by the adult author's careful re-ordering of the half-forgotten traumas of childhood. Perhaps because the narrative is autobiographical the authenticity of the blind child's viewpoint is never in question. When Vedi reports how he was "shoeved" a soft boiled egg on the beads of an abacus, the reader accepts this is a mode of "perception" without sight. At ease with his handicap the child takes recourse to other modes of knowledge too... smell, touch, recognition of sounds and just intuitive flashes...all vividly recorded by the author.

Ved Mehta adds an important sociological dimension to this account of a child's growth into awareness.

The book draws attention to the appalling condition of blind schools in India. Special education for the handicapped has largely depended on the inspiration and charity of a few individuals like Ras Mohan in Vedi's story. Financial support is seldom available. The staff is inadequately trained and poorly paid. Most children are relegated to these schools by helpless parents and foundling homes. It is hard to give these children a sense of dignity or an ambition to succeed in the world despite their limitations. Moreover, the psychological problem is enhanced by the lack of facilities such as Braille type writers, Braille libraries and special audio-equipment which could accelerate the process of learning. The description of the Dadar school and its curriculum is enough to predict the dim future of the inmates such institutions.

AN ACT OF EXPIATION

Ved Mehta follows up the history of his Dadar school companions in an "Epilogue" chapter. Abdul, Paran and Bhaskar had all died of consumption by the time they were thirty; Deoji had survived the ordeals and lived somewhere as a teacher of the blind. To authenticate his memories, Ved Mehta visited Deoji...only to be further convinced of the chasm between social classes in India. Vedi, by the accident of birth, had been provided the means of better education after the Dadar years. The others had soon faded. Ved Mehta's last view of the blind in India is a mix of revulsion and pity, and a personal dread of what might have been his fate. *Vedi* is an expiation of the past. Along with *Daddaji* and *Mamaji*, already published, it credits the author with documenting a unique kind of social history.

Malashri Lal lectures in English at the Jesus and Mary College, University of Delhi.

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August 1, 1983

Lawyers and Touts

J.S. Gandhi

Lawyers and Touts : A study in the sociology of the legal profession
pp. viii + 174, Hindustan Publishing Corporation, 1982, Rs. 65.00

Reviewed by Anjana Gosain

The Centre for the Study of Social Systems of Jawaharlal Nehru University has taken special interest in the sociology of professions. Recently a perceptive study of the profession of nurses and doctors was published by T. K. Oommen of the same Centre. The present work under review by J.S. Gandhi is also one of the series. It is a book in the same series, but with a difference. It is an updated version of a doctoral dissertation and thus suffers from several disadvantages peculiar to the same genre.

Gandhi has packed too many historical facts about legal profession in the short compass of 175 pages. He begins by presenting a theoretical perspective in a brief chapter which describes the attributes of professions in general in less than one page. It is followed by another chapter of 21 pages which traces the evolution of the legal profession not only in the undivided province of the Punjab, but also in British India as well as in the West, going as far back as the Roman days.

Gandhi could have done well by confining his exposition in the historical growth of legal profession in the province of Punjab, as an appropriate backdrop to legal profession in Gobindgarh (being the locale of the study proper). The central theme of the study begins to be handled only when chapter 4 is reached. By that time, however, one is in danger of losing interest in theme under consideration.

Gandhi has undertaken Gobindgarh district courts as his central theme. The flagging interest begins to be revived by this time of the micro study based on field work. The tabular statements providing statistical data about the social composition of Gobindgarh bar are extremely interesting. Statistics have however limited utility. Those do not give out much unless interpreted

properly. For instance, the conflicting situations that arise between members of the bar due to its social composition are certainly not self-explanatory as viewed through statistics.

The next chapter relating to professional categories yields more meat, thus establishing the fact that Gandhi is to be compared to a vehicle, slow to pick up speed initially but attempting to make up latterly. Whether his categorization of lawyers as a) exclusive, b) semi-exclusive, c) non-

exclusive and d) satellite can be justified in terms of well defined sociological categories is another matter. This chapter however yields a wealth of data about the local situation prevailing in Gobindgarh district bar.

WHAT ABOUT TOUTS?

While the book has the title of *Lawyers and Touts*, there has been no mention of the role of touts in the first 104 pages of the book for all practical purposes. The tout makes his appearance in Chapter 7. One begins to wonder, for the emphasis given to the role of touts in the title of the study. The next Chapter which undoubtedly makes the best reading relates to the *Munshis*. The lawyer, tout and the *munshi* in fact constitute the triad. The book should

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properly have been entitled as players, *Touts and Munshis: a case study of Gobindgarh district*. It would have reflected the ethos of the work appropriately.

Gandhi really takes off in the last chapter entitled "Resume and generalizations" because he foresees his non-conflict model which he had attempted to build so assiduously. He deals boldly with unprofessionality in the lawyers' role-performance. It may be summed up in the words of Gandhi: "On account of the generality of such problems and the strategies adopted to resolve them, the culture of unprofessional practices achieves acceptance and assimilation, a conclusive evidence of which

is provided in that no one in the entire Bar underrated the value of these unprofessional practices as a means of professional success. Therefore, through default of acquiring professional conformity, unprofessionality becomes a cultural norm in which the individual lawyer is gradually socialized as he moves along his career."

It is a pity that the culture of unprofessionality received such scant attention by Gandhi. It is undoubtedly the best portion of the work, which needs to be developed into a full-scale book.

Anjana Gosain is a practising advocate at Delhi High Court.

ment. Since very little literature is available on the subject in India, the book can be considered as a pioneering effort.

The attention of the world was drawn to this specific matter at the instance of the United Nations at two international forums—namely, the Inter-Regional preparatory Conference at Manila, 1981, and the World Assembly held at Vienna, 1982. The emphasis was on the need to study the question arising from development and utilization of the skills and experience of the aged who also have more time to spare. This emphasis helps rescue the old age from the realm of the "problem" age to a potentially rich old age. It will augur well for India if the information and data collected by Srivastava who is also the "Member-Secretary of the Citizenship Development Society are studied in depth and geared towards humanitarian and developmental actions in our society.

The twelve chapters of the book deal with objectives and methodology employed for collecting data information, give an analysis of the socio-economic characteristics of the aged surveyed, discuss health, family relationships and value pattern besides analysing the different aspects of the problem of economic and social potential. The last chapter presents the main findings and offers some recommendations.

The findings should provide sufficient material for setting up service centres and help planning programmes for the utilization of skills and experience of the aged in our country! Perhaps a beginning may be made at Delhi.

ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITE

An essential prerequisite for any programme formulation is information in regard to the nature, forms and magnitude of a given problem. This study helps precisely in that respect and has made the right beginning.

The 23 tables dealing, among others, with the size of the family of the respondents, their per capita monthly income, health status, economic potential and assistance

A Pioneering Contribution

S. Srivastava

The Aged and the Society

p. 64, *Citizenship Development Society, New Delhi, 1983, Rs. 30.00*

Reviewed by Anima Bose

With the progress of science and medicine, with better nutrition and higher standard of living, people in many parts of the world not only are longer but are healthier in old age. WHO has estimated that 75% of the aged (60+) are active and cannot be regarded as an unproductive burden on society. And living to a ripe old age covering the span of three scores and ten is no longer a legend.

This is happening in to-day's India where, unfortunately, the society and state have not recognized them as yet—an important human resource which can be utilized both for national welfare and for the good of the aged.

The Aged and the Society is a newly publication drawing the attention of the people to this particularly new phenomenon in our society. Although gerontology has become a topic of academic discussion again and again, it has not engaged the attention of society to the extent it has done in other parts of the world, especially the West.

In India, age has always commanded respect and the family and

social institutions have been deployed to take care of the old. But in our day and time government policies and non-governmental agencies will need to take meaningful steps in order to help the aged and use their skills and experience in a meaningful way thus enforcing the tradition and values of Indian society for the old and adding a new dimension to it by emphasizing the social welfare and human enhancement aspects.

Srivastava has based his study on the subject on a socio-economic survey defining old age as "above 50" and conducting it (the survey) in selected areas of Delhi in order to help chalk out an action programme so that the skills and experience of the aged may be harnessed and used by the society.

NEW DIMENSION

The study adds a new dimension to the "old age" theme by talking not only about old age care, counselling and community services but focussing on the potentialities and utilization of the skills of the aged for societal development and enhance-

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needed for the agedlend credence and add a seriousness of purpose. The appendices and the annexures are valuable for those who want to take up further research in the area on a larger scale.

However, the survey has been done within, limited scope and as the author himself states, there have been methodological problems when the survey was conducted. There is plenty of room for further exploration and discussion.

The Helpage India and the Help the Aged (U.K.) provided the bulk

of the funds for conducting the survey. It is hoped that this study will help change our perspective and stimulate policy makers at the governmental level as also the voluntary social welfare organizations to translate some of the recommendations into actualities. Perhaps the Central Social Welfare Board could give a lead in this matter.

Anima Bose is Reader in Psychology at the University of Delhi.

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

continued, and Obote was the object of two assassination attempts. In the midst of this turbulence, Obote set about planning a new society of equality and justice, and made his socialistic views the base for his policies.

The friendships formed by Obote were apparently of short duration. According to Vijay Gupta, relations were generally cordial until Obote was overthrown by Idi Amin in 1971. The principal reason was stated to be Kenya's relations with the official Ugandan Government now headed by Amin, which excluded countenancing, Amin's "enemy" Obote. The book does, however, refer to Kenya fears of the Obote-Nyerere friendship. It is necessary to recall here a fact that specialists on Africa would be aware of but which is not generally known—namely, the British initiative in bringing about the downfall of Obote, with collaboration from Israel and the C.I.A.. This is referred to in Vijay Gupta's book. As is well known the independent Kenyan Government, led by Kenyatta and with Tom Mboya as one of its leading figures, has a record of cordial relations with Western Nations, whereas certain other new African leaders, like Obote, Nyerere and Nkrumah, were regarded as "leftists" by the Western powers and were accordingly regarded with different degrees of suspicion. It would be reasonable to assume that Kenya's views of Obote and his regime would be at least partly coloured by the West's suspicion of him.

BUILDING UNITY

Though Obote, like many new African leaders, proclaimed his socialistic orientation and objectives, his policies, while in power, both during his first and second terms in office, were geared to building unity amongst his people across tribal loyalties, across the divisive forces built up by the colonial people, and the self-assertiveness of Buganda and its ruler and power, and across the

Uganda Today

Vijay Gupta

Obote : Second Liberation

pp. 196, Vikas, 1983, Rs. 125.00

Reviewed by C.B. Muthamma

Vijay Gupta's book on Obote is an important addition to the body of Indian writing on Africa. He has clearly put detailed and devoted work into this book, backed by personal knowledge of Uganda and a painstaking study of documents and other material. But what really stands out in his book is his sympathy for and understanding of Uganda and of Africa in general, and his personal admiration for Obote's qualities of head and heart.

As the title of the book indicates, Vijay Gupta's main subject is the second liberation of Uganda at the end of 1978, with the fall of the Idi Amin regime. However, to put the Second Liberation in a meaningful historical and political perspective, and, equally to put Obote's leadership in a correct perspective, the writer has given, under different chapters, (including a special chapter containing a biographical sketch of Obote) fairly substantial background information on the history of Uganda before the Idi Amin dictatorship.

OBOTE'S CAREER

Obote served his political apprenticeship in Kenya at a period when Kenya was in the

process of fighting both the colonial rule from overseas and the white settler domination within—a situation that has had its parallel elsewhere in Africa, notably Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. Then, as now, black Africans had a basic sense of African identity, though, on another plane, tribalism plagued African communities, specially within national boundaries. This sense of identity, reinforced, no doubt, by the erstwhile East African community, made it very natural for Milton Obote to participate in Kenya's nationalist movement. Being a worker himself at the Sugar Works in Kisumu, he associated with leaders of the Kenyan Trade Union Movement, notably Tom Mboya, one of the principal colleagues of Kenyatta, both during Kenya's freedom struggle and after independence—though Mboya did not survive very long into the latter period.

Obote returned to Uganda in 1957, and threw himself into his country's freedom movement, which was split into contending groups. Eventually he emerged as the principal leader of the movement, at the head of the Uganda People's Congress, leading the country to freedom in 1962. Internecine conflicts, however,

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social and economic groups emerging during and after the colonial period. Obote had no doubt that all these had to be mobilised to build a strong and united Uganda.

While Obote's constructive and conciliatory policies and politics are noted approvingly, it is clear that his achievement falls somewhat short of some of Gupta's criteria. He refers to Obote's failure to establish a "firm ideological process systematically and consistently to back up" his economic measures, and frequently uses ideologically loaded terms, like "petty bourgeoisic", "reactionary", etc. in describing various forces. It is a matter of debate how relevant ready-made ideologies are in given situations. Gupta is not alone in bringing ideological equipment to measure the problems of the Third World countries.

But it can certainly be said of Obote that he faced a difficult and fractious situation in patient and conciliatory manner. Apparently, in Obote's own opinion, even his cautious socialism of the 1960s was not wholly tenable, given the internal pressures and Uganda's dependence on external, mainly Western aid. He accordingly, acted with due circumspection during his second term of office. Gupta more or less admits that Obote's choices (indeed those of many Third World countries) are limited, and that Obote was manifestly in a situation where discretion was the better part of valour. He therefore abnegated his socialistic convictions to practical necessity.

DOWNFALL OF AMIN

Hopefully the West, after Idi Amin's reign of terror, has also second thoughts, though this by no means certain. But it is to remember that Amin might still have been in power if he had not attacked Tanzanian territory, leaving Tanzania with no option but to fight back, and in that fight to the finish, namely, the downfall of Amin. It could also be remembered that one would have, under

the circumstances, have assumed that Obote would have been the natural choice to replace Amin, internal manipulations in Uganda, supported by Kenya, resulted in the installation by forces opposed to Obote, of two other Presidents for brief and disturbed periods—the two Presidents were Yusuf Lule and Godfrey Binaisa. Eventually the military leaders intervened, setting up a military commission which organised elections that were observed by a Commonwealth team.

Gupta's book describes these events in some detail. The facts regarding Amin's armed provocation to Tanzania are important, as some quarters, that are looking for a stick to beat Nyerere (and perhaps Obote) with, talk as if Nyerere were an aggressor. Following the conflict, the stationing of Tanzanian troops in Uganda necessitated as much by the interests of Uganda as of Tanzania, were criticised by the West, and were adversely commented on even by many commentators in Africa.

Amin's legacy of lawlessness and economic ruin are still with Uganda. Gupta, dealing mainly with Obote in this book, has not done more than make incidental references to the horrors and savagery of the Amin regime. Even since the book was written, news of disasters continue to come out of Uganda. The work of construction, for Obote, is bound to be infinitely more difficult than the work of destruction was for Amin.

POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA

If a sympathy and understanding matching Vijay Gupta's could illuminate those circles, in and outside the Government in this country, which have a role in affecting our policies in Africa—especially our political and economic policies—it could enable this country to formulate a course of action that could bring about a significant change in the North-South equation, and generally advance the cause and objectives of non-alignment.

Many of Africa's problems are such as are faced by most of the countries of Third World—gross under development, at different levels, of agriculture and industry, the problems of outmoded social structures, and the multitudinous, almost insurmountable, difficulties of having to simultaneously tackle interlinked problems on all these fronts. But of Africa it is true more than of Asia (and probably of Latin America) that friendly-genuinely friendly-co-operation from outside can constitute a major catalyst and a vital factor in initiating a pattern of speedy and sustained economic growth which in turn could stabilize the internal politics of the countries of that continent. Africa's dependence on outside help is partly illustrated by the continued existence of settler communities or of large bodies of expatriates of various kinds and origins, and of the continued need of the host countries for these groups.

HUMAN INFRASTRUCTURE

One of the many problems peculiar to Africa is the fact that whereas the tribal societies could, in their diversity be compared to the multicomunal societies of Asia, unlike the latter, they have not yet developed a common national and social framework which could facilitate the establishment of developmental activities. In effect, therefore, Africa lacks not only the material infrastructure for speedy development, but in a very special sense, the human infrastructure that is necessary for development. In this context, partnership from friendly outside agencies would enable Africa to sidestep the problems arising. With such partnership, development could start with a supply of various skills and equipment and material and other relevant inputs from the outside, which with the addition of local manpower and resources, especially land, could create a framework that could generate developmental forces much faster than if the situation were left to the unaided efforts of the countries concerned.

The highest priority must

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necessarily be accorded to agriculture and agro-industries with an emphasis on meeting the basic needs of the local population. The first effort should be to end their dependence on imports for food and clothing; simultaneously, also, to end their dependence on the export of limited range of agricultural and mineral commodities to the metropolitan market as the only means of earning funds to buy even these basic requirements. The colonial pattern of gearing production to the needs of the metropolitan markets has to be rectified—if need be, by even switching from the production of cash crops for export, to crops for local consumption. The changes, of course, cannot be sudden. But when it comes, it will also help to minimise the present dependence on the export, also of minerals, for minimal returns—often simply mining concessions.

LONGTERM BENEFITS

It is important for Indian policy makers and business circles to understand that co-operation in such developmental activities in Africa will not only create short-term benefits by way of profits, but long-term benefits by creating a stable basis for

wealth that enriches both partners, and an equally stable basis for continued partnership and growing production and trade in many fields. At the global level this will mean a growth in the real wealth of the Third World, and a resultant growth in economic independence. It will mean a great change for the better in its bargaining position vis-a-vis the North.

Finances are not the principal problem. To the extent that these are required—and they would be required to a much lesser extent than might be supposed—they are available from a variety of sources, including U.N. bodies and what are now classified as "like-minded countries". But the most difficult part of this exercise is a change in the habits of thinking that prevail in this country in respect of Africa—and the general lack of information and understanding. Every contribution to the growth of such an understanding is valuable, and it is in this very practical context that Vijay Gupta's book is doubly welcome.

C.B. Muthamma retired from the Indian Foreign Service recently. During her tenure, she acted as an ambassador in one of the African countries as well.

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Bhatia, Ramesh. Planning for the Petroleum and Fertilizer Industries : A Programming Model for India. Delhi, Oxford, 1983. xvi, 259 p. Rs. 100.00

Presents a methodology for analysing the problems of investment planning in the petroleum and fertilizer industries. The

model developed here has been used to obtain the optimum mix of import of crude oil and products as well as the optimum patterns of capacity expansions in India.

Devahuti, D. Harsha : A Political Biography. Delhi, Oxford, 1983. xxvii, 362 p. Rs. 180.00

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The present work on Harsha Sthanv-Iṣvara and Kanataśa studies the impact on each other of the ruler and his times, and examines the times as part of a continuous political tradition both in its ideological and practical aspect.

Dignan, Don. The Indian Revolutionary Problem in British Diplomacy 1914-1919. Delhi, Allied, 1972. xvi, 256 p. Rs. 100.00

Complements the recent revisionist trends in the historiography on Indian nationalism which attributes greater historical weight to the efforts of the pre-Gandhian revolutionaries.

Girja Kumar and Krishan Kumar. Philosophy of User Education. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. xi, 247 p. Rs. 125.00

Explores user education in all its aspects, its philosophical outlook and history, its institutional Framework, and the role of the teacher librarian and his methods of teaching, and the special significance of user education in the less developed countries of the world.

Gole, Susan. India within the Ganges. Delhi, Jayaprints, 1983. 239 p. Rs. 175.00

This book is about the maps of India from earliest times until the accurate Surveys of the 19th century. The story of how these maps came to be drawn is followed by a detailed catalogue of maps of India that were printed upto 1800. Three indices are provided to facilitate reference.

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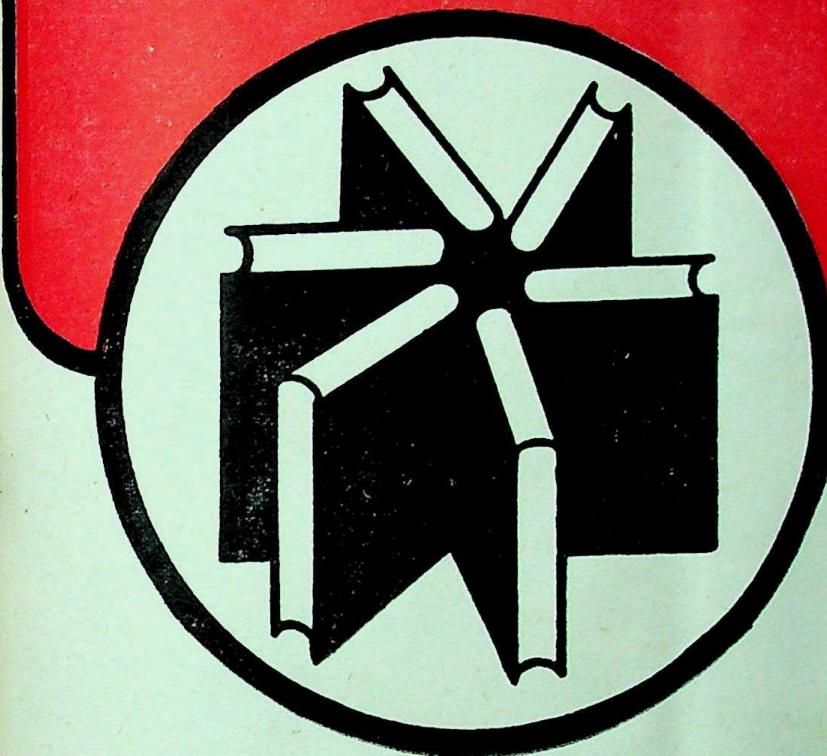
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The Agony and Ecstasy of Book Reviewing

Are book reviewers mere pen-rattlers unlike the slimy creeper which rattles before striking the victim dead? Is there a quality of awe-inspiring mysticism in their language and intentions? Perhaps, when the victim, to wit, the author of the book (as well of course, as the co-victim, namely, the book) is on the dissecting table for examination no warning shots are given; And lo! the deed is done.

I have always had a great admiration for the cynic more than for the voluntary-reviewer's panegyric. To me, the book reviewer resembles the field-marshal who leads his intricately-formed men to attack authors and writers and always comes back sound in mind and body to do more battles later on. He successfully stills the small voice of pity and destroys many a fine sentiment in the process. He is not a Hamlet to brood over a skull. "To kill or not to kill" is not the question.

There is, very often, a strategy involved in the process of book-reviewing—definitely, tactics as well. The field has to be gone over and angles of attack planned. Often, this process is repeated as if one were looking at one's face again in the mirror in order to appreciate the finer points of it. The first look is indeed a mere glance. A second look follows and in turn is accompanied by a searching one. Defects are looked for and detected! Some are slurred over while others are dissected and much is made of each one of them. A little bit of prejudice, no doubt, creeps into the reviewer's mind and begins to take control of the situation suppressing his rationality and fairness of mind.

At the back of the mind is the overall experience and knowledge stored in the mental computer of the reviewers. They take over the matter to be reviewed and decide broadly the approach and attack. Rarely is an olive branch offered. In almost all 'mental processes, where literary reviews are planned and written the approach is both artistic and scientific. The physical appearance of the book (the jacket, the binding, the blurbs etc.) are brought under the searchlight of criticism. Who Printed it ? How is the get-up ? Is the paper thin or comfortably thick ? What is the price ? Is it beyond the reach of the common man who may be a student, a general reader or a bibliophile ? Are there printer's mistakes made by printer's devils ? One can't be too sure of them these days what with slipshod and slovenly proof-reading which one encounters so often. When you handle the book during reading, do the stitches snap and the leaves fall apart ? Does it hold together well even after repeated handling and the final conation of throwing it on the table ? Are there graphs, pictures and tables ? How do they look ? Has their (printing) location been done to provide easy scanning-transfer from the written material to them ? Are there irrelevant, incomprehensible and complicated references, tables and statements ? Is a glossary of difficult terms provided ? Can one have easy access to important subject matter thro' alphabetical indices, author-wise and subject-wise ?

If the reviewer is a voracious reader and recollects having seen any similar material elsewhere, he will have to delve the depths of his past knowledge and experience and come up with relevant criticisms (of plagiarising etc.). One has, of course, to be quite careful in this respect for it is easy to step on the toes of another careful person and land oneself in

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EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH

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an action for libel!

Anything is grist that comes to the mill of criticism. Is the title misleading and, if it is, what does it indicate—that the author of the book needs his head to be examined? In spite of such a defect one has to examine and conclude whether the overall effect of the book is good or bad. All may be fair in love and war but not in literary criticism or book-reviewing.

FROM AGONY TO ECSTASY

Really, there is room for almost every human sentiment in a review—ecstasy, boredom, annoyance, anger, sympathy, empathy, and even, horror and disgust.

A book that is reviewed can, in the process of being read, turn out to be a demulcent. On the other hand, if it were to produce a volcanic effect, the pen would become a fumerole, belching fire and brimstone. The hapless reviewer will almost howl with pain and anger; the act, no doubt, is sans patience, sans generosity and sans forgiveness. If it were possible, he may even pitchfork the book into a furnace. Or, perhaps, he would like to hobble the writer and watch him in Homeric laughter. But then, would it be fair?

If the book under review fills an important need in the world of knowledge or opinions it must straightway admitted. If it has made a thrilling reading (or, for the matter of that, a boring one instead), the reviewer will do well to admit it. There are some books which deserve only bouquets and some only brickbats, while there are some as would deserve both. It is said in "Sumathi Sataka" (a book containing a hundred Telugu poems of wisdom) that a father really feels proud not as soon a son is born but, much later, when the people around talkwell of the son, so does an author feel proud when he sees a number of good reviews of his book, be it has magnum opus or a first effort.

Fairness in reviewing is, really an apotheosis of literary criticism. If a thing is worth being admired at all it should be admired well. So also should a book that has been written well, be reviewed with justice, fairness and an open mind. A review written thus will do honour as much to the reviewer as to the writer. It will gladden the heart of the reader as that of the author. In the final analysis, that will be a step forward in man's quest for artistic excellence and progress.

A reviewer and his book should not easily be parted. If, after the first few pages, discovers it to be insipid and uninspiring he must nevertheless keep company till the Finis'. After all, if he is going to condemn it anyhow, why should he not give it a fair trial though he may decline to give it the benefit of the doubt. Like a good judgment his must be a well-reasoned one. Logic and evidence must hold sway. Unlike his Lordship on the Bench he does not have to quote precedents. He can let emotion take over and allow his experience to dictate his judgement.

REVIEWERS & REVIEWERS

There are Reviewers and Reviewers. To some, the book is a tabernacle and must be dealt with reverently (as when they review a well-respected and hoary author's writing). To others, it is a Lyceum where one wanders, arguing within himself and perhaps with others, and ultimately arrives at the exit, feeling all the better for the experience. There are occasions when a reviewer looks at the whole experience, as an artist, who is drawing a horse, gazes at it, but not as a driver, who looks at a solid-hooped quadruped with flowing mane and tail being used as a beast of burden and draught.

Finally, when all the battles have been fought and the reviewer rests on his oars it is the publisher of the review journal who has the last word—for, he may elect (or refuse) to publish the review, or he may (if he is a wise one or a careful one) have read the book himself and does not agree

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with the review, in which case God help the Reviewer! If on the other hand, if both are syncopatic in their loud and syrupy acclaim, well then, is it not what we want?

M. Gopalakrishnan, a member of the I.A.S., Agricultural Production Commissioner to the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

An Outstanding Entrepreneur

Dwijendra Tripathi

Dynamics of a Tradition: Kasturbhai Lalbhai & His Entrepreneurship pp. 243, Manohar, 1981, Rs. 80.00

Reviewed by S. Madhuri

The necessity to boost economic development brought forth a spate of theories explaining relationships among consumption, saving and investment. Some of the socio-psychological theories, however have traced development to the entrepreneurial behaviour of certain outstanding individuals. The Dynamics of a Tradition is in this vein.

The author has tried to study entrepreneurial behaviour of a leading business house—it will be more correct to say of a leading businessman of India, that of Kasturbhai Lalbhai of Gujarat region. The author views the entrepreneurial decisions in terms of 'entrepreneurial initiative' which lays "...a secure foundation for an industrial enterprise on the part of an individual..." whereby he gains experience and confidence so that he enters into new avenues of profit which constitute 'entrepreneurial continuum.'

The author traces the movement and business of ancestors of Kasturbhai Lalbhai who have been loyal to Gujarat at least for six generations now. The businessman belonged to the lineage of Shantidas Jhaveri whose forefathers had moved from Marwar to Gujarat around the end of 16th century. Until Kasturbhai's father Lalbhai, most of his ancestors were in trade, banking and jewellery business. They had a financial standing that enabled them to rub shoulders with the kings and helping

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and advising the kings in financial matters. The imperial help on its part was a supportive factor in their business success. Some of his ancestors were also Nagar-Sheths—a position of great social standing, envy and reverence. Although sketchy, the ancestral account portrays an interesting picture of mutual support between money and the state.

INITIATIVE

The entrepreneurial 'initiative' of the business house to go in for industry really starts with Lalbai Dalpathbhai who put up the first textile mill, the Saraspur Mill in 1897. Inheriting this initiative from his father, Kasturbhai (b. 1894) engaged into an entrepreneurial continuum spread over a span of more than 60 years. The entrepreneurial continuum is indicated in the business decisions of Kasturbhai, showing in a historical perspective, his setting up a number of textile mills and later manufacturing other products as well. It is an interesting chronological account of vertical and horizontal integration, from predominantly spinning to weaving to starch production, on to fertilizers and then to chemicals and pharmaceuticals.

The author has collated and explained the entrepreneurial decisions of the business house in terms of what he calls the 'constellation of forces' within and outside the decision makers. Thus, though profits were a decisive factor for major business decisions, economic environment, government policy, the sense of duty to provide for family members, the desire for challenge, and a host of other factors that resulted in situations which enabled the perception of opportunity by the businessman. What stands out in this account is the personality of Kasturbhai Lalbai, hard working, achieving, disciplined, risk taking, responsible, honest, integrated, and above all open. It is a personality that acquired a reputation of trustworthiness and social responsibility, and was paid back in full measure for these qualities.

CONVENTIONAL

Evaluating the success of Kasturbhai's business decisions, the

author concludes that his business strategy ran on conventional lines with expansion and diversification being confined to related lines, the transition being from single to sophisticated products, and locationally confined to Gujarat region. The businessman followed a cautious and conservative financial strategy. He resorted to wide public participation in equity, little inter-corporate investment and used institutional finance only in case of Atul. This business strategy combined with a conventional management structure and high business ethics explain Kasturbhai's business success. Some of the other success factors that the narrative brings out are : the choice of collaborators, catching export market, a steady though conservative rate of dividend, a wise choice of product mix, a thorough knowledge of raw materials, sense of location, and investment in research and development and in training.

The narrative makes it very clear that Kasturbhai's entrepreneurial decisions are the central focus of the book. However, the account of his ancestry before his father Lalbai, somehow seems to stand alienated from the focus. The author's difficulty in collecting material for this section is indicated in his frequent use of 'perhaps.' His efforts to overcome this difficulty by making definitive and conclusive statements, sometimes without substantiating and sometimes making contradictory statements leads the reader to a maze of factors. A reference to the geneological table (which in fact is included) in the text would have partly alleviated this problem.

RISK TAKING

The author has, by now, acquired considerable reputation in economic history. Therefore a reviewer may seem presumptuous in questioning the use of relevant concepts. However, it is difficult to agree with him when he contends that putting up a new mill (Lalbai putting up Saraspur Mill when there were 21 others already) in the same industry may not constitute entrepreneurial initiative. Organizational experts would say, that one of the crucial

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elements in entrepreneurial decisions is risk taking. Risk is involved not in the environment but in the management of environment. Hence Saraspur Mill was as much an initiative as Anil Starch or Atul.

The author's contention that he did not look into the management structure of the business group also deserves comment. The implementation of a strategy requires a management structure. True, he has not gone into the detailed organizational structure of the concerns of Kasturbhai business house. But the account is indicative of the management structure at the top level. A separate managing agency for each concern, a separate export concern; setting up R & D; training internal managerial cadres; ensuring managerial succession are all elements of management structure.

In spite of the avoidable inaccuracies in some tables which cause confusion in the reader's mind, the book is an interesting account of coping with change, technological maturity by updating technology at the appropriate or opportune time, market outreach by innovating strategies and agencies and social flexibility by responding to consumers demand. Above all the account indicates that coping with change requires not only resourceful management and coordination, but taking risks, even of a personal kind and staking the organization's prestige.

I do not know how sociologists and law makers define social responsibility, one of the objectives of the author to evaluate the Kasturbhai business group by. Some critics may join debate with the author on what constitutes social responsibility. I, for one, found myself becoming more sympathetic to a capitalist's (of Kasturbhai's kind) cause after reading this very interesting account of his business options and social responses which have contributed significantly to making India self reliant.

S. Madhuri is on the teaching faculty of the National Institute for Training in Industrial Engineering, Bombay.

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First Things First

Paul Streeten *et al.***First Things First: Meeting Basic Human Needs in Developing Countries**

pp. 206, Oxford University Press for The World Bank, 1981, Rs. 45.00

Reviewed by Bhabatosh Datta

In the first flush of post-war development planning in the countries then called 'under developed' the emphasis was mostly on the growth of the gross national product through industrialisation. There was a recognition of the basic fact that the whole problem arose because of mass poverty, but it was believed that if the GNP would increase, the problem of income distribution would be easy to solve. There was a mixture in all this of the Harrod type of economic dynamics linking the saving ratio and the capital-output ratio with the Hicks-Kalder type of welfare economics, relying on the possibility of distributing the gains.

LIMITATIONS

It did not take the economists of these countries long to realise that a statistically observable economic growth might not reduce poverty and might even increase its dimensions and intensity. It was easy to see that the welfare-effects of economic growth would be different for every different composition of the GNP commodity-basket and that the scope for direct or indirect methods of redistribution would be very limited in the poor countries. Besides, in countries like India the problem involved large number and large areas. There was also the fact that analyses in terms of income-classes did not indicate the appropriate policy steps, because these classes were not identical with social classes, or with economic sub-sectors. Every economic sub-sector, every social class, every geographical area had its own structure of economic inequalities.

Attention thus came to be diverted towards clearer statements of objectives. Increase in the incomes of the poorer classes appeared to be a correct objective, but such increase might entail heavy real costs, perhaps exactly for those

whose incomes were expected to increase and sometimes perhaps for others. 'Social progress indicators' were discussed but there was no consensus on the elements to be covered and there was the problem of quantifying some of the important variables. Attempts were made to construct an index of the 'physical quality of life', based on three variables only—infant mortality, expectation of life and literacy—on the assumption that these variables would subsume within themselves the effects of changes in all the major elements in economic and social progress. And out of all this grew the renewed emphasis on the primary need for meeting the basic human needs.

QUESTION OF DEFINITION

The question of definition arises naturally. Paul Streeten has taken mainly five broad elements—nutrition, health, shelter, sanitation and education. It is obvious that there are serious problems of standardisation and quantification but the important policy issue is whether *improvements* can be perceived and at least ordinarily ranked. It may not be possible to compare the minimum housing requirements of the Indian rural poor and those of a similarly placed person in south Korea, but, for any individual country, it should be easy to show whether the housing available is becoming better or

worse. The problem of composition still remains: how to add up one basic need indicator and another, but a minimum programme, starting from a given set should not be difficult to formulate.

There is the encouraging fact that the effective measures can be taken even by low-income countries to meet the most pressing basic needs of the deprived. Streeten and his associates have gone into great detail in presenting the issues involved, even at the cost of some apparently unnecessary repetition. But such repetition is perhaps necessary when the purpose is to hammer certain basic facts into the minds of the policy-makers. The higher-level question of the conflicts between growth and a basic-needs programme (or more widely, income redistribution) is shown in its correct perspective in terms of the long-run productivity effects of better education, sanitation, housing etc. In any planning, there has to be a choice between the present gains and the expected trend of the growth-path of the desired outputs as also between the gains of one sector and those of another. Such problems have to be faced. The choice in favour of a basic-needs programme does not entail any choice problem more difficult than similar problems in any other programme of social action. The question, who decides, is important, but there are ways of ensuring wide participation in the decision-making process.

BASIC-NEEDS APPROACH

There is opposition to the basic-needs approach, sometimes from entirely opposite angles. It is argued by economic notionalists that such an approach is encouraged for the

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developing countries by the developed capitalist countries in order to keep down the industrial modernisation and growth of the former group and to keep them dependent on the latter. And it is agreed by the leftist writers that the basic-needs approach seeks to delay the indispensable change in the production structure by making the present situation more bearable to the poor. There are also the pessimists who regard all attempts at redistribution of welfare as futile, unless there is an increase in the ability to pay for the services needed.

The book does not evade any of these questions. In fact, in practically every matter it brings together text-book fashion, all the possible arguments for and against, as well as the numbers of viewpoints possible. It admits that a basic-needs programme would entail major changes in the power balances in a society, though it appears from the available evidence that some such programme has succeeded in market-oriented economies like South Korea, in mixed economies like Sri Lanka, in centrally planned economies like China or Cuba and also in decentralised socialist economies like Yugoslavia. It is however the empirical exercises that are the weak elements in this book. This does not imply any criticism of the effort but one has to be cautious in coming to definite conclusions from the four-quadrant figure on page 98, which shows cases of countries with above-average economic growth and improvement in the basic needs indicators, countries below the average in both, countries with above-average economic growth and below-average improvement in basic needs satisfaction and also the reverse of that. The cases are too few, affecting the averages also, and despite the attempts made by the World Bank and others, it is difficult to make international comparisons.

ACCEPTABLE POSTULATES

The case for a basic needs programme has in reality to be based on certain easily acceptable axioms and postulates. For any particular postulate, the important facts are that

there is no necessary conflict between growth and alleviation of poverty, that a basic-needs programme with itself leads to a stimulation of growth after a time-lag and that the time-lag need not be long. This is of course generally admitted now. There is practically no programme of planned development anywhere which does not start with the satisfaction of the basic needs as one of the main objectives. In India, for example, there is a 'minimum needs programme' and all the programmes of rural development include special allocations for income and employment creation. The major difficulty is that in the process of implementation, this set of objectives gets eclipsed by large urban-oriented prestige schemes.

Sometimes, the position is even worse. The total outlay on the 1982 Asian Games in Delhi (taking together all expenditure by the different Central Government departments, the local administration, the public sector enterprises and private investors—all of which came from the same natural savings pool) was presumably around Rs. 100 crores. This amount and the real resources like cement used up could have provided primary schools, playgrounds, health centres, potable water and low-cost housing over a wide area. And if the same efficiency were shown in implementing a needs programme as was evident in building the Asian Games structures, there would have been a remarkable improvement in the levels of living and the quality of life at the bottom of the economic rungs. The main problem in India is not that of making the people in

authority proclaim the virtues of a basic needs programme, but it is one of convincing them of the topmost priority to be accorded to it. There can be quibble as to what are the 'first-most' things within the first things, but the poorer the relevant people are, the more easily and effectively one can select a small list of the major needs.

IMPLEMENTATION MACHINERY

Quick decisions are necessary over broad fields and the suitable implementation machinery has to be instituted. There will be some mistakes and mis-allocations but the learning process has to begin somewhere. And, in any case, the mistakes will not be more serious than in the case of large investments in power plants which fail to generate even 30 per cent of the installed capacity. Streeten has provided an easy book of guidelines for the planners in a developing country, when there is a welcome renewal of emphasis on the very important question of alleviation of poverty. Perhaps everything that is being said is not new and the old term 'poverty' covered the whole gamut of the new term like 'deprivation' or 'entitlement'. But the important point is that a large body of theoretical-cum-empirical analysis is being increasingly available. So this, Streeten's book is a valuable addition. One hopes that our planners and legislators will all read the book carefully.

Bhabatosh Datta is Emeritus Professor of Presidency College, Calcutta.

An Exploration of Colonial Culture

Susantha Goonatilake

Crippled Minds: An Exploration Into Colonial Culture

pp. 350, *Vikas*, 1982, Rs. 125.00

Reviewed by Samuel Mathai

The world today is dominated by a material culture that has its origin in Europe. The process of the spread of a 'Eurocentric' culture began in the 16th

century when European merchant venturers and conquistadors sailed to different parts of the world and established colonies and empires. The four or five centuries since then

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are often referred to as *the colonial period* in world history. The results of the colonisation of the world by European nations—the Spaniards and the Portuguese first, the French, the Dutch and the British a little later—were varied and far-reaching.

In South America, now usually referred to as Latin America, the Spaniards and the Portuguese destroyed the flourishing cultures of the Mayas and the Aztecs and reduced the native populations (the 'Indians') to virtual serfdom. But the Latin Americans themselves hung on to the apron-strings of their original homelands and the culture they produced was a dependent one with no originality or creativity. Even after independence in the early years of the 19th century many of the old problems continued to plague Latin America. In the British colonies there was a more independent development: the United States of America fought and gained its independence from the mother country; other colonies became self-governing dominions.

COLONY OR DEPENDENCY

Although we apply the term 'colonial period' indiscriminately to the years during which Europeans migrated and settled down in new territories, and the period in which European powers gained political ascendancy and ruled over several Asian and African countries, there is an important difference between these two situations. Strictly speaking a 'colony' (a word connected with 'cultivation') is a settlement of people from outside in a new land. The countries of America were colonies in this sense: the 'colonial period' was the time during which the colonies were still linked to the mother countries.

India and other countries that became parts of the British (or any other) empire were not colonies in the proper sense: they were dependencies or dominions. But the term 'colonial' is often applied to them also in certain contexts. The cultural influence of the mother country in a genuine colony is quite different in character and scope from that of the imperial headquarters on a dependency. In the former the

population is mainly of the same stock as in the motherland; they both share *ab initio* a common culture and there is no feeling of alienness between them. In an occupied or dependent country there is always an uneasy relationship, and "crippled minds" may come into being among the native population.

The greatest harm done is what has been called "intellectual colonisation", an almost superstitious respect for European ideas, practices and products and faith in the "experts" from the metropolitan regions. It is this aspect of colonialism, which continues even after independence in what is now called 'the third world', that the author of *Crippled Minds* is mainly concerned about.

Susantha Goonatilake, the author, we are told 'is a formally trained sociologist and electrical

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engineer.' He has written many papers dealing with "the sociology of third world culture and knowledge." *Crippled Minds* is subtitled "an exploration into colonial culture". The theme and purpose of the book is stated in the preface: "The European expansion of the last five hundred years...resulted in the throwing of a near complete cultural blanket over almost all the world. This cultural blanket has suppressed local culture, local arts, local systems of valid and relevant science and has resulted in a virtual 'genetic' wipe-out. Diversity and originality, arts and ideas which are not of European origin are vanishing and culture is getting packaged, served in a plastic form, as the hegemonic machine of European culture moves forward." "A process similar to plant genetic obliteration is occurring in the field of culture, with the

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world's cultural diversity being wiped out, and regional systems of art, culture, scientific theories and technology being suppressed or thwarted."

Goonatilake surveys the world from China to Peru' to illustrate his thesis, but his main concern is with South Asia. "The focus of this book is largely on South Asia...The region includes broadly the following countries: Pakistan, Afghanistan, the former Tibet, Nepal, Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka...This region displays a certain unity with common systems of production relations, cultural features and intense intra-regional intercourse, extending to well over two thousand years." The inclusion of Tibet in this list seems a bit odd, especially in terms of "intense intra-regional intercourse".

DISTINCT IDENTITY

He argues that this 'region' had a central cultural unity, which was largely the product of "village-based modes of production resting on iron technology and irrigated agriculture", and also "a core of human values whose origins are largely in the Gangetic plain of the first millennium B.C.". This South Asian culture had a distinct identity of its own like other "regional" cultures of the past. In describing the growth of this culture he assumes a continuity of development from the earliest known times; he postulates a more or less organic and natural growth of the Indus Valley civilization into the Indo-Aryan culture of a later day. He admits that the invading Aryans were "nomadic barbarians encountering a more developed city culture based on agriculture" and that they partially destroyed the older civilization. Nevertheless he assumes that the South Asian culture has a large measure of continuity from the Indus Valley period.

As the Aryans spread eastwards they helped form new communities based on agriculture. He notes that "in the southern parts of the peninsula, iron was introduced (also from the west) as part of the megalithic culture and not by Aryan speakers; so the area retained its original

language and became an area where the use of Dravidian language was widespread. Thus the Aryavarta and the Dravida land divided themselves neatly on technological grounds based on how and when iron technology was introduced." But he goes on to say that "the spread of an agriculture based on iron technology was completed throughout the subcontinent by the immediate centuries before Christ." After the Mauryas "a basic production and social system, as well as some aspects of the superstructure, engrained themselves in the entire subcontinent and these two aspects were to survive intact, in a broad sense, till almost the European colonial period."

The thesis presented in *Crippled Minds* has considerable validity, and if the reader's standpoint is the same as the author's much of the argument would seem reasonable and justifiable. Broadly speaking, looking at world history in the last few hundred years what we witness is the emergence of European supremacy and a Eurocentric view of political, economic and cultural history. Europeans have colonised large parts of the earth and, until a few years ago, dominated many other parts. Although all the lands that were parts of the British and other empires are now independent, the momentum of the European cultural thrust still continues.

BRIEF SPAN

But five hundred years is a brief span in human history. Although the sixteenth century may appear to be a watershed in world history, European expansion during the period since then, seen from a longer perspective, was not so very unique. Goonatilake refers to this period as the colonial period. But migration of people from one land to another, the colonisation of new territories peacefully or by force, and the destruction of settled tribes by invading people have been going on from the beginning of traceable history. There is no known area of the world where new people have not moved in and either displaced the old people or merged with them or destroyed them. The Aryans who invaded India somewhere

around 1500 B.C. largely destroyed the Indus Valley civilisation (the existence of which was unknown till the second decade of the 20th century); and although elements from the older culture may have survived, an Aryan 'cultural blanket' was thrown over all the land. Sri Lanka from where Goonatilke hails is itself a good example of an invading and colonising ethnic group more or less destroying the older, perhaps aboriginal, inhabitants.

The preface to *Crippled Minds* begins with this interesting sentence: "In the beginning, world culture was a varied, organic and multifaceted phenomenon; suddenly, in the sixteenth century, it began turning into one..." In the beginning of what? Surely world history cannot be neatly divided into a "pre-colonial" and a "colonial" period? The first chapter of the book deals with 'The Manufacture of Culture in the Pre-colonial World: South Asia, Europe and the Americas.' An attempt is made to describe the historical processes and the 'technological' developments that contributed to the growth of the distinct cultures of these regions. But the question, "What is culture?" is not discussed. Presumably culture includes systems of logic, theories of epistemology, ontology and psychology, ideas about the nature of the physical world and matter, the social order and arts and crafts. Although there was a certain amount of inter-communication of ideas and practices between some of these regions they had their own distinctive character, responding to their particular physical and socio-economic environment. "The pre-colonial regional cultures were many and varied, dynamic seed-beds of regional unities and diversities. Developing in differing socio-economic environments, subject to different historical experiences, the world of pre-colonial culture was many-splendoured."

HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

But socio-economic environments do not remain constant, and historical experience is variable and contingent, and cultures change, and sometimes die. The civilizations of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Indus

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valley have all perished, yielding place to new cultures created by new people. Even assuming that the Indo-Aryan culture of South Asia was to some extent a synthesis of pre-Aryan and Aryan cultures, the South Asia region did not remain immune to fresh invasions and cultural impacts. The north-western part of the Indian subcontinent became part of the Achaemenian empire in the 6th century B.C.; the Greeks came in the 4th century B.C.; Parthians, Scythians (Sakas), Kushans and others came and colonised parts of the country. "Muslim" invasions began towards the end of the 9th century and culminated in the Moghul empire in the 16th century. The Moghul rulers made Persian the official language of North India; and the arts and other cultural manifestations of the country were significantly influenced — as may be seen in architectural styles and the costumes of men and women. The Moghuls came close to creating a sense of unified political identity in India. The Islamic period in Indian history lasted over 800 years.

Vasco da Gama arrived in India twenty-eight years before Babur; but he came as an explorer, not a conqueror. The Portuguese were in India for over four hundred years; they did not significantly affect the total culture of India, but they made important contributions to horticulture and to the food habits of the country. With the coming of the British and other Europeans a new situation arose. When the British gradually attained supremacy and eventually found themselves rulers of India they began a new phase in India's cultural life. It could be said that the British gave India a sense of national identity and 'unity of spirit'; they helped to revive the study of Sanskrit and stimulated the growth of modern Indian languages. They gave the word "Hinduism" to the world. The introduction of English in administration and education had a powerful effect on the intellectual culture of educated Indians. It could be shown that the sense of cultural identity that exists in South Asia is to a large extent a product of the impact of a European culture on the varied cultures of this

region.

We can speak of the culture of the South Asian region only in a broad sense, as we speak of a European culture; but there are great differences between the cultures of various nationalities and distinct ethnic groups in both these regions. While it is true that the European-American-Russian regions exert powerful influences on the technological and political factors of life in Asia and other regions, many important areas of cultural life—especially the aesthetic modes and religious practices—are not significantly affected. On the contrary there is now a strong "reverse evangelism" from India to the western world: all kinds of neo-Hindu creeds and systems with dubious authenticity are being propagated there—"Krishna Consciousness" and 'Hare Krishna' movement, 'Transcendental Meditation' and 'Creative Intelligence', Yoga and what have you. It would almost seem that a kind of 'cultural patchwork quilt' is being spread over the West by a variety of Swamies and Bhagwans who make periodic excursions to the West and return laden with the sale proceeds of their cultural wares.

MEANINGFUL RENAISSANCE

Goonatilake himself recognizes that it would be a mistake to polarise the cultural situation to such an extent that everything that could be called 'colonial culture' would have to be rejected. He suggested that what is needed is a "meaningful renaissance". Renaissance, however, does not mean either preserving or recreating the past. He points out

that "Gandhi's failure in his programme for the future.....was his lack of awareness of the true laws of motion that govern society. He failed to realise that building the future was not necessarily a near total recreation of the past."

Goonatilake's prescription for a real renaissance is a mixture of 'legitimisation' and 'foraging'. "Going in search of the past tradition should imply not only an act of mining and dredging, but also occasionally of making, as it were, selective bore-holes in its knowledge—veins for purpose of inserting (intellectual) explosives. Such a selective shattering of the past would help clean and expose the raw intellectual veins in which new blood can flow."

Crippled Minds is a well-documented book and the author's marshalling of evidence to support his theses is skilful and persuasive. His survey of the phenomenon of colonial culture is wide-ranging, although he does not deal with areas of Dutch and French influence like Indonesia and Indo-China, or the special case of Japan. The chapter dealing with 'Technology as a Social Gene: A Colonial Culture Carrier' is specially valuable. It is the mark of a good book that it stimulates thought and provokes argument. *Crippled Minds* certainly does that. This book should be of great interest to all students of social and cultural history. Although it cannot be said that who runs may read this book it is well worth the effort and attention it demands.

Samuel Mathai is a former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Kerala.

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Constitutional History of India

S.V. Desika Char, Editor

Readings in the Constitutional History of India 1757-1947

pp. xxv + 789, Oxford University Press, 1983, Rs. 250.00

Reviewed by M.N. Das

Since the British-Indian Empire has vanished in form, its memory has been fading rapidly into oblivion with the last generation of India's nationalist era taking farewell of the land. But the accounts of the imperial age which got juxtaposed in later years with the revolutionary epochs will continue to get resurrected in multi-faceted composition as time will pass by. From genesis to culmination, and culmination to dissolution, the *Raj* was a mighty political institution ever since the days of Rome—an outgrowth of the European renaissance spirit manifested through geographical explorations, mercantile aspirations, commercial enterprises, and finally, military adventurism.

In their functional style, the trader-conquerors of India represented various phases of transition through which their native land passed during 17th and 18th centuries. From the time of the foundation of their empire at Plassey, the transitory character of British political systems became more and more manifest, the impact of which the makers of the Indian Empire could neither escape nor avoid. From Clive to Cornwallis, Cornwallis to Bentinck, Bentinck to Dalhousie, Dalhousie to Curzon, and Curzon to Mountbatten, Britain's administrators in India went by the imperatives of respective times in the context of their own as well as India's socio-political make-up and mentality. A long time indeed separates Clement Attlee's Indian Independence Act of 1947 from Queen Elizabeth I's Charter granting the monopoly of the Eastern Trade to a body of merchants. But it is a time that gave India a distinctive appearance and shaped her destiny in modern history.

FORCE & LAW

In this long and eventful relation

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selective. But, as one goes through the collected 'extracts from original records' one feels impressed at the ingenuity of the scholar in making his choice. No better selection could possibly have been made from among countless series of archival possessions. It is an attempt to depict as to how did an imperial edifice grow, sustain itself, and ultimately decline through the trends of times, as to be gathered from legal and constitutional expressions.

NOT AN INTEGRATED PICTURE

The author admits that the collected documents "do not furnish an integrated picture of the whole scene." This is most natural for, to get an integrated picture one should have to wade through thousands upon thousands of documents, which it is neither possible nor necessary. If 400 select pieces can give a fairly elaborate idea of how things developed, that is a more practical and more useful job to have been attempted. Thanks to Desika Char's scholarship, he has given an excellent Introduction of 65 pages to provide the readers with an insight into the chronological sequences of historical development in the broader perspective of the selected as well as omitted documents.

The documents in this book are of wide ranging variety. Each one is meaningful in its historical setting. They reveal the East India Company's earliest character as trader-administrators in their settlements; their problems and policies in respect of territorial possessions after 1757; the approach of the Home Government towards the Company's enlarging Eastern domains; the nature of government and administration in the provinces; matters of services, legislation and justice; growing relations with the Indian States; the end of the Company and beginning of the Crown's rule; growth of representative institutions; attempts towards responsible government; the rise of communal politics; reforms and Round Table Conferences; and, the plans for transfer of power.

To the researchers, the documents as contained in the volume

between an island kingdom and a subjugated sub-continent, the most conspicuous trends of historic growth were seen to be dependent on two things—Force and Law. An imperial power had to go by conquests and develop hegemonic power-cult. Side by side, beginning with the earliest merchants who had to go by certain laws of their own land to the later rulers who followed the dictates of the mother of parliaments, a constitutional setting emerged as a decisive factor. Within these compulsions there worked the obvious challenges of the time itself. While Force remained the basis of the *Raj*, Law was made to appear its glittering dome. From a time when garrisons and forts were considered more essential than ambassadors or negotiation, to the time when Round Table Conferences and Parliamentary Missions provided the only way out, the tendencies of the ruling race were getting adjusted under newer conditions to the temper of the governed. At the end, as the *Raj* met with its expected demise, it was the administrative and constitutional fabrics of the time-worn empire which were seen to be coming out as the chief legacies of the British relations, to be shaped and reshaped, developed and reoriented according to new India's national needs.

Readings in the Constitutional History of India 1757-1947, compiled by S. V. Desika Char, is a compendium of historical records to highlight the evolutionary aspects of British-Indian relations. With four hundred select documents on its body, it is a great work. Its value to advanced students, researchers, and general readers of all sections will prove immense. To the literature, now growing up on modern Indian history, it is a unique contribution in every sense.

Desika Char has had to be

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will be a source of information as well as of incentive. To others, the work will look like glimpses of modern Indian history. It is a neatly

edited volume, nicely published.

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at Utkal University, Bhubaneswar.*

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Comparatively his attempts at delineating other-than-Tamil characters might be considered vague, if not somewhat ineffective.

There are two characters, one female and one male in this novel belonging to the other-than-Tamil groups and both come in for a large share in the plot but they cannot be called completely convincing as Bhuma herself is or her relative her cousin Madhavan from her village recently come to Delhi and employed in the AIR or Ramachandran the journalist. Shashi the softspoken and serious Punjabi girl who had fled from her first night to the security of a Delhi job is drawn to Madhavan the country cousin. The journalist Ramachandran who reminds you of some one whom all of us know is himself drawn to Bhuma. But Bhuma leaves the field open to Tej Kiran Jain whose wife accuses Bhuma of having led her husband to the point of infatuation when he breaks down and has to be admitted to an asylum. There are vapid bureaucratic couples with observed but not loving detail like Parvathi and her Foreign Service husband. On the whole, it is a mad, merry, but modern world what the author delineates with more than ordinary skill.

If all of this is not wholly satisfactory to the reader, he has to reckon with the fact that all the hullabaloo is just hullabaloo leading nowhere end of a journey really to nowhere an essay into the sort of frustration and futility that the complexities of modern life invariably represent. Anyhow, though once a leftist, Indira Parthsarathi, the novelist, does no offer us solutions of a progressive, or even a nonprogressive, kind. It is all vaguely unsatisfactory as life itself.

Indira Parthsarathy is the pseudonym of R. Parthsarathy who was till recently teaching Tamil in the Delhi University and is currently teaching in Warsaw, Poland.

Indira Parthsarathy, the pseudonym he uses, is, according to current Tamil usage, where popular magazines encourage the use of women's names for their many valued male contributors. There seems to a sort of sociological aspect to this large use of female names by men writers which has not been explored, as it ought to be.

Indira Parthsarathy is a popular even if somewhat literary writer of serial novels, short stories and somewhat experimental dramas in Tamil a few of which have been staged and a few of which have even been prescribed for school or college courses. His speciality in fiction writing is a sophisticated, clever, urban, approach to his characters, psychologically building them up to a convincingness that might sometimes leave the reader breathless, because unexpected, in the Tamil language where much popular writing is at a naive, romantic, sentimental level or as has been of late pointed out by moralistic critics, tend to be somewhat salacious. Indira Parthsarathy steers clear of the salacious, though he explores the women's problems with the best of them. Two of his other novels have been translated into English-Tricky Ground and The River of Blood, both of which have had fairly good critical appreciation. The latter has gone into more than one edition being a Sahitya Akademi prizewinning novel, if it matters in the Indian milieu.

The present novel was also serially published in Tamil and has

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happens to be—and that makes for the strength of the novel as a whole. Lakshmi Kannan's translation into English is on the whole adequate, though the English version could have profited by an editor's whetting. Expressions like "she was thinking in her mind, mentally" and "after hibernating in sleep" occur occasionally and could have been incised. But no; our publishers do not believe in paying editors. Lakshmi Kannan who writes poems in English and writes stories in both Tamil and English has translated another Tamil novel into English, effectively, Thi Janakiraman's *The Wooden Cow*. Her choice of what might be called feminist writers for translation should not be questioned perhaps, for both Thi Janakiraman and Indira Parthsarathi are considerably some-

thing more than male feminists. In providing a critically alert synopsis as Preface to the novel, the translator has done yeoman service to the author (for in the brilliance of the dialogue through the text of the novel, some of which fail to come off in English translation though they are effective in Tamil) the main theme is likely to be obscured. The synopsis could have been more useful indeed if the translator had added a note about the author's other novels as well briefly.

The get up and format of the book is quite pleasing and the pages, for an Indian publication, comparatively free of proof mistakes.

Ka Naa Subramanyam is a well known Tamil writer who is equally at home in English.

apologetic about the actual criminals? When the first girl commits suicide/is murdered, why bother to just mention her parents' unhappy marriage without creating a possible mystery there? In fact, there are so few suspicious characters created, so few red herrings scattered along the way, that the novel literally drags its feet at some points and the action becomes easily predictable. Perhaps the reader in his impatience to know 'the suspense' may not put the book down till the end, but the feeling of having read a really gripping crime story written by a mastermind is certainly missing. The highly unimaginative (or should it be overimaginative?) portrayal of the young girls' sexuality is unconvincing to say the least. Not that it is unrealistic, such things are quite possible, but the way it is presented lacks the ring of truth about it.

The brooding, malevolent atmosphere—whatever there is of it—is diluted by personal reminiscences by Devi and the headmistress which have absolutely no bearing on the action in the plot. Whereas the killers are not allowed to develop in stature for they have only a few moments in the book. Their intelligence (lower than average), reasons for the crime (totally pedestrian), the way they organise and conduct their activities (bungling, most of the time) are hardly adversaries for the reader to pit his brains against. *Come up and be Dead* is an ideal commercial Hindi film grade stuff—melodrama, sex, violence, the good little girls and the big, bad wolves.

And for their readers' sake, will Vikas please recruit proof readers with good eyesight and concentration and those who know that an indiscriminate use of commas can play havoc with the English language?

Sandhya Bordewekar is a Baroda based freelance writer.

Scenario for a Hindi Film

Shashi Deshpande

Come up and Be Dead : A Novel

pp. 265, Vikas, 1983, Rs. 50.00 (Hardcover)

Reviewed by Sandhya Bordewekar

Come up and be Dead is a fairly Lucy but amateurish whodunit which will almost immediately bring up memories in thriller lovers of Agatha Christie's *Cat among the Pigeons*. The setting for both novels is an all girls' school, where a string of murders take place, the victims being the teachers and the students. Unfortunately that's where the comparison ends. The dreadful atmosphere, full of menace violating the symbolic innocence of the school, so vividly created by Christie is sadly lacking in Deshpande's novel.

The curious method of sharing the narration—the third person author's voice (supposedly for objectivity) and the personalised version of Devi, the headmistress's cousin-cum-house keeper, defeats rather than serves the required purpose. The transition between the voices is very unevenly done and hence the cohesiveness of the novel's structure crumbles easily. Moreover Deshpande's prose style is not exactly flawless. The jerkiness with which both major and minor

characters are suddenly introduced without an adequate buildup, something so basic, so essential to the taut and compact nature of the thriller, has not even been paid any attention. Pratap, the headmistress's psychologically disturbed brother with his suspicious behaviour, is weakly presented, in spite of the tremendous scope for terror which he could have generated. The relationship between the headmistress, the teachers, the students, Devi, and Pratap are hurriedly glossed over leaving a lot of loose ends. The school in itself is cursorily treated.

Why should tragedy strike this particular school? And, more importantly, why at this particular time? And why does Deshpande sound so

Our reviewers, knowledgeable and perceptive as they are, need not be allowed to have the last word. It is for you to argue with them. Our columns are as much open to you as to them.

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Gracious & Unintimidating

Surya Nath Pandey

Stephen Spender: A study in Poetic Growth

pp. 191, Arnold-Heinemann, 1982, Rs. 50.00

Reviewed by M.L. Raina

The dream has faded, the immediate passion that spurred it become a memory. The Thirties decade is now emphatically the past: its slogans frozen, its eminent presences, excepting the very few major ones, becoming mere subjects for researchers, gossip mongers and collectors of period pieces. There is something bizarre about this decade in that the revolutionary fervour and its total rout at Guernica, Madrid and Almeira form part of the same mosaic of events. More telling, however, is the discovery made by those drugged with revolutionary illusion that all the truth was not on their side and that the forces of light failed to prevail.

George Orwell saw through the cant of the Spanish Civil War rhetoric and never minced his words even as he continued to oppose fascism and fight for the liberal side. Stephen Spender, whose short-lived flirtation with the Communist Party makes amusing reading in David Caute's recent *Fellow-Travellers* (1973) found that this 'circus of intellectuals' had 'something grotesque about it' (*World Within a World*, pp. 208-9). After this he rejected the facile heroics of the decade just as Orwell turned in disgust from his early enthusiasms so loudly proclaimed in *Homage to Catalonia*. Auden was never partisan in the first place. The muted comments of his friends particularly Edgell Rickword in the Double Auden Number *New Verse* show that they thought his 'Spain' (later rejected by the poet himself) abjectly impersonal and, therefore, distasteful to the progressive cause. Spender chose not to be 'an enthusiastic simpleton' or an 'adroit hypocrite'. In his foreword to *The still Centre* (1939) he wrote, a poet can only write about what is true to his own experience, not about what he would like to be true to his experience'.

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centre' where a rueful acceptance of life and death and the healing power of love becomes his principal concern.

I think Pandey is quite lucid on this aspect of Spender's poetry and deserves to be heard with attention. Not that he offers any new interpretations of specific poems: his method of letting the poet speak for himself precludes a hard critical involvement with actual poems. He brings out more fully those facets of Spender's poetry that show his romantic lyrical predilections, and focusses attention on what are, incontestable, uncharacteristic traits in Spender—uncharacteristic, that is, of the archetypal political poet of the decade.

POETRY OF ACTION

This statement, as Surya Nath Pandey argues in his fairly well-documented and straightforwardly written essay, marks Spender off from the general run of Thirties poets. Spender's poetry has none of the mail-armour clangour that mars the lesser talents of the age. Even when he writes about Spain, the *cause célèbre* of the decade, he does not forget the essential brutishness of war. In 'Heroes of Spain' he notes, 'the country can never afford to forget how terrible war is and not the least of the crimes is the propaganda which turns men into heroes'. (*Penguin Book of Spanish Civil War Verse*, 1980, p. 338). This feeling comes through all too clearly in what Pandey calls Spender's poetry of action. In this phase Spender, like other key figures of the time, devoted himself to the proletarian cause, to much political activism and to all the frothy rhetoric of the age. Yet, as his poems and other writings show, he never felt comfortable in this role. The virtue of Pandey's argument consists in presenting Spender attempting to reconcile his political commitment with his inherited humanitarian impulses.

As *Trial of a Judge* demonstrates, he felt greater sympathy for the condemned liberal judge in the play whose conviction reveals, to quote Pandey, 'the tormented soul of the poet himself' (p. 101). After this it would only be a short step for Spender to renounce the Party in the wake of the defeat of the Republic. Pandey builds his argument clearly, unobtrusively, for the most part letting the poet speak for himself. In this way he charts the poet's evolution through various phases to bring us finally, to the point where Spender's poetry of introspection seems an inevitable culmination. This is Spender's 'still

AESTHETIC ASPECTS

It is in the treatment of the aesthetic aspects of Spender's poetry that I find Pandey's argument weak and uncertain, and the reason is that he eschews the comparative method, to me the only fruitful method of appropriating merit. As a poet Spender is fluent, technically skilled and would not lapse into the kind of journalistic pedestrianism that Macneice at his worst is prone to. Lacking Auden's masterful technical distinction, Spender, nevertheless, has the ability to draw a general meaning out of a particular experience: he has the ability to rationalise poetically. He can take on abstract ideas and hammer them into a palpable lyrical expression. He can write astringently as well as sensuously as, for instance, in his lyrical, love poems in which he also often disregards the fashionable esteem for ambiguity and irony.

Yet like Macneice, Spender is a chancy poet. He is less assured and on occasion stays on the verge of the commonplace. One can illustrate this point from his well-known poem, 'Vienna'. Spender himself acknowledged this poem to be his most ambitious attempt to 'relate the public passion to my private life.' But the poem seems to me to collapse into disparate fragments just when one expected it to fuse into a unity. The relative absence of private life drains the public passion of its force and reduces it,

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more or less, to a simple exhortation, a mere gesture. In spite of the critical acclaim for the poem, I find 'Vienna' too close to the surface of things to engage my sympathies. Pandey's exposition of the poem makes no deference to me. There certainly is an accuracy and acuteness of perception, yet the poem floats too much at the level of the obvious (I would grudgingly concede the obviousness to be exciting at times) to reveal the integrated compassion that it sets out to do.

DESCRIPTIVE, NOT EVALUATIVE

Being descriptive in nature, Pandey's chapter on Spender's style and imagery makes little attempt to evaluate the poet's techniques in relation to the success or failure of the poems as works of art. He has nothing to say to D.E.S. Maxwell's charge that Spender's imagery 'habitually' turns ethereal and incandescent (under Shelley's influence?) and leaves the reader unpersuaded. Nor does he convincingly account for Spender's

frequent skiddings into sentimentalism when it comes to building image patterns out of everyday reality. For the most part Pandey seems content with elucidating Spender's imagery and technique with occasional, only occasional tilts towards what he regards the poet's drawbacks. His cursory mention of Spender's obscurity is a case in point. (p. 156).

Surya Nath Pandey has written a book which makes no exaggerated claims. It makes easy reading and spares the reader the terrors of forcibly-fed ideas dogging almost all dissertations translated into books. It does not groan under the capitalized weight of 'existentialism', 'the human condition' and the 'universal crisis' that usually flattens much Indian critical enterprise. It makes its point graciously and unitimidatingly. For all these virtues Pandey deserves our thanks.

M. L. Raina is Professor of English at Panjab University, Chandigarh & Literary Editor of New Quest.

An Important Book

Mohammad Asghar Khan

Generals in Politics: Pakistan 1951-1982

pp. 230, Vikas, 1983, Rs. 75.00

Reviewed by Satish Kumar

This book, written by a former Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force who later founded a political party called Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, gives a gripping insight into the acquisition of political power by the military in Pakistan under Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan and Zia ul-Haq. Without pretending to make an analytical study of the militarization of politics in Pakistan, the author throws up sufficient first hand information to give a clear idea of the causes of militarization, the processes attending its consolidation, and the prospects in future.

Contrary to the commonly held view that the militarization of Pakistani politics took place due to the failure of Pakistan's politicians, Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan

maintains that it was primarily the result of deliberate and consistent efforts of Pakistan's military top brass which tasted power in the early years of Pakistan's creation when the political leadership invited the military to control the disturbances in Punjab in 1953, by imposing Martial Law.

Being formerly a member of the military top brass, and later a political leader of eminence, the author would have had sufficient reasons to settle scores with colleagues or rivals in a writing of this sort. But the book is completely free from rancour or abuse. The author's deep and abiding commitment to democracy is transparently obvious throughout the book. The various political actors in the drama of

Pakistani politics during the years covered in this book have been rebuked or complimented mainly by the touchstone of their contribution to democracy in Pakistan.

FIRST BLOWS

Tracing the intervention of the army in the country's politics to its very beginning, the author points out that the dismissal of Khwaja Nazammuddin's government by Governor General Ghulam Mohammed in April 1953, when Nazammuddin commanded a majority in the Constituent Assembly, could not have been done without the tacit support of Ayub Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the army. This was the first major blow to democracy. The second one came in October 1954 when Ghulam Mohammed dissolved the Constituent Assembly which had just prepared a draft constitution restricting the Governor General's powers. In the new cabinet that was formed, Ayub Khan became the Minister of Defence, and insisted on retaining the post of the Commander-in-Chief of the army as well. The other strong man, Iskander Mirza, became Interior Minister.

Iskander Mirza became President under the new constitution promulgated in March 1956. He was highly doubtful that he would be re-elected President after the General elections of 1959, for he had sufficiently annoyed the political leaders of the country due to his high handedness against them. He, therefore, decided to abrogate the constitution, dissolve the ministries and assemblies, abolish political parties and impose martial law. This he did on 7 October, 1958, and made Ayub Khan the Prime Minister. Even this did not suit Ayub Khan, who found Iskander Mirza's superior position as President quite irksome. It was evident that power could no longer be shared between the bureaucracy and the military, which wanted to have the upper hand. Ayub Khan settled this in favour of the military by obtaining Iskander Mirza's resignation on 27 October, 1958, and assuming to himself the role of the Chief Martial Law Administrator.

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PRIME MOVERS

The author lends forceful credibility to the view held by most serious scholars in India that the prime movers in the first act of the drama of destruction of democracy in Pakistan and its replacement by military rule had strong links in the United States. The author points out that Ayub Khan, ever since he became the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan army, had been a regular visitor to the United States, where he had good contacts with people in the Pentagon, and was also well known to Allen Dulles, the head of the CIA and brother of John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State. Iskander Mirza was of course closer to the United States than Ayub Khan. "Indeed Iskander Mirza's pro-Americanism often embarrassed the Americans." (p. 11). Though the US Ambassador in Karachi was somewhat concerned when Iskander Mirza was overthrown, and made anxious enquiries about him, the United States found in his replacement by Ayub Khan a neater arrangement. "The speeding up of

military and economic aid to Pakistan in the years that followed, helped to strengthen Ayub Khan's position at home and Pakistan came to be regarded by the United States as one of her staunchest allies." (p. 12).

BREAK-UP OF PAKISTAN

The author dwells at length on the circumstances leading to the break-up of Pakistan and the birth of Bangladesh. He lays the blame squarely on Yahya Khan and Bhutto, the former for having allowed himself to be bullied by Bhutto, and the latter for being so consumed by the lust for power as to ignore the interests of the country altogether. Asghar Khan in this connection relates a conversation between Yahya and Bhutto which took place in the middle of 1970, as told by Yahya Khan. Bhutto had suggested to Yahya Khan that he should forget about the elections (which subsequently took place in December). Yahya Khan the soldier and Bhutto the politician, he said, would make a very good team and could together run the country.

Yahya Khan had replied that this made some sense and had asked what he proposed to do about East Pakistan. Bhutto's reply was: "East Pakistan is no problem. We will have to kill some 20,000 people there and all will be well." (p. 28).

What had appeared absurd in the middle of 1970 became worthy of serious consideration by February 1971. Bhutto visited Dacca after Yahya Khan's "satisfying" visit to Dacca in mid-January which ended with Yahya's declaration that Mujib was the future Prime Minister of Pakistan. This was unacceptable to Bhutto who visited Dacca, held inconclusive discussions with Mujib, and immediately after his return invited Yahya Khan, and his close advisors, Generals Hamid and Pirzada, to Larkana as his guests. They stayed there for a few days and were entertained lavishly. According to the author, fateful decisions were taken at this meeting, and it was agreed in principle that force would be used in East Pakistan, if Mujibur Rehman did not change his attitude. These decisions were ratified in a more representative

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meeting of the Junta in Rawalpindi in mid-February.

Therefore, when Yahya Khan went to Dacca on 15 March, he went there for a settlement on Bhutto's terms. He kept up a pretence of a reasonable settlement until Bhutto joined him on 21 March and sabotaged any possibility of an agreement within a single constitutional framework. Things drifted from then onwards, and the military struck on the night of 25 March, as planned.

SIMLA NEGOTIATIONS

Dealing with Indo-Pak negotiations at Simla, the author expresses the opinion that Pakistan's failure to recognize Bangladesh had weakened its bargaining power at Simla, and improved that of India, which had the mandate to negotiate on behalf of Bangladesh too. Pakistan gave up some important strategic territory in "Azad Jammu and Kashmir," and agreed not to raise the Kashmir issue in the United Nations or other international forums. As the author puts it, "Judging from the moves made in Pakistan soon after the Simla Agreement, it is reasonable to conclude that Pakistan agreed at Simla to put the Kashmir issue in cold storage." (p. 58).

Asghar Khan gives an interesting account of the attempts of the Saudi Ambassador to Pakistan, and the Foreign Ministers of United Arab Emirates and Libya, to intervene with PNA leaders on behalf of Bhutto, while they were detained at Sihala police rest house following the anti-Bhutto agitation of March-April 1977, and persuade them to give up the demand for re-election. According to Asghar Khan, these attempts were of course meant to impress the PNA leaders with the popularity of and support for the Prime Minister in Arab countries, and in these attempts Bhutto was to some extent successful, for some of the PNA leaders were visibly impressed with these visits of Arab diplomats.

CHANGE OF MIND

Asghar Khan clearly conveys the impression that Zia-ul-Haq was serious about holding elections within 90 days, and handing over power to elected representatives, when he

imposed Martial Law on 5 July 1977. But the mind changed during the six weeks between 15 July and the end of August, particularly as regards his decision to proceed against Bhutto.

Some of the happenings during this period which led Zia-ul-Haq to change his mind were : the reception that Bhutto received on arrival at Lahore in August; the advice of the Junta who were not prepared to take the risk of Bhutto winning the election; the pleading of some PNA leaders that Bhutto should be tried and the elections postponed; the provisions of the 1973 constitution which laid down the death penalty for the abrogation of the constitution, and finally Zia-ul-Haq's distrust of politicians. And, of course, what eventually led him to postpone elections indefinitely was the normal influence of unbridled power, the effects of which increased with every day that passed.

Asghar Khan's concluding chapter "Prospects for the Future"

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Malamoud, Charles, ed. Debts and Debtors. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. xi, 237 p. Rs. 100.00

Translated from the original French, this collection of scholarly articles offers a study of indebtedness in the area covering Nepal, India and Sri Lanka—a homogeneous cultural zone.

Nordgulen, George. Perspectives in World Religions. Vol. I. Calcutta, Writers Workshop, 1981. 263 p. Rs. 100.00 (Hardbound) Rs. 80.00 (Flexiback).

The purpose of this book is to show the real possibility of analysing, integrating and creatively synthesising the diverse ideas and values in world religions. In the present volume an attempt has been made at creative comprehensive Synthesis of Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam.

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

provides us with a most refreshing analysis of various aspects of Pakistan's life today-social, economic, political, and strategic. There is not much new by way of facts. But his diagnosis is very incisive, and his comments extremely forthright, candid, and perceptive. His anguish at the present situation is summed up in his concluding sentence: "If the present situation is allowed to continue much longer, history will, I fear, record that Pakistan perished in its infancy because the people refused to learn from their mistakes and allowed misguided and power hungry generals to lead them to doom and destruction." (p.226).

Asghar Khan has written this book in elegant and robust prose, which makes it extremely readable. Any one interested in contemporary Pakistan cannot afford to ignore it.

Satish Kumar is Associate Professor at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Peters, F.E. Children of Abraham: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1981. 225 p. Price not stated.

Contains chapters on community and hierarchy, law, scripture and tradition, liturgy, asceticism, mysticism, and theology. What emerges is a vivid picture of three relatives whom the Muslims themselves group together as "Peoples of the Book".

Venkat Narayan, S. NTR: A Biography. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. viii, 131 p. Rs. 75.00

First full length biography of Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao, the hero of the epic battle of the ballot in Andhra Pradesh who led his nine month old Telugu Desam to victory against Indira Gandhi's 97 year old Congress Party.

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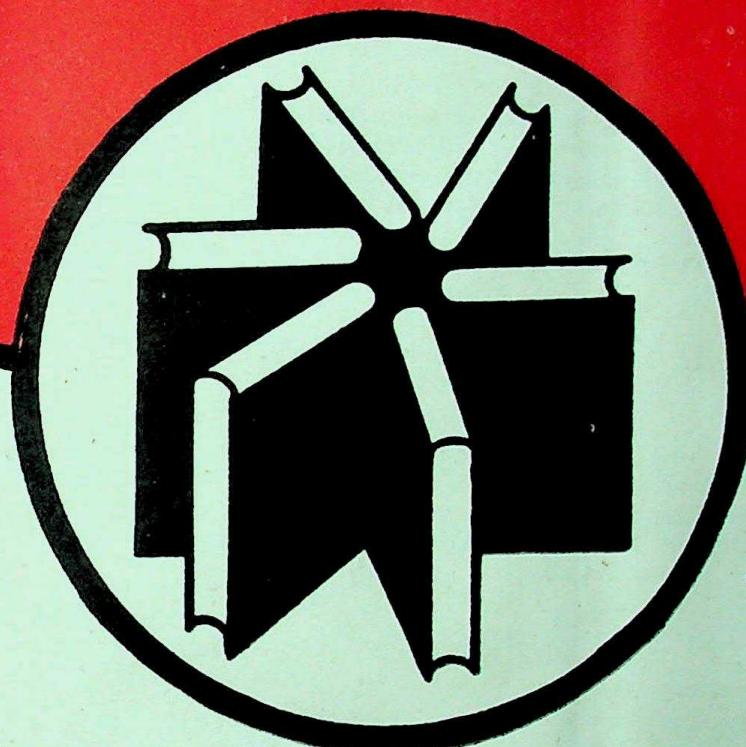
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Raymond W Goldsmith

This wide-ranging history and analysis of the financial structure and development of India from 1860 to 1977, takes into account all available information upto 1979 and on occasion even later. Based on a very wide range of sources, the text is supported by an impressive array of 139 tables (some 25000 figures!) and the book is divided into three sections, 'Victorian India, 1860—1913', 'India between the wars, 1914—1946', and 'Independent India, 1947—1977'. This work will undoubtedly remain an indispensable reference source for students of economics and public finance for many years to come.

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Rs 150



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NEW DELHI-110016
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EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH

Half a Tale

The Prakrit Bharati, which has published this book, must be a remarkable institution. It has had the imagination to present a work which is as unusual as it is relevant, and to choose a translator-editor who combines scholarship with elegance in a manner not very common on our sub-continent. The illustrations are done with special care; they match the historical-but-contemporary quality of the text. The paper, design and printing are appealing without being arty. All in all, the Prakrit Bharati probably ought to be banned by the Government.

*Ardhakathanaka** is the 'autobiography' ('It occurred to me that I should make my history public') of a 17th century Jain merchant-poet, Banarasi Das. It is in the form of a long narrative poem written in what is more or less Brajbhasha. It is arguably the first autobiography in Indian literature. The author calls it 'half a tale' because he was writing it at the age of fifty-five, when according to Jain tradition a full life-span covers one hundred and ten years.

Those fifty-five years are the years between 1586 and 1641, so they span the reigns of Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan. The vantage-point is the capital of the empire, Agra; or Banarasi's other home Jaunpur, which was also an important city. The main difference, of course, between this and any other chronicle of Mughal times, is that Banarasi was not a courtier. He was a tradesman who had to travel carefully with his Rs. 200/- worth of merchandise, to outwit robbers, to stay on the right side of kotwals and diwans, to be cautious with Brahmins, to fear the bubonic plague, and to hide in a deserted fort while Jehangir's Amir Agha Noor unleashed a reign of terror in Jaunpur. He lost two of his wives and all his nine children. 'And now my wife and I are alone like winter trees that have shed all their greenery, standing bare and denuded.' (Verse 643).

In spite of these sufferings, Banarasi appears to have had an unusual capacity to attach himself joyously to life, which was probably what caused the impulse to record his experiences in the first place. He also seems to have had a fairly squirmy conscience which nagged at him to put down as much of the truth as he could :

During my stay at Azizpur I was guilty of a misdeed, a foul fruit
of my past karma, of which I shall speak not a word, for it is
better that the matter lie buried.

(Verse 575)

He is even conscious of this trait in himself, perhaps as being a useful one for the kind of thing he was writing. He says that unlike the truly praiseworthy or the utterly despicable,

I am one who...speaks unreservedly of both faults and merits
in others as well as myself.

(Verse 668)

Finally, he had sturdy and consistent intellectual interests. His early penchant for producing love poetry matured to a point where he authored a large number of poetic and philosophic works in later life. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of his intellectual life was his unusually strong ten-

*Banarasi Das, Ardhakathanaka (Half a Tale) Translated, Introduced and Annotated by Mukund Lath. pp. 275, Rajasthan Prakrit Bharati Sansthan, Jaipur, 1983, Rs. 150.00

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dency to question and re-question the assumptions of himself and his community, and to act on whatever happened to be his convictions of the time. This becomes particularly apparent in regard to religious belief. About Jainism he went through conventional belief, indifference, blasphemous irreverence, and finally, strong but unorthodox faith. It is a fact which is given curiously little importance in this memoir, but which is very important in history, that Banarasi was the founder of the *Adhyatma*, a reformist Jain movement which still survives in modified form.

A HISTORIAN'S ROLE

In *Half a Tale*, however, all philosophical or moral reflection is in the form of asides. The whole is a fairly quick, fact-filled narrative. To assess what is new or significant in the information which Banarasi provides, would be the work of a historian. Meanwhile the editor does the most substantive possible job of making that information academically respectable. In his accompanying notes and comments, every stray fact from the text is measured against historical evidence, mapped into its context, and bolstered by wide-ranging references from the history of Banarasi's clan to detailed speculation about the value, in modern terms, of the Rs. 200/- with which Banarasi claimed to be trading.

At a lighter level, there were some historical side-lights which struck this reader particularly. Among them are Banarasi's lack of overt judgment about the more barbaric acts of emperor or governor :

He took with him a few of the most wealthy of them as prisoners after having them beaten up mercilessly. God alone knows whether his action was justified or not.

(Verse 473)

There is the fact, perhaps allied, that the news of an emperor's death (Akbar's in 1605) caused panic and chaos without further ado, which did not subside till the next emperor was established on the throne. There is the fact that Banarasi grieved rather distractedly at the death of a friend than for either of his wives; and the fact that his 'further studies' with a Brahman scholar consisted of 'astronomy, astrology, poetics and erotics.' (Verse 169). A rare instance of being influenced by Persian mores is revealed while he details his early passion for a prostitute. 'Following the right etiquette in such matters,' he says virtuously, 'I called myself the "slave" of my beloved, always referring to myself as "the poor one". (Verse 172).

In actually translating these riches, Mukund Lath has followed the Drydenesque principle of making his author speak 'such English as he himself would have spoken...in this present age.' In practical terms this means recognising that any attempt to translate the original verse into English verse would be a disaster. Inevitably, then, the reader of the translation gets no hint of the pleasurable rhythm and equally pleasurable economy of the original *dohas* and *chaupais*. The following verse will demonstrate the no-nonsense swing of the original :

Kharagsen ghar anand. Mangal bhayo gayo dukh dand.
Banarasi kiye asnan. Kijai utsav dijai daan.

(Verse 260).

This has had to be spun out into explanatory English prose :

To the joy of my parents, I, too, soon regained my health. We celebrated the end of the days of gloom with much festivity, distributing alms to the poor and gifts to friends and relations.

But having decided that prose was unavoidable, Lath has used that prose to very good advantage by steering a middle course between archaic and overly 'modern' language. The text, then, reads neutrally and easily—and in any case the original is appended so that the reader can make his own judgement about the translation.

Lath's Introduction is also a painstaking piece of work, but I have two reservations about it. One is that he is unnecessarily long-winded in discussing the *Adhyatma* movement, especially so because it was not so very different from other reformist movements. The other is that he seems to be rather more interested in assessing Banarasi's individual personality, than in

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viewing it as a mirror which can provide insights into his society. He says, for instance, 'Banarasi's resigned approach to politics could lead one to raise a deeper, more general question regarding his orientation to the world; was he a fatalist?' (p. lxvi). Fatalism about Politics is certainly a key issue raised by this text; but surely the relevant question is not whether Banarasi was personally a fatalist, but whether he provides any evidence of how fatalism functioned in his class and in his time.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL FORM

The most rewarding part of the Introduction is Lath's discussion of a major question which comes to mind on seeing this work—why did Indians not write autobiographies? A convenient and widely-held view is that it was because of a lack of interest in personal fame. This, Lath dismisses in one scornful and erudite sweep. He provides, indeed, six pages of embarrassing evidence that Indian poets, dramatists, artists and sculptors were fairly concerned to leave their signatures behind. And it is not as though the form were, in a formal sense, unknown; the word *akhayayika* means precisely narrative presented in the first person. From odds and ends in Banarasi's own text, this reviewer has been led to speculate on the question along different lines. Banarasi says towards the end of his story :

Comparad to (wise men and sages) I am nothing but a primitive earth-worm with no more than the haziest of awareness. How could I have revealed all?

(Verse 661).

This throw-away statement made me wonder whether the emphasis of our indigenous religions on the poorness of the self, and the impossibility of knowing, has something to do with the lack of autobiographical consciousness in our culture. Again, to quote Banarasi,

In a man's life there is much that is too subtle to be palpable. Of this, however, only God can know.

(Verse 657).

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That which is valuable is, in the traditional view, that which is indescribable. The grosser mental states everyday hopes and disappointments, fears, doubts, changes of attitude, making of relationships, learning by experience—these things could certainly never be considered worth communicating for their own sake. In the West, the habit of recording such stuff, in journals and letters, led to the development of the novel. That form was unknown to us till the late 19th Century. Our poems describe beauty, our dramatic works provide a sequence of events, our narratives are either fantasy or strict chronicle. Even the *Ardhakathanaka* is a chronicle rather than a real autobiography; its facts are clear and dramatic but, as mentioned earlier, any evidence of personality is purely accidental. In fact at the end of the narrative Banarasi feels compelled to 'give the reader a list

of my good and bad points', so little do the said points appear in his story :

Now for my bad points. I said I have little of anger, pride or cunning, yet my greed for money is great. A little gain makes me inordinately happy and a little loss plunges me into despair. I am indolent by nature and slow in my work...

(Verse 652-3).

What a surprise to learn this, after reading all about the man's life. Banarasi, with all the individual characteristics of the good autobiographer, nonetheless reveals that he is writing in a form which has not really been created.

Shama Futehally has taught at a Bombay College and now does freelance writing from Delhi.

Indian Independence Struggle

Suntharalingam

Nationalism : An Historical Analysis
471, Vikas 1983, Rs. 150.00

Helmut von Pochhammer

Road to Nationhood : A Political History of the Subcontinent
678, Allied, 1981, Rs. 125.00

Reviewed by Alok Sinha

As the harbinger of colonial liberation and national independence in most parts of Afro-Asia, the Indian national movement has continued to attract all manners of social scientists to its various facets. Indeed in the opening of more and more Asian Study Centres in the universities of the world, there is going to be a veritable plethora of books on the Indian independence struggle.

And yet, even with so many times of academic efforts on the subject being published every now and then, we are still not one-minded in its many nuances—except perhaps the chief one that it was led entirely by the Indian National Congress with the controls being held firmly by Gandhi and Nehru.

The two books by Suntharalingam and von Pochhammer are

interesting and useful in their own, different ways—but not entirely satisfying. At the end of it all, there is the unavoidable feeling of one's appetite having been whetted without feeling eased by the perhaps impolite but nonetheless necessary relieving of belchy wind !

SWEET & LIMITATIONS

Suntharalingam is a professional historian and, as befits his tribe, is painstaking in his devotion to details, with a controlled rambling over his well-marshalled array of facts. But his good as well as bad points are announced at the outset when he honestly and unabashedly wants his book 'to be regarded as a statement of the EXISTING knowledge on the subject'—a very clear indication of both the sweep and limitations of

his efforts.

Suntharalingam is very comprehensive in detailing the Indian national movement. But since he plays it absolutely safe by depending completely on published secondary sources, his account is for the initiated bouth dull and unenlightening. As an introduction to the subject, his book will be useful to the layman or a raw student of modern Indian history. But being a compilation, albeit competent, of known viewpoints, his book gives out nothing new and therefore has no contribution to make to the existing historiography of Indian nationalism. Indeed, the book's content belittles the claim of the title of being a historical analysis. All it adds up to is a useful narration in summary form of the many already published works on the subject—the kind of a ready reckoner which an examination student needs most of all before an examination, but thereafter promptly pases it on to a kid brother or sells it at a discount to a dealer of old books, for it is not worth reading a second time.

Not that Suntharalingam's efforts have been totally without any attempts whatsoever at providing insights. For example, the chapter on 'Ideological Conflicts Within the Congress' is interesting if only because most other books on Indian nationalism do not even begin to tackle this all-important matter. His references to M.N. Roy, Singaravelu Chettiar and Dange are also illuminating and thus welcome. And his discussion of the various concepts of nationalism are a refreshing and novel eye-opener.

DIFFERENT KIND OF FISH

If Suntharalingam being a historian is professional in his approach, von Pochhammer is a totally different kind of fish. A diplomat by vocation, his unusually long stay of 33 years in India has made him deeply interested in Indian history. His close proximity with Indian leaders, and at such great length, has given him a good enough view of their perceptions of Indian history. Unfortunately, therefore, his perceptions of India's road to nation-hood tend to be highly personalised and to

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that extent unhistorical, incomplete, and hence unacceptable too.

To being with von Pochhammer's good points. He covers Indian history from the very beginning, laying out well over 600 pages in a breathtaking sweep of what he calls is India's road to nationhood. What is remarkable is that a foreigner has acquired such a wide knowledge of the history of an alien nation. This is a lesson for us all—for merely loving one's country can only lead to a negative kind of nationalism with its chauvinism and self-destroying jingoism which only benefit the scoundrel whose last resort it is, whereas only a good knowledge of one's country can lead to fruitful patriotism.

von Pochhammer is also right in holding that, historically, India had cultural, not nationalistic, unity. And he ascribes her present political and national unity to 'her painful and difficult experiences in the struggle for liberation from the colonial rule'. This view too can be accepted, but the trouble with our author is that most times he tends to be not merely class-neutral but even, if one may use a strong term, socially-blind. And hence while correctly tracing Indian political unity to the national movement, he does not mention therein the crucial role of our western-educated middle classes whose professional urges made them nationalistic and also gave them a vanguard role in the national movement. In fact, Suntharalingam's definitional explorations in this regard of what constitutes nationalism are far more knowledgeable and informative.

In a way, von Pochhammer's is a naive, superficial, and incomplete account of Indian history—betraying a glaring lack of perception of social (and caste) realities. To give just one example, to call Rajasthan as he does the 'land of the Rajputs' is a fairy-tale, mythical, and tourist-kind of approach—turning a blind eye to Meenas, Bhils, Jats, Chamars, Gadariyas, Malis and a whole host of others without whose sweat and toil given out in bondage there would never have been any 'Rajput glory'. It is this kind of an orientation that leads him later to come up with the howler that the crushing of

the uprisings in 1857 meant 'the end of the resistance of the KSHATRIYAS whose duty it was as a caste to liberate the country'. If von Pochhammer had been open-minded instead of strait-jacketed in this regard, he might have taken the trouble to find out that the troubles were triggered off by soldiers of the Bengal Light Infantry who in fact were Brahmins recruited from Eastern UP and Western Bihar.

CASTE FACTOR NEGLECTED

It is this kind of unexpected ignorance which makes his admittedly political history so single-mindedly political that it will not even 'look' at any social matters. And hence his undoubtedly smooth narration of the times from the Indus Valley Civilisation to the coming of the Aryans on to the crumbling of the Dravidian settlements and beyond makes No mention of CASTE. And this when it has been commonly discussed and held amongst social scientists of all hues and disciplines and for a long time too that this was when CASTE in India started becoming crystallised to its present complex of grave inequities. One expected a 'non-professional' historian to go beyond the conventions of a historian to turn to matters of socialese. And what makes von Pochhammer's shortcomings here even more disappointing and unexpected is the fact that he was blooded in his love for and interest in India in a period of Gandhian and intense self-guilt regarding caste.

Also, some of his judgments, even though charitable to the ego of the subcontinent, are too hasty as also wide off the mark. Without

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doubt he is wrong in saying that Hinduism has been a non-violent religion and that this non-violence has made political unity possible. Indeed, wherefor the centuries of caste oppression whose violence cannot be directly visible but at times has been multi-faceted, deeply rooted, and always felt like a cancerous infection.

At times, von Pochhammer transposes modern ideas into ancient world thereby confusing the issue. Like when he so glibly says that 'it is not accidental that early empire builders come from the middle-class and not from Kshatriyas because the idea of political unity was expressed in Brahmanical writings and not in those of heroic sages. It met with a powerful echo in the bourgeoisie who recently acquired a respected and influential position at the time through the Buddha because of their economic activities'. The question that arises is what was the middle-class and what was the bourgeoisie in an era when even money-lenders and the currency habit was still really well-spread, leave alone the forces of mercantilism and industrialisation that nurture them, in fact a pastoral economy was about giving way to patterns of settled agriculture?

At times, it also does seem that some of von Pochhammer's views are uncomfortably close to that of communalist school of Indian historiography. According to him, India was precisely foreign rule, first, of the Mohammedans which threatened Indian religion and culture, then the presence of British rule in the form of the colonial system brought into existence a consciousness of the subcontinent.

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ness that the whole of India is one'. Now this is a loaded statement which is not even substantiated, but merely offered as some kind of an unquestionable dictum. It is as dangerous as his calling the period 1266-1525 as 'the first Islamic State in India's soil', and the period 100-1500 as also one of 'Indian Renaissance and Causes For Its Defeat'.

PERSONAL BIAS

Indeed, what makes the various Turk, Arab, Afghan, and Mughal rulers so compositely Muslim and foreign as to be clubbed together for all purposes—social, political, economic, historical, literary, cultural etc? And how did they threaten Indian religion and culture, when the latter has been flourishing all through and even been influencing the various incidentally Muslim streams of culture? How can upper-caste Hindu behavioural patterns be equated with Indian culture? Interestingly, how come these antiquarians of history, still peddling the outmoded and divisive theories deliberately propounded by British colonialists, never call Aryans 'foreigners' and local opposition to the foreigner Aryans—from the founders of today's Scheduled Castes and Tribes, who were without doubt the original inhabitants of this continent—'Indian' or 'national'?

Is it because the upper classes had usurped the role of rule, first nationalists? These are rather harsh generalities, but they unavoidably arise from von Pochhammer's writings of obsolete views that today can only succour to Hindu communalists. If one may say so, the author's personal bias has almost unrestricted hold over his writings, viz.—'the (Islamic) repression, and the inability to do anything about it, led to a period of silent suffering in whichious reflection taught the people pray. Prayer gave them faith...' Such unsolicited statements are not only NOT borne out by facts, but, in the plane of ideas, they are both as well as dangerous, for they early pit the 'insider' Hindu against the 'outsider' Muslim—as if the two communities must always be working against each other, and as if the

two religious sections are in their respective spheres two different and composite wholes. If that were to be so, how come the emergence of a largely Islamic Bangladesh out of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan? Such unavoidable and incontestable facts of history are invariably bypassed by prejudiced minds pushing their preconceived notions. Hence the reader must always be alert to such unhistorical pitfalls in von Pochhammer's otherwise rich repository of Indian history.

Further, there seems to be on his part an attempt (but why ??) to justify and rationalise all that has happened in India's road to nationhood, but such unsolicited exercises are not necessarily based on facts and thus cannot be accepted on face value. For example, von Pochhammer holds that 'tactfully, it was correct for the Indians not to tackle the question of social reforms before the attainment of independence'—wrong on both counts, since before 1947 there were vigorous attempts (viz., the various social reform movements of 19th and early 20th centuries as well as the Gandhian concerns on the matter) while after 1947 the attempts have not (perhaps due to the fact that 35 years is too short a time in the life of centuries-old social history to bring about radical changes) been complete or encouraging (viz. the growing number of dowry deaths).

Time and again, von Pochhammer reverts back to the themes that give incorrect primacy to the forces of religion without looking at all into the socio-economics of a given situation. If he is correct in saying that 'for the Indian peoples the common experiences (leading to the building up of a national consciousness) were slavery under a colonial regime, the struggle for freedom, and the final success of the freedom movement', he sounds like a Hindu Fascist/Fundamentalist in identifying Hinduism with Indian nationalism. According to his astounding viewpoint, 'the power of Hinduism to unite its adherents has...proved stronger than that of Christianity (in the West)'. Astounding indeed, because how come then Nepal does not come into the fold of Bharat Mata?

TOWARDS HINDU FUNDAMENTALISM

In a similar vein, he says that 'this close relationship between religion and folklore enables us to understand why national politicians have seriously attempted to found an Indian nation on the basis of an indigenous religion'. Is he talking of Hindu communal parties? His tone is clearly approving, but the implications are equally clearly fascist. What makes a religion indigenous, since Hinduism was in any case the launching-pad of the 'foreigner' Aryans, while, on the other hand, one of the first Christian converts in the world were the ones inspired by St Thomas the Apostle in the first century A.D. in India? But von Pochhammer's discriminating logic would only make the Muslims basically foreigners, since Islam was brought in to India from outside. And the entire North-East not being sufficiently Hindu would then have to be automatically brought into the 'mainstream' of 'national' life as would be in the case of the Muslims too—and this 'mainstream' of 'national' life is clearly Hindu in content. How all Hindus are made to constitute a composite whole has not been made clear, which perhaps indicates that such a concept is mythical. Shockingly, therefore, there is little to distinguish German diplomat-author von Pochhammer from our own proponents of Akhand Bharat, Hindu-Hindustan, The Taj Mahal was A Hindu Palace, the Qutb Minar was A Hindu Temple and so on and so forth!

If Hindu fundamentalism in India is round the corner, von Pochhammer's book can verily be hailed as one of its pioneering and literary pillars, and having been penned by a white-skinned foreigner could well give it added respectability too.

And if his Hindu fundamentalism is not casteless but casteist, in other spheres he is an elitist too, calling the educated people 'the cultured classes'—spuriously equating formal education with culture, quite forgetting the centuries of (albeit incompletely recorded) wisdom handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth which coupled with behavioural and living

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patterns is what constitutes the culture of a people.

His views on the relative positions of the various modern Indian leaders are both sudden and sweeping without even being half convincing. Sir Servapelli Radhakrishnan (knighted by the colonial regime) was without doubt a great philosopher and a learned man, but to club his contributions (what were they ???) to the national movement with those of Nehru and Azad is a bit too much. And to say now, seventeen years after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri, that the leadership issue had again become acute after his death is to be purblind to reality for only the cockeyed and the prejudiced would so confidently imply that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has not enjoyed unrivalled leadership over both the party and the nation for the last two decades.

If the above kind of views, even unhistorical, would nonetheless give comfort to the various sections of the Hindu communal movements, some of von Pochhammer's other views are plainly vague too. In the chapter on Was Pakistan Unavoidable? his reference to 'Communist students of Calcutta University led by Biren Mukherji who is still a leading personality which has led to many a Moslem having second

thoughts' is mystifying; in any case, who is this Biren Mukherji, surely not the future steel and heavy industrialist ??? And to affirm 'that the British made a perfectly sincere attempt to meet Indian aspirations as far as was consistent with keeping the British Empire intact' is not only gratuitous but is also the height of wishywashyness, being clearly neither here nor there. Finally, some of his interesting ideas are merely floated without being worked out at all—like the one that what prevented the emergence of a Brahmanical theocratic State was the mechanics of the caste-system.

The chief merit of von Pochhammer's book is the fact that a foreign diplomat has evinced so much of detailed interest in the history of the country he is accredited to. If only Indian envoys abroad showed even half as much of interest in the history of their client States, especially in the Third World! This lesson clearly emerges from his smattering of wide knowledge through which he ambles along copiously if also communally and unhistorically.

Alok Sinha is Deputy Director of Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussourie.

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ment and discernment and these require knowledge, sheer equipment. Criticism to be worth its name must be informed criticism.

L.C. Randhir is a Ph.D. in Political Science and an administrator by profession. He is, the blurb adds, "a poet and short story writer in Urdu and English," a lover of Urdu as well as of Indian classical music. That he has read widely is very apparent. That this book is a laudable effort to bring home to the English reader the joys of the ghazal is incontestable. But Randhir seems unaware of the responsibilities he assumes when he writes for such a reader who is himself none too familiar with Urdu and all the more so when he writes, as Randhir very much tends to, in a pontifical, dogmatic manner.

He discusses "the nature of ghazal", the concept of *ishq* (love, to give a feeble equivalent), "mysticism in ghazal" and the "dearth of nature" in Urdu poetry. Coupletts are quoted in profusion. They are by no means the very best ones. He might have quoted them since he was "introducing the (sic) Urdu poets and Urdu poetry to the non-Urdu readership."

INFORMATIVE & WORTHWHILE

Randhir deserves gratitude for devoting two entire chapters to "the ghazal and the (sic) Indian Music" and to "instrumental accompaniment in ghazal singing." They are truly a good contribution on the whole, informative and very worthwhile. The book has no index which is a shame.

Randhir's appreciation of the ghazal, however, leaves a lot to be desired. It draws its charm, surely from stylized metaphor. This is what makes each couplet pregnant with meaning or rather meanings. Randhir seems dimly aware of that and rushes in where masters of Urdu would dread to tread.

Urdu & Its Poetry

L.C. Randhir

Ghazal : The Beauty Eternal

pp. 216, Milind Publications, Rs. 100.00

Reviewed by a Contributor

There are very many who do not know to speak or write in Urdu but who admire the language and love its most popular form of poetry, the ghazal. There are very many, too, who know Urdu well enough but imagine that they know it better than they do in fact. Truth to tell, Urdu takes a lot of knowing, as Daagh Dehlvi warned.

Nahin khel ay Daagh Yaaron se
kah do
Ke aati hai Urdu zabaan aate
aate

It is no play, Daagh, tell your friends

That Urdu is learnt but very slowly.

Admiration is one thing, appreciation is another. It implies judg-

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with them. Our columns are as much open to you as to them.

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He writes : "The love-poetry that fails to uphold the grace of the beloved is bad. But, unfortunately, even most of the great masters of the ghazal cannot be absolved of this guilt, slaves of the tradition as they were. Ghalib in a couplet says :

Baghal men ghair ke aj ap sote
hain kahin warna
Sabab kya khawab men akar
tabassumhayee pinhan ka.

'O dear, you are smiling in the lap of my rival somewhere and I am seeing it all in my dream. I know this type of smile comes only at the time of a carnal treat. Otherwise I am not so lucky that you should appear in my dream and smile like that for me.'

"What a presentation of the beloved ! Contemptuous ! Scandalous ! And that, too, at the hands of a grand master-Ghalib ! What a pathetic failure to grasp the spirit of the couplet.

Incidentally, Rafiq Zakaria writes in his foreword "Mir can be very high in his art, Randhir points out, but sometimes he can fall rather low a charge none dare make against Ghalib". Randhir does, indeed.

NATURE IN GHAZAL

Randhir claims that the chapter on "Nature in Ghazal", rebuts the chorus of Urdu critics that Nature is not the subject-matter of the ghazal". That chapter is sub-titled "dearth of nature" and proceeds to assert that "Urdu poetry has made remarkable progress but still there is a perceptible dearth in its appreciation of Nature. No doubt, Urdu poets have often been deeply impressed by Nature, and they have described it in different forms of poetry, and have perceived it as a transcendent power, soothing and sustaining the poet's heart in adversities, but this attitude is rather sporadic. And when compared with English, Sanskrit, and Hindi, Urdu Nature-poetry seems to be insignificant."

Randhir ought to know that "Urdu poetry" as such does not suffer from a "dearth of nature." The poetry of Iqbal and Josh refute

this. Randhir admits Josh's contribution. But a ghazal cannot possibly dwell on nature descriptively as a nazm can. Else, it will cease to be a ghazal. That Randhir is blissfully unaware of this vital distinction is all too evident. "Let us pause here to look into the causes that are held responsible for the dearth of Nature descriptions in Urdu poetry, particularly the ghazal.

That he is out to justify a thesis which is a pet of some is also evident.

"The Urdu poet of mystic temper went the Persian way. He preached the omnipresence of God, found divine beauty in handsome lads, but failed to see "Nature's God through Nature".

Opinions—flat, sweeping assertions abound in this book and they mingle together regardless of coherence or sense.

"The common Urdu poet seldom has his own concept of love. He is prompted more by his memory rather than by any conception. It looks as if he had only one goal to achieve—to get the 'beloved' into his embrace for sexual satisfaction. If he fails, he is not sad and grieved; he is peevish, revengeful, and then his weapons are sarcasm, jealousy, baster, and bullying."

"The beloved has, thus, suffered her position because of the blind faith of the poet in the tradition. The poet is seldom prompted by his creative faculty. The healthiest trend that we find in our love poetry is the boon of the modern age, which has produced such poets as Hali, the reformer, Iqbal, the philosopher, followed by a galaxy of poets such as Hasrat, Asghar, Jigar, and Firaq." (emphasis supplied).

UNION & SEPARATION

But the ghazal is not so much about the joys of *wasl* (union) as about the pangs of *furqat* (separation). A few more passages and Randhir's outlook becomes all too clear.

"The Persian traditions exercised so much influence on the Urdu poets that any occasional reference to Indian life and background, or any introduction of the native ele-

ment, or use of Hindi words met with the hostility of the purists who discarded it as improper and vulgar. With the advent of the Mughals into India, continuous efforts were made to synthesise the Indian and Persian cultures and the fine arts: such as architecture, painting, and music. Whereas Iranian music totally submerged itself in Indian music. Iranian poetry dominated Urdu poetry.

"India is a fertile land for mysticism, but surprisingly the Urdu mystics remained immune from the Indian mysticism, for they were under the spell of their Persian favourites. The Iranian mystic used human beauty as a stepping stone towards the perception of divine beauty."

This is sheer trash—To go no further, there are couplets galore of Ghalib of enormous mystical significance and with no "beloved" looming anywhere near.

Hai ghaib ghaib, jis ko samajhte
hain ham Shahood Hain khwab
men hunooz jo jaagen hain khw-
ab men.

What we call witnessing is in
truth

The unfathomable mystery of the
invisible;

Even when one seems awake in
dreams

One is still, in fact, asleep.

Ghalib receives only a casual acknowledgement as a mystic poet from our author.

He writes: "The classical ghazal singing is the delight of million, but it is possible only for a few to imitate it, and that too if they are endowed with the knowledge, background and some basic practice of Indian classical music. There are thousands of music lovers who can imitate film songs with perfection, but only a few can reproduce the ghazal sung in classical style."

Here again he realises not a bit the perils of such a style in *ghazal gayeki*, as Naushadali the great maestro pointed out in an interview last year. "What do you think are the essentials of good ghazal singing (*ghazal gayekis*)" he was asked. He replied:

"Well, take the manner in which

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Begum Akhtar used to sing ghazals. She was steeped in the learning of classical music but when she sang ghazals it was in the style of ghazals that they were sung. *If a line is sung with a few taans, phandas, a good many gidkiris and murkeys, the next line or the companion line, will be drowned and its meaning lost.* The gap between the two lines of a couplet must not be so large that it becomes difficult for the listener to follow it. *If you sing the first line and lapse into taans, by the time you sing the second line the listeners would have forgotten the first.*

"Thus when people try and sing the ghazal in the style of classical music things begin to go wrong. In a tarannum which is the ghazal recited

melodiously in a mushaira or a mehfil, the meaning of the couplet is not lost and it is spontaneously applauded by the audience. *In ghazals, the words are of paramount importance and the whole object of the singing is to convey the mood of the ghazals in the most appropriate 'raag' depending on whether the mood is one of joy or sorrow or anger,"* (emphasis added).

Randhir would have toiled to greater good if he were modest and had not proceeded beyond his depths. Urdu is as elusive as the definite article in English. Randhir stumbles on both.

Contributed by a Jaipur based freelance writer.

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PREDICTABLE BEGINNING BUT...

The Surekha-Shiv story has a predictable beginning but not the 'lived happily ever after' kind of ending. In fact, at the close of the novel we see Surekha again caught between Madhur and Minna. Minna has just died in the house of her in-laws in mysterious circumstances and Madhur has, for some unconvincing reason, taken to 'sanyas'. This action of hers is supposed to bring home the point that in a cruel world the only way to survive is by renouncing all worldly ties and cultivating detachment. This, in fact, is the knowledge symbolised by the 'sunbeam' of the title. But does Surekha accept this truth? The novel fails to tell us. At the end we see Surekha going away from Shiv towards Minna's funeral with Madhur, serene and composed, travelling in the same compartment.

Whereas Surekha is the pivot of the novel, we are equally forcefully drawn towards Shiv, modelled more or less on the traditional image of the Byronic hero. Not only does he suffer himself, he also brings suffering to those he comes in contact with. His silent, patient suffering recalls Mr Rochester's in *Jane Eyre*, bound to a woman he can neither live with nor be rid of. Shiv also reminds one of a Mills and Boon hero, tall, dark, handsome and taciturn, caught in a private hell of his own and—for this season—an object of fascination to the women he meets. That Shiv, in spite of some genuinely manly qualities, never rises above the popular type, speaks for the author's failure to make him alive in real terms. While page after page is devoted to the unfolding of Surekha's mind, we get no insight

Groping Towards Meaning

Kusum Ansal

Travelling with a Sunbeam

pp. 138, Vikas, 1983, Rs. 60.00

Reviewed by Manju Jaidka

Travelling With a Sunbeam is the story of Surekha who loses her mother in early childhood. Her father decides to remarry and sends her to live with his sister in Delhi. Fondly addressed as Ma and Babuji, Surekha's aunt and uncle as well as her cousins, Yadu and Minna, give her a great deal of affection but a void remains in her life, making it difficult for her to 'belong' anywhere. When she spends her vacation with her father and step-mother in Kanpur, her isolation from the rest of the world becomes more acute.

Madhur, a Kanpur friend, points out to her a completely different way of life. An extrovert with a mind of her own, Madhur has a number of men friends and moves in liberated society. In contrast, there is Minna, the docile cousin in Delhi, who allows herself to be married into a family of new rich social parasites and suffers countless indignities at the hands of her avaricious mother-in-law. Surekha is caught between these two divergent paths, one pointing to women's lib and the other to matrimony. Her inner conflicts and decisions

comprise the raw material of the novel.

As a law graduate, Surekha returns to Kanpur and starts practice with a well-known lawyer, Shiv. An initial fascination for the man blossoms into love. Shiv, too, is drawn towards her and there are moments when, in spite of restraint on both sides, they get swept off their feet. The relationship is foredoomed as Shiv is already married, though he lives away from his wife most of the time. To make matters worse, his grown up son proposes marriage to Surekha. He is rejected for the simple reason that Surekha is in love with his father.

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Shiv's. Consequently, Shiv lacks the flesh-and-blood quality that would make him a convincing character. The other men characters in the novel also suffer for want of the writer's sureness of touch. Like Shiv, they are thin and insubstantial.

LACKING IN AUTHENTICITY

And this is one reason why Surekha's relationship with Shiv lacks authenticity. Besides, there is a manifest contradiction in the writer's attitude to this relationship. For example, at one place we are told that Shiv and Surekha "only talked business, otherwise they sat like strangers for hours in the room". Two pages later, we are given a sample of their 'business-like' talk: "He often said, 'There is

nothing that is irrelevant or meaningless in our life—not even a small incident. Grief also has a significance, but we do not accept grief as such. Grief or sufferings are like buried treasure which one must dig hard to find. Do you know what you will find?—It will be humanity.' "Some 'business' this!"

As a novel the book succeeds in a middling way. It highlights some pertinent contemporary problems, such as the place of women in the changing Indian society, dowry deaths, women's lib and the relevance of the institutions of marriage. At places the story slackens, as when Surekha starts declaiming thus: "Times have changed. Today our girls study and become self-reliant. Why should they get beaten up in return for some food and clothing? There

is a law to show them the way. If you went wrong on a particular course, change the course and carry on again. If the husband has not given you company and let you down, what is the compulsion that you lament to the end and waste yourself. Life can be lived alone by oneself."

The reader's imagination is free to visualise the sequel to Surekha's story. One puts the book down with the question 'what happened next?' The thinking it provokes and the fact you cannot forget the story in a hurry are some of the minor compensations in a book which rarely rises above the ordinary in conception and in execution.

Manju Jaidka lectures in English in MCM DAV College for Women, Chandigarh.

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Call to Adventure

Jagjit Singh

A Tale of Two Peaks

pp. 174, Vision Books, 1983, Rs. 100.00

Reviewed by Murari Lal

A large number of expeditions are launched every year to climb different Himalayan peaks but books regarding them are few and far between. The Indian Mountaineering Foundation booked as many as 80 Indian expeditions during 1982 but all of them seem to have been condensed into brief reports for submission to the sponsoring authorities and that is the end of them all. That is why whenever the account of an expedition is published as a book, it is received with keen interest. Viewed in this context, Brig. Jagjit Singh's *A Tale of Two Peaks* is a refreshing experience.

Brig. Jagjit Singh, one of our most eminent mountaineers, has done a great service to the lovers of adventure by recapturing the absorbing story of the ascent of Abi Gamin (24,130 ft.) and Kamet (25,447 ft.)—two of the highest peaks in the Garhwal Himalayas. The expedition was launched by the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun, as part of its Golden Jubilee Celebrations in 1982. If the expedition succeeded in achieving the unique record of putting 9 members atop Kamet and 8 atop Abi Gamin, it was due largely to the vast experience of the author who was a natural choice for the leadership of the team.

SUSPENSEFUL SETTING

Using his pen as deftly as his ice-axe, Brig. Jagjit Singh has done well to open his story by giving the complete history of the twin peaks ranging over one and a half century. By highlighting the hazards peculiar to Himalayan climbing like extremes of temperature, plastic ice conditions and scorching heat and burning sensation in the midst of vast expenses of snow even at an altitude of 20,000 ft., he builds up a suspenseful setting for his story.

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the measure of the soldier for he comes to the conclusion that the mighty mountain is not an enemy but a friend; it does not raise gory visions of bloodshed and devastation but instils peace and serenity. The mountain stands where it has been; it retains its regal splendour and pristine glory whereas the climber comes back humble and grateful and fades into the vastness of the civilised world.

The author loves his mountains so intensely that he becomes not only lyrical but delirious while describing their beauty. The book is replete with such instances where he comes out as a poet-philosopher. This is how he is charmed by the sun-rise: 'Soon the Eastern horizon becomes luminescent and the bright orange glow steadily increases. They watch fascinated as the silvery peaks are engulfed in this golden brilliance.'

For Brig. Jagjit Singh, planning and executing a mountaineering expedition is as intricate a process as a military operation. The soldier in him is at war with the mountaineer that he is. While the soldier thinks of the 'conquest' of the peak, the mountaineer feels 'humble and puny' in the presence of gigantic rock faces and ice falls. While the soldier thinks in terms of 'assaulting' the mountain, the mountaineer in him approaches it with deep reverence and measured awe. In the ultimate analysis, the mountaineer gets

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as if simultaneously set a flame by a magic wand.....The dripping icicles, acting as prisms, break up the sun's rays into rainbow colours'.

VALUABLE GUIDE BOOK

The book does more than merely narrate the joys and travails of mountaineers. All these who wish to organise an expedition to any peak shall find it as a valuable guide-book as it deals in great details with all the relevant aspects like porters, food, transport, medicine, acclimatisation, equipment, selection of team etc. It rightly emphasises that mountaineering is not only an adventure-sport but a utility-sport also. It is in fact the best way for leadership training, character building, physical fitness, mental robustness, esprit-de-corps, self-discipline, courage, endurance and an ability to take sound decisions under stress and strain. The author is right when he says that mountaineering is not an exercise in foolhardiness but a battle of wits with nature. Mountains are great teachers and a mountaineer is better equipped both mentally and physically to face the rigours of life. The story of twin peaks proves it if any proof was needed.

The author gives us a deep insight into the pattern of life of the hill people, their culture, customs, spiritual values and the changes taking place even in remote villages due to the advance of modern technology. Some of the changes are wholly unwelcome. The senseless deforestation is highly lamentable as it is threatening to convert beautiful alps into dust bowls. Brig. Jagjit Singh gives a timely warning to the authorities to save places like Dhauli Valley, likened by Frank Smythe in 1931 to Switzerland in scenic beauty, from becoming an ugly eyesore.

If one objective of writing this book is to keep a faithful record of the climb, the other undoubtedly is to inspire the readers to take to adventure. While the author has amply succeeded in achieving his objective and inspiring the young people to emulate his example, the publishers seem to be

oblivious of this fact. By pricing the book at a stiff Rs. 100/- they have taken it out of the reach of lovers of adventure and reserved it only to adorn the library shelves. It is difficult to guess what justifies this prohibitive price. At least the size of the book or the reproduction

of photographs does not. The photographs are so blurred that they only detract from the impact of the narration.

Murari Lal is Secretary of the Delhi Mountaineering Association.

An Old Classic

A.J. Bahm

Philosophy of the Buddha

pp. 175, Vikas, 1982, Rs. 60.00

Reviewed by K.K. Mittal

Here is a comparatively slender yet significant volume that is the result of a study pursued by the author in the University of Rangoon from July 1955 to March, 1956. It is quite an interesting and, in a way, an excellent study in so far as it goes.

The fact that its Indian edition has seen the light of the day after a lapse of over 25 years has not in anyway detracted from its value or dulled its freshness. We must concede that this is so not merely because it offers comments on the ideas that have been of interest to the human consciousness for about 25 centuries but also because they themselves are free, frank and forthright besides having been made in an interesting yet cogent manner. Consider for example, the very opening remark of the first chapter. "Gotama's philosophy may be summed up in a simple, clear and obvious principle which immediately compels belief once it is understood. The principle: desire for what will not be attained ends in frustration; therefore, to avoid frustration; avoid desiring what will not be attained." (p.15). It has been rightly said, "The goal of life is neither more favourable rebirth nor extinction of self or of desire as some have maintained, but dwelling, here and now, beyond appetites, consummate, unfevered, in bliss in (wholesomeness)."—(p.17).

He has rightly analysed the four truths, not as four principles but as a single principle in chapter 3. The distinction between desire (chanda)

and craving (Tanha) has been correctly drawn and relationship between *Desire and Frustration* is validly worked out in chapters 4 and 5. The cogency of the Middleway with *Nirvana*—both rightly understood—has been fully established in chapters 6 and 7. The reviewer is surely in agreement with Prof. Bahm's total approval of Mohan Singh's contention (in the latter's *New Light on Buddha's First Sermon* published by the Academy of Spiritual Culture, Elephanta, Dehra Dun, India 1949) that 'right' is not the proper translation of 'Samyak' as a prefix of each fold of the eight-fold path. His observations in the context that the Buddha's was not a violent opposition, but an opposition to violence and his was not an exclusive opposition but an opposition to exclusiveness' (pp.83-84) deserve to be noticed. His continuing this discussion in chapter 8 on *Dhyana* (especially on pp. 106-107) very clearly brings out the fact how samadhi is the culmination of the path. No less interesting are his views on greed. For views (in chapter 9) and on sangha (in chapter 11). Consider e.g. his observations on rules about food (pp.140-142), on yellow robes of the monks (pp.143-144) and on belief or disbelief in gods and God (pp.146-147).

His chapters 10 on *Soul and No soul?* and 12 on *Criticisms*, however, reveal and remind us that his study after all does not go far enough. Admittedly the sources of study are limited to the 26 volumes of the *vinaya* and *sutta-pitakas* in English

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translation (preface p.13) only and omit the more philosophical Abhidhamma pitaka altogether. It seems that even in the study of *sutta* and *vinaya pitakas* the author has not gone deep enough to see as to how the doctrines such as that of *Impermanence/karma*, *rebirth* and *no-soul* are integral to the Buddha's philosophy even as it is understood by him. There is no justification on his part to make a short-shift of these well argued and well established Buddhist doctrines. Let him abandon his infatuation (Moha or greed) for the surface view of

universal acceptance of the Buddhist principle (mentioned by him), the reviewer is sure, he is going to realize how his criticisms are entirely misplaced and are based on *Misunderstanding* of the kind a warning to avoid which he has given on behalf of the Buddha in chapter 2.

Productionwise the book keeps up the reputation built up by Vikas for neat and elegant publications.

K.K. Mittal is Reader in Philosophy in the Department of Buddhist Studies, University of Delhi, Delhi.

Industrial Sociology in India

N.R. Sheth, Editor

Industrial Sociology in India

pp. 320, Allied, 1982, Rs. 16.50

Reviewed by S. Madhuri

Ever since my college days, the Western economic theories have left me bewildered about the understanding of India's economic 'backwardness'. Although since then India has been promoted to the category of an industrially underdeveloped' country, I have often wondered whether the term industry needs redefinition. Although the large majority of our population still follow agriculture as their occupation, agriculture *per se* is not and could not have been the only occupation. The use of tools, even in the most primitive agriculture, necessitates some form of industry.

Crafts as thriving industries have of course been known to occupy a lot of people since the known history of India. It is difficult to visualize all people working on land. This means that people must sustain themselves with some industry or another. Wage labour as a consequent of industry, requiring statutory regulation, was known in Kautilya's times. Redefining industry, for purposes of understanding India's industrialization process may therefore help us to design different analytical models than has been the case with Western approaches on this subject.

Industry, in the present common parlance however is understood as

production process requiring increasing use of steel and electricity. Thus understood, human history is considered to undergo a new epoch of industrial civilization requiring specialized study. It is felt that we lack this understanding in India. It may be because we are still an agrarian society, the extent of industrialization not having generated enough concern for and effort at such an understanding. It may also be because the elite who require such understanding are confined to reading and writing in English, other Indian languages not being accessible to them. It is in this perspective that N.R. Sheth, editor of *Industrial Sociology in India* proceeded to compile a book of readings on the subject to provide his public a broad view of the implications of industrialization for social structure and culture to help understand the relationship between industry and society.

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

Part of the reason for undertaking this effort is also a reaction to the Western analysis of underdevelopment of India which to the Indians seems to provide partial or incomplete explanation of the changes taking place due to

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industrialization. In a way this is natural because the Westerner's view of this process is mainly macroscopic and structural, limited to the perceptual and conceptual organization of the analyst.

An example is Weber's view of the Indian Social system (referred to by Tripathi) wherein he presupposes that : (i) there is a single set of Hindu values, (ii) that the influence of these values is all pervasive, (iii) that these values are internalized by all and translated in day to day behaviour, and (iv) that these values are immune to external pressures. Those who live through the process experiencing and witnessing it are bound to have a different view. Implicit in this reaction is also the teacher's (editor) concern that a wrong diagnosis may also lead to wrong remedies. Hence the effort to compile material showing a more intimate understanding of the social consequences of industrialization in India.

The earlier parts of the book deal with 'pattern variables' discovered by sociologists/anthropologists such as Toennies, Redfield and Parsons, which help distinguish between a traditional society and a modern industrial society. These pattern variables are claimed to put in sharp focus some of the strategic mechanisms of social change associated with industrialization and technical progress. A tradition bound society is implied to be inefficient to resistance to innovation; is non-complex because of functional generality and less division of labour; and where the small group is the relevant unit of social behaviour conducive to ascriptive rather than achieving roles.

The rest of the chapters are concerned with showing how the wider spread of technical applications has been leading to change in social and organizational behaviour patterns of entrepreneurs, managers, and workers, confirming the inevitability of certain pattern variables and non tenability of others. In short, the findings from various field studies on social behavioural changes brought about by Industrialization in India indicate a combining of tradition with modernity. It is shown that recourse to

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tradition is taken when necessary in self interest or unavoidable for social interest.

As the editor has aptly put it : industrialization provides potentialities, but tradition conditions how these are realized. This is reinforced by some studies of Japan as well where social change is consistently hedged by firm grip on the past showing how new values are legitimised through traditional sanction for internal harmony. Besides a thorough understanding of organizational societal functioning in the industrially advanced nations also would indicate the operation of the pattern variables supposedly existing in traditional societies.

INHIBITING SOCIAL CHANGE

Much has been said about the caste system of India inhibiting entrepreneurship, social change, or social mobility. Micro-studies of business development in India (one by Milton Singer) on the other hand, conclude that the degree of continuity or discontinuity of industrial employment must be found not in the system of caste and occupation in general, but in the specific history of individuals, families and groups. The ways in which Indians have used forms of modern business and industry (managing agency, joint stock company, holding company corporate form etc.) reflect Indian social structure and culture as well as economic and political conditions. They speak a great deal about the Indian businessman's adaptability and ingenuity. Similarly, from the study of a sugar co-operative Baviskar found that, factions not caste, form the basis of organization and competition even in a co-operative industry, for the objective of capturing power. Joshi's study of a south Gujarat village also shows that traditional caste relations among different castes and within the same caste are under strain due to availability of economic and political alternatives.

TRADE UNIONISM

One definite sociological consequence of industrialisation is the acceptance of the institution of trade

unionism by most workers, white collar included. It is however doubtful to what extent unions act as agencies of interest articulation, political socialization, recruitment and communication as they seem to do in other industrialized democratic societies. Unions in India are mainly engaged in grievance handling. Affiliation with national political parties gives them identity, encourages cohesiveness among their members, and is perceived to be essential for achievement of their objectives. Few unions engage in collective bargaining of larger issues because employers refuse to negotiate with them before they resort to agitations. Van Dusen Kennedy explains this through the lack of collective bargaining perspective among government employers and unions. According to him, the Indian actors in industrial relations look upon adjudication as a course of least resistance. He puts forth a theory of being 'tenderminded' because of which the Indians are reluctant to face up to the realities of power.

The concluding part of the book includes a critique of the unquestioned acceptance of some concomitants of industrial organization and processes. For example, collective bargaining. Professing the concept of 'socio-technical system' of Tavistock school idealizing Glacier Metal Company's researches, De, quoting Jacques, feels that collective bargaining breeds horse trading and does not enable a meaningful work role. According to De, no sound industrial relations system can be established unless the alienated employees get an opportunity to become committed; this is possible only with the modification of technological configuration of tasks to

permit a social structure which is in support of functions and objectives of work groups.

WELCOME EFFORT

Industrial Sociology in India is a welcome effort putting together the findings of research on the sociological consequences of industrialization in India. Most of the papers compiled in this book make interesting reading individually. However, perhaps as would be the case with any book of readings, it is difficult to lay hands on the centrality of the theme resulting into a loss of integration. This may be due to the fact that most of the papers have been published at different times. Time perspective is important to the field studies. Since chronological sequence among the papers has been ignored, the logical and ideational flow of the findings seems to be affected.

A keen observer of industrial sociology would know that there have been very significant changes in this field. Observations made in some of these papers fail to explain later developments. An example is Kennedy's observation about the reluctance of Indians to accept the realities of power. The goings on at the national and organizational levels have made many social thinkers worry about too much politicization of the Indian.

Although, it is quite clear that Sheth has put in a lot of effort to edit the readings, the difficulties arising out of transplanting part writings of the authors do not seem to have been appropriately overcome. Inter-relating the ideas becomes difficult. For example, Kennedy talks of a set of values which shapes what he calls the tender-

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indedness of Indians. It is not clear from his write up included in the book what is the set of values he is talking about. Similarly, in the paper by Mathur & Papola, the authors state three hypotheses, but the paper does not discuss all of them. Nor is their contention that white collar workers do not hesitate to join unions substantiated by their paper.

Nobody will disagree with Kennedy that unionism and collective bargaining are Western ideas of developed labour relations. However, we all know that these ideas have developed over a period of time after many trials and errors. One may say, that these ideas are result of modern industrial organization. Even though there may be no collective bargaining, collective representation is a necessity realized

by groups as soon as there is awareness of futility and weakness of individual bargaining and of complexity brought about by the largeness of the group.

The knowledge of the reader would have been considerably enhanced had the findings of field studies been related in terms of theoretical constructs presented in the first parts of the book.

On the whole, this is a good selection of readings warning the theorist, to use Schumpeter's phrase, that every case of economic development is a historical individual and must be treated as such.

S. Madhuri is on the teaching faculty of National Institute for Training in Industrial Engineering, Bombay.

Indian Tribal Poetry

Sitakant Mahapatra

The Awakened Wind

p. x + 322 with illustrations, Vikas, 1983, Rs. 125.00

Reviewed by P. S. Sundaram

I remember seeing in the Kanika library of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack half a shelf-full of books by Thurston entitled *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. I barely glanced through the first volume and decided to leave the rest of the series another day.

Till recently in Bihar and elsewhere, the average "educated" Indian has shown the same lofty indifference to the "tribal". We have not like the Americans and Australians driven them to a corner and exterminated them—at least not during historic times. But if indifference can kill, as it undoubtedly can, we have not refrained from that kind of genocide.

To a South Indian it will surely come as a surprise that the Santals numbered in 1971 to over four million, and they are only one among the many tribes of India outside the Hindu caste system (including the scheduled castes), the Muslims and Christians.

In the wake of Verrier Elwin and

W.G. Archer, Sitakant Mahapatra has devoted his great talents to the understanding and publicising of the poetry of tribal India. As a Deputy Commissioner in Orissa he made excellent use of his opportunity "to work among the Mundas, Oraons, Santals and Hos...and picked up their language". He familiarised himself also with the Kondhs, Parajias and Koyas.

The Awakened Wind contains translations of songs in all these languages dealing with love, marriage and death, agriculture and worship, ancestors and gods. The search is for Buber's "significant other" so that the emptiness of modern life brought about by technology may in some measure be filled, and we may learn to value once again the things that matter.

In his excellent introduction running to 34 pages, apart from equally valuable introductions to each one of the seven parts into which the book is divided, Mahapatra quotes Andre Malraux :

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Before the coming of modern art no one saw a Khmer head, still less a Polynesian sculpture, for the good reason that no one looked at them.

He goes on to point out :

As we know, even in the Western tradition one era sometimes did not understand another. For example, in the 12th century no one really looked at Greek art. Similarly the seventeenth century almost to tally disregarded medieval art.

There is therefore much to be said for those who take the trouble to see and hear what the so-called "primitive" people produce and value.

My dear, you blossomed as a flower
And withered as a flower.
Is it with the heat of the earth.
Or the cold from the sky
That you withered as a flower
That you shrivelled as a flower?
Not the heat of the earth
Not the cold from the sky,
My dear, time flowed by
And youth ended.

A poem like this, of the Mundas, on the evanescence of life is as good as any that one might have read on the same theme.

Similarly, a Santal riddle.
A coloured cow
She eats twigs and leaves.
And passes ash as stool
for fire or a fire-place, or another

Cranes dancing in a broken house
for frying maize in a pot deserves
for its ingenuity to be widely known.

In our enthusiasm for the life and art of those whom we too long neglected or despised, we must however know where to draw the line. If the Britisher thought that meriah sacrifices were due to the Kondhs' imagination that human blood would yield a redder turmeric and ought to be stopped, it is no more than winning a debating point to say that the Kondhs thought always in terms of their community not of the individual, and that the

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sacrifice was offered in order that the gods might avert disaster to all things planted, not the crops of any particular individual. Politicians collecting money for the "party", Communists destroying individual liberty for the common good, act with the same high motives and are not for that reason less of a menace.

Dealing with elemental issues and uncomplicated experiences, these tribal songs, I should imagine, should not be difficult to translate once the language is learnt. Certainly they could not have been difficult for a poet of Sitakant Mahapatra's acknowledged accomplishment in English. I could however wish that he did not use the word "till" as

though it meant "as long as", a common North Indianism; did not translate literally the answers to the questions.

Did you not see me?
Did you not know me?
Yes, I did not see
Yes, I did not know;

and had noticed the absurdity of something "not appearing quite right for English-speaking ears" (p. 134)!

P.S. Sundaram retired as Professor of English from the University of Rajasthan and has now settled down at Madras.

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE

Examines the reasons for the non-attainment of the Constitutional Directive of free and compulsory education and presents an alternative model of mass primary education based on the analysis of Indian experience and recent research on education and development in the third world.

Masih, I. K., ed. *An Indian Response to Samuel Beckett*. Calcutta, Writers Workshop, 1982. 64 p. Rs. 50.00 (Hardbound) Rs. 30.00 (Flexiback).

A tribute by the author on Samuel Beckett's 77th birthday, 13 April 1983.

Shintri, Sarojini. Akka Mahadevi Sirigere, Taralabalu Prakashana, 1983. x, 70 p. Rs. 5.00.

An interpretative biography of Karnataka's saint woman Akka Mahadevi who was also a mystic, an intellectual and a poet, all rolled into one rare combination. An attempt is made to determine her place by making comparisons between her & other Saint poets.

Wilson A. Jeyaratnam & Dalton Dennis, ed. *The States of South Asia : Problems of National Integration*. Delhi, Vikas, 1980. xiii, 343 p. Rs. 150.00

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Agarwal, Bharat Bhushan. Dissections. Translated from Hindi by Vishnu Khare. Calcutta, Writers Workshop, 1983. 48 p. Rs. 40.00 (Hardbound) Rs. 20.00 (Flexiback).

A first collection of the poet's work in English.

DiBona, Joseph, ed. *One Teacher, One School : The Adam Reports on Indigenous Education in 19th Century India*. Delhi, Biblia Impex, 1983. xvi, 309 p. Rs. 150.00.

Published in 1835-38, these reports on indigenous culture in early 19th Century Bengal are a unique record of Indian institutions before the British influence extended to the interior villages and serve as a benchmark for subsequent change induced by colonial policy.

Hardy, Friendhelm ed. *Virabhakti : The early history of Krsna devotion in South India*, Delhi, Oxford, 1983. xxi, 692p. Rs. 250.00

Lord Krishna abandoned his earthly mistresses who then spent their days of separation pining for his return. This has been styled by the author as Virabhakti who makes a detailed study of its multifarious origins in South India.

Krishnamurty, K. and Saibaba, P. Savings behaviour in India. Delhi, Hindustan Publishing Corporation, 1982. xii, 88 p. Rs. 40.00

Published as an occasional paper of the Institute of Economic Growth, it analyses the saving behaviour in India in the last three decades. Gives an indepth analysis of the narrowing differentials between the agricultural or non-agricultural sectors' propensity to save in the first half of last decade and the widening differentials in later years.

Kurrien, John. *Elementary Education in India : Myth, Reality, Alternative*. Delhi, Vikas, 1983. 347 p. Rs. 125.00

Examines the separatist tendencies in the States of Asia and attempts an answer to the question "Can political secession be contained by constitutional designs that can satisfy the aspirations of discontented groups?" The role of the two super powers as well as interest in the region on the part of Britain and the Peoples' Republic of China vis-a-vis its further balkanisation or greater coherence is also discussed.

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RANAJIT GUHA

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RAMESH BHATIA

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STANLEY A KOCHANEK

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Indian Book Chronicle

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EDITOR : AMRIK SINGH

Peasant Insurgency Re-interpreted

Historical accounts of peasant revolts in India are no longer particularly scarce and have effectively put paid to the myth of the quiescent peasant. In the last ten years there has been a considerable acceleration of academic output on the subject. Most of these have either analysed specific movements or tried to classify them into typologies. Ranajit Guha's book* is more ambitious in design and posits a paradigmatic exposition of peasant insurgency. In his own words, his objective is 'to describe the figure of insurgency in its *common form* and in terms of its *general ideas*' (p. 333). This leads him to structure his account around certain key motifs constituting the discourse of peasant insurgency. The choice of these elements emanate from an 'emic' view, marking a departure from the integrationist perspective on peasant movements.

ESSENTIALLY A POLITICAL ACT

At the heart of this approach to peasant insurgency lies a recognition of 'the peasant as the maker of his own rebellion' (p. 4). This imparts a certain consciousness to the peasant and an intrinsic worth to his actions. In this Guha opposes the notion of peasant uprisings as spontaneous or 'pre-political' entities lacking organisation and leadership. As the successive chapters of the book amply demonstrate, in the peasants effort to overturn the semi-feudal social order within which he is contained, there is nothing un-political. For his concerted attempts to overthrow the 'composite apparatus of dominance' (p. 8) embodied in the triumvirate of the sarkar, sahukar and zamindar is essentially a political act.

This act which was the principal 'antithesis of colonialism', however incomplete its articulation of an alternative social order, comprises a world of peasant counter consciousness. It is this world, extinguished from conventional historiography in its search for objective indices of social action, which is recreated by Guha. Consequently he shifts the focus of history from actions to consciousness. In a semi-feudal society like colonial India the consciousness of the dominated is different but not discrete from that of the dominator. Their mutual relationship is constituted in the 'mirror image' of the other. It is this opposition which crystallizes in a peasant insurgency composed of antagonistic social groups with their opposing practices and theories : 'Its terrible/Its fine' (p. 108). Thus by locating the source of peasant uprisings in the creation of a subjective will or consciousness of oppression, Guha stands conventional historiography on its head !

The substantive part of the book consists of a structuralist-Marxist interpretation of the elements which go into the making and sustenance of peasant revolts as found in some of the uprisings which occurred in colonial India between 1783 and 1900 A.D. Guha discusses six motifs in successive chapters entitled 'negation', 'ambiguity', 'modality', 'solidarity', 'transmission', and 'territoriality'. Each of these are shown to be general to peasant struggles over time and space within India. These chapters provide compelling evidence of the veracity of Guha's analytical perspective.

*Ranajit Guha, Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India, pp. x+361, Oxford University Press, 1983, Rs. 140.00

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CONSCIOUSNESS OF INSURGENCY

An ingenious method of handling historical sources has been adopted in the book. It is distinguished not so much by the unearthing or tapping of new source materials as in its interpretation of existing ones. In fact the reliance on published secondary works would probably be considered blasphemous by other historians. Yet it detracts little from his argument. Underlying his use of sources is an analytical position which deserves to be quoted in extenso :

'Most, though not all, of this evidence is elitist in origin

How then are we to get in touch with the consciousness of insurgency when our access to it is barred thus by the discourse of counter-insurgency ? The difficulty is perhaps less insurmountable than it seems to be at first sight. For counterinsurgency which derives directly from insurgency and is determined by the latter in all that is essential to its form and articulation, can hardly afford a discourse that is not fully and compulsively involved with the rebel and his activities. It is of course true that the reports, despatches, minutes, judgements, laws, letters, etc. in which policemen, soldiers, bureaucrats, landlords, usurers and others hostile to insurgency register their sentiments, amount to a representation of their will. But these documents do not get their content from that will alone, for the latter is predicated on another will—that of the insurgent. It should be possible therefore to read the presence of a rebel consciousness as a necessary and pervasive element within that body of evidence' (p. 14-15).

In other words new interpretations of historical events are not premised upon the findings of new sources, but can be adduced from existing sources if new questions are asked of them. The historian's objective must guide his examination of sources not *vice versa*. Here by inversely reading into the official records Guha culls out the imprint of rebel consciousness from the statements of its opponents.

Another important feature of the book lies in its wide ranging use of anthropological data to concretely establish the social universe of the peasantry. The deep rooted sense of hierarchy which even distinguished the name of dwellings of different castes (p. 42) is an embodiment of the structure of dominance in rural areas. The violation of hierarchical norms in social behaviour is itself indicative of a change in authority patterns. During times of insurgency such violations become generalised. Again Guha repeatedly recounts how ritual observances foster solidarity among rebellious peasants or inflections of customary practices transmit the message of rebellion to like minded social groups. Territoriality in the peasant idiom is not simply a suggestion of geographical space but is also mapped out in terms of the extension of kinship ties comprising 'our' people. In this way anthropological information is intergrated into historical account locating the sources of rebel cohesion and solidarity in the communitarian and primordial bonds of the peasant community. However, this also invokes the presence of a universalised peasant ethos, an ahistorical notion of peasant culture.

UNEASY CO-EXISTENCE

It is here that Durkheimian anthropology conflicts with Marxism, for while the former immobilises the historicity of dissent the latter unravels its potential. In Guha's discourse the two theoretical tendencies coexist uneasily. Moreover the notion of insurgency as the antithesis of colonial authority is problematic. Undoubtedly it is a culmination of protest, but its way is paved by a whole range of mediated dissent. Without these, the peasants' forbearance of landlords' authority remains inexplicable. Further, structural analysis sometimes glosses over the nature of distinctions within the peasantry as for instance with the symbolic expressions of solidarity

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during the 1857 revolt. The rumours which preceded the revolt gave rise to popular resentment because of transgression of social differences and communal boundaries through the enforcement of 'alien' practices (pig fat used as grease for cartridges or the mixing of crushed bones with food items). On the other hand unity against the common foe—the British, was manifested in the passing around of the chapati, overriding commensal taboos (p. 240). A negative reaffirmation of boundaries. The emphasis laid on the binary opposition of state power and peasant insurgents although perhaps necessary in the first instance, needs to be tempered with an understanding of the differentiations within the peasantry which surfaces as mediated oppositions when rebellion is protracted. The logic of Guha's analysis which proceeds on the assumption of binary opposition underestimates the refracted nature of conflict in semi-feudal societies. The lure of the insurrection prevails.

Yet, notwithstanding these criticisms, this remains a pioneering work on peasant rebellions. The work of a master craftsman even whose failings are instructive, it heralds a distinctive approach to the study of peasant insurgency. Students of the peasantry can hardly afford to ignore it.

Anjan Ghosh belongs to the Sociology Group at the Indian Institute of Management, Calcutta.

The Theme of Sin

Raji Narasimhan

Drifting to a Dawn : A novel
pp. 130, Vikas, 1983, Rs. 75.00 (hardcover) in India only

Reviewed by Sandhya Bordewekar

Raman and Jana are a South Indian couple, married and with a son. Raman has four elder brothers. Recently the youngest brother died and his beautiful young widow, Paaee, with the eyes of Gowri, the cow, "vast, dumb, unseeing and also reflexive (?) like mirrors" is broad-mindedly spared the disfigurement of a shaven head and wearing white,

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Raman, with a well-concealed lust for the widow, fears her molestation at the hands of his brothers but quietly does so himself. To atone for his "sin", he and Jana promise their son, Surya, to Paaee's daughter, Kamu.

Surya grows up in Delhi where his father has been transferred, and comes in contact with Loma, a physically and emotionally battered Bengali girl from a poor family with a crippled father, an old freedom fighter. Surya sympathises with her but this sympathy is misconstrued by his parents who immediately marry him off to Kamu, a women now, paranoid about gold ornaments. At this point, the parents and Paaee go on a pilgrimage, happy to have done their duty and stood by their word, unaware of the seeds of unhappiness their collective "sin" has sown for the next generation. They conveniently disappear from the book henceforth.

Predictably, Surya's married life isn't exactly a bower of bliss, the wife being interested only in reproducing boys (four of them) with the eldest and only girl, Bala, nurse-maids them. Bala is neglected by the mother but becomes the darling of the father who in turn begins to dislike the boys. Kamu and Surya drift apart and when Bala begins college, Loma has miraculously become a lecturer there and takes over as Bala's guardian angel. Surya confesses his love for Loma and the two finally are united, a small nuclear family with Bala as the daughter.

LAYERS OF PLATITUDE

In this corny plot, the first casualty is honesty. The novel is peopled by individuals who dare not accept the truth about themselves and their sexuality : so they conveniently forget its existence chucking it straight out of the window. The major preoccupation of the author is with the theme of Sin. The characters, pretending to atone for the sins they have committed, commit even more sins, creating a lot of unhappiness for themselves and for those around them. If the novel poses to portray the change of attitudes over two generations, the transition is neither

smoothly achieved nor is it thematically successful.

Surya remains as dogmatic, as chauvinistic and as hypocritical as his father. He has no guts to divorce his wife—their marriage is a joke anyway—and marry Loma. So, like his father, he also has his cake and eats it too. Both of them complacently blanket their twotiming natures with layers of platitudes, hoping to convince the reader of their nobility, their broadmindedness and their high ideals which are inviolable.

The second casualty in the book is the language. Indian English seems to have finally forged an identity of its own. Examples like "He felt like

serenading to them all" (pp. 15) are not few and far between. The punctuation throughout is so haywire that one begins to wonder if its eccentricity is meant to be that way. The syntax has undergone such a drastic change that not only are sentences grammatically incorrect, but wrong words are used often and one can only make a wild guess at their meaning.

This is a book poorly conceived and badly written. To publish such a book and to price it at Rs. 75 at least reveals one thing. Neither the author nor the publishers lack courage.

Sandhya Bordewekar is a Baroda-based freelance writer.

Pricing Agricultural Produce

A.S. Kahlon & D.S. Tyagi

Agricultural Price Policy in India

pp. 510, Allied, 1983, Rs. 150.00

Reviewed by M. Gopalakrishnan

A. S. Kahlon is no stranger to readers of the Times of India. His articles (sometimes jointly with M.V. George or T. N. Dhar or John Kurian et. al.) have always made absorbing reading since they dealt with the (by now) famous issue of fair returns to the farmers. He was in fact Chairman, Agricultural Prices Commission (till a few months ago) a post which he held with distinction and dignity, as many of us who dealt with him know. As for D.S. Tyagi, his association as an official in the Agricultural Prices Commission is well-known.

There are thirteen chapters in the book. As narrated in the preface of the book, they deal with such important issues as the role and functions of the agricultural price support policy in the developing countries with special reference to Indian Agricultural (Ch. I), the different concepts used in such a price support policy (Ch. II), the distinguishing characteristics of agricultural and industrial pricing (Ch. III), a critical review of price-elasticities of acreage, yield and output (Ch. IV), the sources and limitations of the data entering with the analysis of the Agricultural Price

Policy (Ch. V), the seasonal index and the index of irregularities for the important commodities (Ch. VI), the trends in cost of production over the years at current as well as constant prices of the inputs (Ch. VII), the price determination which is the kernel of the book and extends over 83 pages (Ch. VIII), movement in terms of trade in recent years (Ch. IX), evolution of the Agricultural Price Policy over the years for all the major crops (Ch. X), policy issues other than pricing (Ch. XI), weaknesses of the market infrastructure (Ch. XII) and food management policy over the years (Ch. XIII).

The hope is expressed towards the end of the preface that the practical approach to the Agricultural Price Policy surfacing in the book will go a long way in evolving rational price policies in developing countries. This remains to be seen.

There are very many useful tables (of facts and figures) numbering 125 statements 25 graphs, 4 annexures and one appendix all of which unfortunately are not catalogued thus leading to reader's inconvenience! Similarly some annexures (and appendices) exist at the end of

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some chapters which are not listed. At the end of each chapter separate bibliography is given. However, the statements (tables) of facts and figures are given with a clarity and precision which are amazing, given the (un)reliability of our statistics.

IMPORTANT LANDMARKS

In a historical sense important developments took place in the field of Government's Food Policy from 1964. The authors observe "It will be true to say that a well-coordinated price-policy which takes care of interest of both the producer and the consumer did not get evolved during this period (53-54). The underlined numbers are mine. The establishment of the Food Corporation of India (FCI) in 1964 to undertake purchases and distribution of foodgrains and the setting up of the Agricultural Prices Commission (APC) in 1965 to advise the Government on a continuing basis on price policy for evolving an integrated price structure in the context of the need for raising the production and to protect the consumer, marked the beginning of the era of a positive Agricultural Price Policy" (p. 281).

These are important landmarks which a student of Indian Economic history will do well to remember. Again, over the years 1966-67 to 1981-82 wheat procurement prices were fixed by State Governments (based generally on the APC's recommendations though in general they were not too far above them).

Introducing the information on price determination in India the authors refer to the "Jha Committee" which inter-alia recommended the price levels for the 64-65 season. It is now part of history as to what the Jha Committee was asked to report upon (e. g. the terms of reference of the body which was to be called later as the Agricultural Prices Commission).

As to what the so called "incentive prices are, the authors state (p. 169) that Dantwala, the first Chairman of the APC came close to defining them when he stated "it is reasonable to suggest that anything less than the market prices...necessarily constitutes a

disincentive to the farmer....As long as (procurement) prices are well above the risk of production (inclusive of risk margin), the farmer will spare no effort to increase his income through the largest possible production, within the constraint of his own and national resources" (p. 169).

The authors go on to say "the basic test whether the price has worked as an 'incentive price' would be whether it has resulted in the adoption of a technology and technological inputs associated with it for raising productivity, including capital formation in the agricultural sector for optimising production" (p.169). These are words which have to be taken with a pinch of salt in a developing economy where farmers range across a very wide spectrum of literacy, knowledge and practices from the very backward tribal farmer in the forest periphery

of Madhya Pradesh to the enlightened one of the plains of Punjab.

COST C CONCEPT

As to the factors that the APC takes into account (p.170) there can be no dispute. In particular the Cost 'C' concept is described clearly by the authors (p. 171-172) and will be of use to the economists and students of economics who wish to join issues and continue to argue till this expanding universe of ours stops doing so!

It is not the price-oriented measures alone that affect agricultural production. The authors group non-price measures into two categories.

"(a) Measures resulting in the improvement of structural and institutional Sectors; and

(b) technological measures resulting in higher productivity or reduction in unit cost of produc-

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tion" (p.8). Of course, as the authors themselves admit, favourable prices have always induced farmers to go in for more investments (in irrigation and other technological inputs) given the price incentives of Government. Having said this the authors go on to admit that "on the other hand, researches have shown that such factors as irrigation and high-yielding varieties which are proxy variables of technology, perhaps contribute more to expanded output than the relative change in price".

The authors devote enormous attention to the arguments weighing with the Commission for arriving at the detailed recommendation of prices of each and every commodity within its jurisdiction—a tremendous love of labour for which they need to be doubly congratulated.

They are very close to the truth when they assert the need for a viable long term policy (p. 371). They have brought out the importance of competitiveness of demand

(gur Vs. sugar in respect of cane) the fact of organised unions of manufacturers versus unorganized farm sector, their low availability of processing units, markets and credit institutions to help farmers and the need for a quick and efficient transport system.

This is only but a small morsel for those wishing to feast upon the knowledge in this book. The authors must be congratulated indeed on such a splendid effort.

The price (Rs. 150) is, however, on the high side, bound though it is in excellent manner, it costs about 29 paise per page. The jacket (in blue and yellow) is attractive though. All in all, the book will be a superb asset to personal and public libraries and students as well as teachers of the subject of *Agricultural Pricing in India*.

M. Gopalakrishnan, a member of the I.A.S., is Agricultural Production Commissioner to the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

juxtaposing what is private and inconsequential with what is of public import through a well-known technique:

"At the time Tiadi was busy writing letters in the Jamugoda Post Office, Karim and Sindhu were having a quiet smoke in the small restaurant of Kantha Padhi in a narrow dark lane of Calcutta. About that time again, Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru were having a four-hour discussion as to who should be included in the interim Government. Jinnah was at that time sitting in his Malabar Hill residence in Bombay with Jawaharlal's letter in his hand and was dictating a statement about the conduct of the Muslims of India two days hence, on the sixteenth of August."

But public events are subordinated to the personal and the emphasis throughout the volume remains on the personal, practical aspect of life, aptly summed up in the down-to-earth philosophy of a housewife in Gopinath Mohanty's "Two Heroes"—

... "Which history is giving food to your children today? Work hard, keep the family going or else that is the end. It hardly matters which language you speak: Tamil, Telugu, Oriya, Bengali or Punjabi. Dress as you like. But remember God, take shelter in Him and walk the path of righteousness. Then only you can live as man in this world..."

There are two stories that stand apart from the rest. "The Story a Dog" by Akhil Mohan Patnaik is a touching account of a once loved and pampered household pet into a savage, disease-ridden menace to society. Instead of pivoting around a human character, the story traces the rise to glory and the fall into ignominy of an animal. At the same time, the dog becomes a symbol of countless hounded and harried men who, after tasting momentary joy, spend the rest of their lives in wretched circumstances.

Krishna Prasad Mishra's "The

Voices from Oriya

J.P. Das, Editor

Oriya Short Stories—An Anthology

pp. xiv+117, *Vikas*, 1983, Rs. 75.00

J.P. Das

The Magic Deer and Other Short Stories

pp. 119, *Vikas*, 1983, Rs. 50.00

Reviewed by Manju Jaidka

Oriya Short Stories, translated into English by diverse hands, represents the major achievement in the field of Oriya fiction during the present century. Beginning with a story by Fakir Mohan Senapati, the acknowledged father of modern Oriya fiction who rose to fame with the publication of *Rebati* in 1898, this collection of sixteens stories ends with a contribution from Jagadish Mohanty who is barely thirty. The volume has a foreword by G. D. Khosla which appears (to me, at least) dispensable, and a useful introduction by the editor, tracing the rise and development of the Oriya short story.

The themes are varied, ranging from a humorous account of a man trying to dupe his domineering wife

in Senapati's "Patent Medicine", to the surrealist monologue of a character in conversation with God whom he murders eventually (!) as in Kanhailal Das's "Conspiracy for a Murder". Most of the stories concern themselves with simple, hard-working, rustic folk, toiling against wind, weather and landscape. They present a colourful panorama of Indian society and its people with all their hopes and aspirations, and depict the impact on them of changing social and political conditions.

Kalindi Charan Panigrahi's "Postscript" speaks of communal riots in Calcutta and the inability of a simple villager to understand the political mess in the country. The political and the personal merge as the writer collates disparate events,

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"Story of a Hippie" also deserves mention in spite of its unimaginative title. This is the only story located in a foreign land but this is not its only merit: attention here is focused on the Vietnam war, America's involvement in it and its impact on a sensitive individual. The outcome is a compelling story, powerful enough to make the reader shudder as it concludes with the self-immolation of a hippie to register a protest against the Vietnam war.

Since these stories are translations, it is obvious that in the process of being translated by other writers they must have undergone changes but the reader remains unaware of them as the tempo rarely slackens and the style remains spontaneous. Witness, for example, the following description of a river in flood from Surendra Mohanty's "The Stranger":

"This was no longer the familiar river whose flowing waters sang sensuous music as they curled around the ankles and waists of village maidens filling their graceful pitchers with water. This was

not the river on whose checks the setting sun shed a radiant glow and on whose breasts the mists of the night spread a blue coverlet. No, this was not such a river, the bestower of food, the sustainer of life and the giver of joy. This river was a hydraheaded monster of death and destruction, with angry and rolling tongues."

Comparatively limited in scope is *The Magic Dear and Other Stories* by J.P. Das, translated from Oriya into English by the author. J.P. Das confines his vision to the lower and the middle strata of Indian society even though his characters belong to different professions.

Conspicuous by its absence is a foreword or introduction or even a dedication by the author. J.P. Das makes no pretentious claims of placing revolutionary ideas before the world or of breaking unknown ground in the field of fiction. Neither do we get any information about the author apart from that supplied by the little blurb on the dust jacket. This reticence on the part of the

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author makes the reader, like Alice in Wonderland, "curiouser and curiouser" regarding the contents of the book.

The volume comprises fifteen well-behaved, simple stories woven around commonplace themes from everyday life. The main theme that the writer seems obsessed with is the failure of human beings to communicate with each other. Generally this severance of communication occurs on the marital front: more than half of these stories speak of the lack of understanding and sympathy between married people. It goes to the writer's credit that he successfully probes the psyche of not only men but also his women characters. But, through all the stresses and strains of personal relationships, through all trials and tribulations, what comes home to the reader is that life must continue and that the flow of life washes away whatever discord or unpleasantness comes its way.

There are socially relevant themes emphasized by the author: the problems of poverty, untouchability, dowry deaths, and the exploitation

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of illiterate masses by crafty politicians. "The Right to Live" differs from the rest of the lot in its theme and in its mode of narration. The monologue of one who has attempted suicide, it gives us a convincing peep into a mind gone awry under the burden of personal misfortune.

There is nothing unusual or bold about these stories but that which is

common-place becomes uncommon because the writer manages to seize a moment and perpetuate it in print in a manner that makes us exclaim—how true and yet how strange!

Manju Jaidka lectures in English at the MCM DAV College for Women, Chandigarh.

Sheer Anecdote

D.R. Manekkar

Leaves from a Reporter's Diary

pp. 475, Allied, 1983, Rs. 60 00

Reviewed by Mohinder Singh

In tune with his underlying design to be lively and humourous, Manekkar calls it *Sheer Anecdote*, itut with 456 closely packed pages b is some "anecdote"; interspersed with some self-patting and some self-clarifications. Writing at 70 and with a good deal of role-playing to credit, it is not easy to 'float' light. The first three parts of the book do skim and flash, replete with deft touches; the remaining two are sinkers. In fact, near the end, the account slips to a pedestrian level, insipidly detailing those interminable foreign trips and the doings at the Non-Aligned News Pool.

Manekkar is a distinguished reporter. He was one of the promising pioneers among Indians venturing into this new field and retained a leading position.

"At that early stage of my career, there was a touch of religious fervour about my determination to make good as a journalist, and my highest ambition was to see my by-line on a front-page lead story."

He displays the zest, the stamina and the resourcefulness required of the job, coupled with a balanced, well-informed mind, and a developed sense of humour. His forte is reporting and he nets many a success story.

His handling of the Shanta Apte (actress) episode is clever, while his coverage of the Americo-Japanese

transfer of internees at Goa is first-rate journalistic work.

"First, I was the last minute substitute in place of Reuter's star performer Allan Humphreys, who was being rushed from Cairo to India to cover the Goa event. Humphreys could not catch a plane for India from Cairo in time. Reuter, who had newly acquired clientele among the American perss, was out to prove to the Americans they could successfully compete with their American counterparts on latters' home ground on American stories. Now with no other European correspondent available at hand, they had to fall back upon deputing a native on the assignment and the choice fell on me. Thus, I was pressed into service at the last minute, without adequate preparation, psychological or otherwise.

I arrived in Marmugao, the harbour town of Goa, with much trepidation and diffidence. I had to compete with powerful American rivals. Preston Grower, chief correspondent of Associated Press of America, was himself there to report the American-angled story. John Morris, United press of America's general manager for the East, had descended on Marmugao, having chartered a plane to fly the story to Bombay to be

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cabled out home from that cable point.

I din not know a soul in Goa, a foreign and neutral territory, where British Indian citizens were under strict surveillance. They only hotel, some two miles away from Marmugao, was completely taken over by the American consulate and American correspondents.

So, I had to be content with a room in a third-rate Goan hotel called Lobo's Hotel, right on the wharf. That however proved another point of luck, as I was thereby positioned closest to the wharf where the two foreign ships with their precious human cargo were to be berthed, apart from the advantage that I was within a stone's throw from the local telegraph office.

On top of it, when on my very first day in Marmugao, I stumbled upon the right man to meet on my assignment, I knew I was in luck. Kamath was the local manager of the shipping agents who handled the Japanese shipping line that was bringing the American contingents of internees into Marmugao.

Loitering in the tiny harbour town looking at name boards of firms and shops, I came upon Killick Nixon, and entered the place to find an Indian manager looking after the firm for the duration of the war. I introduced myself to Kamath as correspondent of the Associated press of India and Reuter.

Kamath was curious to know what the hell I was doing in that sleepy town. When I explained to him my purpose of visit, he vouchsafed the information that he was the agent for the Japanese ship bringing the American internees.

My ears pricked. I diffidently asked whether he could let me have some information about the ship and its human cargo. Not being a very sophisticated

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man and ignorant of the ways of newspapermen, he readily offered to give me all the information he had in his possession. He pulled out of his table drawer a bunch of papers and handed them to me, saying the papers contained a detailed list of the American internees arriving on the Japanese ship.

Now, this was the very information that Americans were eagerly seeking on the eve of the arrival in Goa of their relatives interned for over two years in Shanghai. Nanking, Hongkong and other towns in the east."

"I filed this story running to two thousand words, giving all the information the readers in America were eager to get at, 72 hours before the arrival of the Japanese ship in Marmugao, with instructions that the story was to be released on receipt of my flash reporting the arrival of the Tia Maru in Marmugao."

Mankekar's life as an editor had its ups and downs. He has the feel for news and the managerial competence to match, but then, things here are so tricky. His anecdote about the news barons—Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia and the Goenkars, Bhagwan Das and Ram Nath—offer some of the looked for glimpses into that every world.

"Dalmia did frequently ring me up but only to demonstrate his goodwill and confidence in me and to seek my opinion on national and international political events and developments in which he was tremendously interested.

Soon these amiable exchanges over the phone became a daily morning ritual. As he lay on his back on a mattress, with two telephones on each side, their receivers dripping with oil, and four men massaged him, Sethji would ring up and discuss matters with his many executives in Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Patna and thus keep contact

with the working of his diverse enterprises.

With me he discussed only Politics, Indian and international. From the questions he put to me, I could see his obsessions were Nehru and, for some reason I could never fathom, Nasser of Egypt, in international affairs. He would put leading questions and seek answers from me to suit his viewpoint.

These morning telephonic tete-a-tete were, however, not an idle pastime. Sethji depended upon these discussions for clues to guide him in his day's speculative activities in the share, metals and commodity markets. For, immediately after he put down the receiver, he would dial his brokers in Bombay and Calcutta and give his day's instructions to buy or sell in the respective markets, according to his conclusions based upon his discussions with me."

One wishes Mankekar could have given us more insight into these editor-proprietor tumbles; an area which is alive with its rumblings and its surprises; its thrusts and its parries; its victors and its losers.

Later in his career, Mankekar took more to the writing of books. His journalistic style and his political know-how does throw up a certain readership, but he never materialises into any writer of substance. The literary back-up is wanting and there is really no distinctive message to convey. His best would remain in the realm of reporting and editing, a fair contribution to the growth of Indian journalism.

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"My own secret ambition from student days was to be a humorous writer. My favourite authors were Mark Twain, Jerome K. Jerome, W.W. Jacobs, and P.G. Wodehouse, and my journalistic model was A.G. Gardiner."

Sheer Anecdote is some sort of a sortie towards that fulfilment. Anecdotes are chosen for inclusion more on the strength of their comicalness. Again, persons like Homi Modi and Piloo Mody, who generated humour and wit, get an extended coverage. All in all, the book has numerous interesting anecdotes to offer and interesting persons to peep at. Mankekar must be witty company. However, to be a recognised writer of humour is different; that springs more from expertise in humourous narration than the incident narrated.

In the anxiety to whip up humour, the effect is, at times, rather forced, and there are a few flops. Here is an anecdote which, even if correct, more or less misfires :

"A classic example of Reuter's cables was a story sent out of Australia some years ago which read : "GOVERNOR QUEENSLAND TWINS FIRST SON." At the receiving end it was edited as, "LADY KENNEDY, WIFE OF THE GOVERNOR OF QUEENSLAND, HAS GIVEN BIRTH TO TWINS, THE ELDER BEING A SON."

The Governor, as a great many people informed Reuter the next day, was unmarried and well past 60 years of age. The Governor had been innocently doing

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his duty to the state. The last words in the telegram got mutilated and should have read: "TURNS THE FIRST SOD", and they referred to the Queensland Railway."

Manekkar mentions in the preface, ".....I am one of the four or five journalists still alive who

actually reported the historic events of transfer of power in New Delhi on 15th August, 1947." That period does come alive in his book. And notwithstanding the growing literature on that period, it is a welcome addition.

Mohinder Singh is Secretary to the Ministry of Rural Development.

Hard-headed and Refreshing

Jamal Nayan Kabra

The Black Economy in India : Problems and Policies
pp. x + 189, Chanakya Publications, 1982, Rs. 80.00

Reviewed by Devendra K. Choudhry

Nearly everybody lies about money-to his family, his friends, the tax man, or himself; nobody really believes-apart from sadhus, monks, evolutionaries and other professional altruists-that he gets enough fit, or that other people (at the top or the bottom of the social scale) deserve what *they* get; the distribution and taxation and spending of it at the heart of everyday politics; for most people it remains not only a prime magnet of hypocrisy and humbug-but a major enigma whose mysteries are deepened by the ant of economists and politicians, the half-truths of misunderstood ecology, and the lingering semantic jumble of a moral vocabulary which is outlived its social context.

Black mony has long remained the dirtiest word in economic terminology. But it has also been one of the great constant factors in contemporary economic history. Therefore, there is a long way to go before economic justice could be seen to be done, before, indeed, there is agreement about what it means. There is something richly satisfying about condemning a phenomenon one has always lived with and probably will always live with politicians and pundits belabouring black money the elderly blimps deplored the morals of the young, are often only providing their souls with bad, healthy exercise, and achieving nothing more.

The earth tremors of a coming shake in political finance should

have been apparent to political observers that the objectives we seek to attain through economic Plans is the establishment of a prosperous society of the free and the equal and our plans are the vehicles of attaining this objective. But on the whole, political economy ignored the early warnings and so was caught unprepared for events which have transformed the face of Indian economy. Scholars have done little to shape these developments and only slightly more to explain them. Tumultuous national events involving black money have brought forward some scholars to study black economy and its consequences. Because black money does not only finance the parallel economy but it has become an inextricable part of the economy itself. One can perceive its magnitude when one hears that a flat in Bombay was sold for Rs. 90 lakhs or there are dozens of operators who would offer you foreign funds abroad, but they would not do business in less than one million dollars. So the unit of black money operation is rupees one crore. "To much surprise," noted a leading business journal "some diamond merchants who had only 40,000 to 50,000 rupees five years ago, each of them today is worth rupees 5 crore and they do not know what to do with the money".

Let us have a pece into the operations of the black money barons; while operating as money-

lenders with the unaccounted (or black) money they charge at least 30 percent interest a year and they give that amount only for three months. The most astonishing part in their lending money is that these 'black kings' will take in advance the amount of interest. For instance, if he gives one lakh rupees, he will take in advance 7,500 rupees, by way of interest and give only 92,500 rupees. The man who takes 92,500 rupees will be required to pay in cash at the end of three months rupees one lakh. The moneylender earns about 35 to 40 percent interest per year. Regarding business, as to how they keep their money, it may be said that they do not keep money in cash. Instead they keep black money in the form of commodities (e.g., cloth, wheat, oilseed, sugar, etc). That is why when the income tax department raids their houses for suspected black money they hardly collect any money. They hoard these commodities in which they deal; for example, those who deal in diamonds will keep diamonds, if they are bullion merchants, they will hoard gold and if they are cloth merchants they will hoard textile and so on.

QUESTION OF PUBLIC POLICY

Thus there is too much big money and too much special interest money that the black kings have such long financial leads that effective competition and thus official accountability is thwarted. Can we afford to leave the distribution of the national wealth outside a framework of law any longer? Of course not. "In fact, what is needed", according to the author, "is the study of the question of public policy and social intervention...to be viewed in the context of the social framework or the system in which they arise and operate" (p. vi)...(because) what is popularly known as black money and technically defined as black incomes and related savings and wealth categories, have not been systematically analysed to indicate that a relatively autonomous and self-propelling black economy has come into existence (and thus) has become an

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essential component of the economy and neither the overall economy nor the black sector can be adequately understood in isolation from each other" (preface). K. N Kabra's work under review, though "... suffers from some disadvantages on being a relatively early work in this area", putting it in to the author's words, has systematically analysed" this vitally significant" phenomenon in its totality by relating the phenomenon of black money to the entire network of social processes and relations.

Black money/market is not just the loophole, nor just the secret doorway we surreptitiously cut in the wall. The black market/money is both the loophole and the wall itself. At first sight, the market appears to lead a marginal existence and to play a subordinate role in the plan economy. But no! A closer examination shows that black money/market is the very base of the Indian economy (result of capitalistic democratic system evolved in the last 36 years), the foundation on which the planned economic structure rests. The black market is the capitalist mechanism of power and exploitation, the very essence of our socio-economic system, more obviously so after 1947. The money and commodities which circulate in it support the existing political and social order. How exactly, do they support it? In what direction is economy and society heading? We will not understand this unless we understand the black economy itself, unless its technology is made clear, unless its problems and policies are understood from a present day perspective. And Kabra's thesis is a bold attempt in this direction the *Black Economy* is the "exposition of the black character in its myriad relation with the formal economy".

Once in a while, a book comes along that either breaks new records or makes important contributions to scholarship. The work under review succeeds in doing both: it is the first serious case study of a major contemporary economic phenomenon of black money and it adds considerably to our knowledge through an in-depth examination of

Indian economic policies in action, which may have wide implications for the future. At a time when many political economists in India are still recovering from the embarrassment of setting their earlier vaunted works rendered inoperative by the current candour in India, this hard-headed study provides a timely and refreshing change.

ANTI-DEVBLOPMENT

What is sought to be suggested in the *Black Economy in India* is that; "what is popularly known as 'black money' has now become a pervasive, systematic feature of India's political economy". Accepting this, Kabra "explores the empirical, conceptual, theoretical and public policies (and) issues concerning the emergence, growth and proliferation of (unaccountable or) black money". The blurb says that the book is a "...systematic exposition of the character of the black economy and its *modus operandi*..." In the process "the work analyses the deleterious consequences of the operation of the black economy in India's developmental plans, and the country's pursuit of self-reliance and equalitarianism." The work also "...explores the generally accepted myth that state control and high taxation have led to the creation of the black economy in India."

Though Kabra's approach has been "...that of a political economist", he attempts to analyse this phenomenon (of black money) in all its significant aspects, particularly, as it relates to tax laws, public administration, political processes and to an extent, also as it relates to social values". This thesis reveals Kabra's major concern: "I say to an extent with respect to social values because I have not given any quarter to those views which tend to justify the pursuit of private profit to whatever extent one's opportunities and constraints enable one to obtain it. There are views which are steeped in such a total acceptance of the individual motivation that the phenomenon of the black economy is largely regarded as a natural and legitimate defensive action against the encroachment made by public authori-

ties". Kabra's presumption in this matter is "to treat the nature and extent of public intervention as no less legitimate and regard it in the context of the degree of societal ness operating in the social processes and the nature, character and objectives of social intervention in relation to the problems to which the public policy is a response" (p. vi).

"What essentially is the problem of unaccounted money or black money? The question cannot be answered easily. Kabra gives an answer that: "On account of a large number of factors, income tax and some other taxes are not paid in correct amounts on the whole or part of incomes and on other economic transactions and assets by individuals, businesses and corporations. As a result, the part of incomes, activities, assets, etc., on which taxes are not paid becomes unaccounted in the eyes of the law" (p. 5).

In his attempt to analyse disputed problems of economic life and to understand them from a present-day perspective, Kabra's formulation of the problem finds that "...the operation of the black economy is (pernicious), there is nothing illegitimate or wishful about the basic objectives of subjecting individual freedom to the kinds of social controls which the Indian constitutional, political and legal systems attempt. "Given the fact", believes Kabra that, "the legal framework with respect to these areas of decision making is presently incapable of being faithfully implemented, does not *ipso facto*, lend an iota of legitimacy to the continued and ever-expanding field of operation of the black economy" (p. vii).

The choice of the epithet 'black' is not only on account of the wide currency which the term already enjoys; the term also conveys disapproval. However, discussion of the operation and consequences of the black money suggests that it is a means (sic) to reconcile some of the apparent oddities and contradictions inherent in a highly differentiated and oligopolistic economic structure with a parliamentary, adult franchised based political democracy" (p. 156). Does this statement not mean that the, ruling structure

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presides over the black market less as an impersonal monitoring agency than as a trading partner with vital interests at stake? Who enjoys greater privileges under black market conditions? No one but the professional politicians of all shapes and sizes, the party management, representing in one, but having all the fulness of power in the land. This has made the Indian development experience greatly derive from, and contribute significantly, to the phenomenon of black economy making growth anti-development and bringing about a worrisome degree of lumpenisation of the system.

CONSEQUENCES

Thinks like black-marketing, corruption, indifferent work, tax-evasion, short-weight, sub-standard specifications, etc., are often tolerated not, indeed, as virtuous, but as natural and almost permissible. To that extent, sharp practice, far from being put down as crime, tends to be at least tacitly accepted as professional finesse. During periods of strong and just rule, during periods when all sections of the community had ample opportunities of self-improvement, and when therefore, a strong public opinion could be marshalled behind the pure version of social virtue, these evils have been successfully checked. Indian planning, as a part of democratic nation-building, has therefore to attempt consciously to hold the individual's 'profit-making' desire in check, and to train it in socially beneficent channels. The current gap in economic ethic is not so much on the individual as on the social plan.

This reviewer can not convey the sense of the book's contents in shorter or fairer compass than by quoting its chapter titles: Chapter 1, Introduction; Chapter 2, An Exposition of the Character of the Black Economy; Chapter 3, The Black Economy: Its Consequences; Chapter 4, Public Policy Response to Black Economy: A Review; Chapter 5, The Problem of Controlling Black Economy: Constraints and Possibilities: Chapter 6, Policy Framework: Myths Concerning

Controls and High Rate Taxes; Chapter 7, High Rates of Income Tax and Tax Evasion: Empirical Analysis; Chapter 8, Unearthing Black Incomes and Wealth; Chapter 9, Dealing with Black Real Estates: Effective Remedies; Chapter 10, Miscellany of Measures; Chapter 11, Long Term perspectives: Issues for current Mobilization; Chapter 12, Summary and Conclusions.

As the chapter headings imply all of latest and most popular concepts are used—especially those which unite the economists and the political scientists. Read in this light, as it is, the book is rich and suggestive of some general impressions conveyed in it. The author (a Professor of Economics in the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, and also the Coordinator in Public Enterprise Division of the IIPA) has focused on an interesting and important problem of modern politics and economics, and he writes in a literate manner free from unnecessary professional jargon despite his avowed commitment to a professional economist stance. In order to explore the character and genesis of black incomes on the bases of quantitative estimates, the author arrives at estimates of income tax evasion. Kabra believes that... "it is these evasions which generate simple black incomes which provides the basic wherewithal for the operation of the black economy" (p. v.). At the same time, however, one cannot help but wonder whether Kabra's commendable stylistic facility does not conceal or gloss over complexities of substance that makes for a more cursory presentation than either the author intended or than the topic warrants. And while one must surely be impressed by the author's erudition and familiarity with the salient issues in the field of political economic studies, his impressionistic treatment of them will be more stimulating and useful for the reader well versed in the relevant concepts and problems than for the novice.

In the opinion of this reviewer, in fact this is the only book available on subject of black economy. This reviewer also agrees with the author's statement that: "The phenomenon of the black economy has received scant attention of

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social scientists in a serious and systematic manner" (and) that a survey of the bibliographical literature (pp. 175-85) leaves one in little doubt that the problem of black incomes and economy is at a very embryonic (sic) state of study and analysis" (pp. 150-51). In fact, publishers and reviewers alike are faced with a dilemma in dealing with a book like this. For both, the central issue is whether the value of scarce and necessarily sketchy information on a topic of limited interest is sufficient to justify publication. In this case, the publisher obviously thought that it was, but the decision was hedged by attaching an unreasonably high price tag, apparently in hopes of recouping costs from sales to libraries. This reviewer would concur in the publication decision, with the qualification that better editing would probably have both improved the book and lowered its production costs.

This reviewer, would, however, like to point at the printing errors which are too numerous to be mentioned here. A little more diligence would have avoided all such mistakes. Methodologically speaking, bibliographical entries almost all) are incorrect as well as incomplete. While recording entries it is absolutely necessary to verify physically all the bibliographical details of the documents. It is not clear whether this has been done. Had it been done, mistakes could not have occurred. However, while it is easy to find documentary and bibliographical flaws in this study, the fact remains that it does provide information of a type that is both scarce and difficult to come by. Yes, one thing more about the jacket, it is really quite impressive in its get up but, though it is black, it has to be, one finds the hundred rupees notes absent, the denomination in which normally black money is kept. The reviewer thus gets the impression that he has been blackmailed.

Devendra K. Choudhry teacher
Economics at Kurukshetra University,

The Philosophy and Economics of Villageism

Kumar Lal, Editor

Agricole Publishing Academy, D-76, Panchsheel Enclave New Delhi,
11001, Rs. 70.00 \$ 14

Reviewed by J. D. Sethi

This slim volume is a collection of papers presented at a seminar held at the University of Jodhpur under the auspices of the Department of Sociology. The subject was clear: Gandhi and the village. It is the title of the book. It was expected that papers would analytically deal with crucial aspects of Gandhian concepts, philosophy, politics and the functions assigned "the village". After all, Gram Swaraj of Village Republic were of Gandhi's central themes. The authors were sympathetic to Gandhi's views but when they started putting their views on paper they proved really inadequate for the task. That is how Gandhi's views often get distorted from good intentions to bad homework. Contrary to the apparent simplicity and specificity of the subject, it is in reality very difficult and complex.

That is also why most papers are disappointing. Each one of the writers has gone in his own way without bothering to get a focus on specific aspect of the subject. The only one who has tried to give serious thought and attempted some conceptualisation of the idea of Gandhi's village is T.K. Oommen. It is quite depressing to find that other writers have not bothered to put in enough effort into their papers. The contribution of Indira Thiermund gives a fascinating account of the Aundh Model which Raja of Pratapgarh tried to put into practice despite opposition from the British. But this paper has little to do with Gandhi's idea of the village or the Gram Swaraj.

There was one and only one colleague of Gandhi who correctly understood his idea of a village and whose writings for very strange reasons, have been totally neglected. His name, was J.C. Kumarappa. It

is therefore not surprising that this volume does not mention him except once. Just because he clashed with Nehru and denounced him for betraying Gandhi that the Sarkari historians of the Right and the Left would not take notice of him.

SELF-CONTAINED

To sharpen the focus on the subject, Kummarappa coined the word *Villagesim* thereby giving it a self-contained definition, philosophy and role. *Villageism* is a concept, is a system, is a movement, and is a praxis. It has all the four dimensions which Gandhi insisted upon when using a concept be it economic, political, social or moral.

As a part of his general philosophy of national independence, social emancipation, non-alienation and freedom, Gandhi talked of Gram Swaraj. It was probably this phrase that Kumarappa translated into English language as *Villageism*. I suspect Kumarappa wanted to give ideological sharpness to the idea of Gram Swaraj and for that purpose coined the word *Villageism*. By doing so he also gave it the dimension of a dynamic movement that gets dialectically interlocked with its opposite "urbanism". There is no point in indulging in too many semantics but it is worth mentioning that whether one uses the phrase Gram Swaraj or *Villageism*. It is absolutely central to building a Gandhian model of polity and economy.

Briefly, and more precisely, village is the most basic institutional unit of analysis for the Gandhian political and economic systems and is common to both. In fact it is at the level of this basic unit that the distinction between economics and politics disappears; the two funda-

mental principles of economics and politics get merged here. In a Gandhian polity what I have called a system of *Parallel Polities of Representative and Participatory Political Institutions*—the village represents and most important institution of Participatory Democracy as distinguished from all other institution of Representative Democracy. On the economic plane, for translating the Gandhian principle of having production by masses against mass production, the village constitutes a direct economic community.

NO AGRARIAN PRIMITIVISM

At this stage it is necessary to remove some misrepresentations and distortions about Gandhi's ideas both about the village and about his economics. Since Gandhi spoke a lot about village and rural values, it led many to call him a votary of *agrarian primitivism*. This is totally absurd. Both technology and economy were value-determined and not the other way round.

More specifically, Gandhi's idea of a village was not a mere conglomeration of a few huts and a few hundred or a few thousand people huddled together with inadequate infrastructural facilities or a small society ridden by direct exploitation, social and caste conflicts etc. All this indeed is anti-thetical to basic Gandhian tenets. Gandhi's village was not a technologically or culturally backward social unit. The choice of technology in the village was subject to various Gandhian conceptual constraints. Therefore, it would be totally absurd to say that Gandhi preferred low productivity. Gandhi himself said, "The villagers should develop such a high degree of skill that articles prepared by them should command a ready market outside. When our villages are fully developed there will be no dearth in them of men with high degree of skill and artistic talent."¹ (Nehru's Autobiography).

The Indian village has changed in many respects over the last century. For too long it had ceased to be a model of healthy progressive social grouping. Some of Gandhi's contemporaries mistook him as if he

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was eulogising something which had to be frowned upon. He repeatedly dispelled this impression by pointing out the ugliness of these existing villages. He said, "Instead of having graceful hamlets dotting the land, we have dung heaps. The approach to many villages is not a refreshing experience. Often one would like to shut one's eyes and stuff one's nose; such is the surrounding dirt and offending smell." (Ibid) What he was proposing was quite the opposite and even idealistic.

Whether the village of Gandhi's historical perception ever existed in Indian history or not is irrelevant, it is for the historians to tell. He believed that it did exist. Many Britishers also who came to this country and studied Indian history pieced together from historical evidences an ideal picture of an Indian village in ancient India or even medieval period. As late as 1820 the British Governor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, described an Indian village as follows: 'The village communities are little republics having nearly everything they want within themselves; and almost independent of foreign relations. They seemed to last where nothing else lasts. This union of village communities each one forming a separate little state in itself...is in high degree conducive to their happiness, and the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence.' D. Ramachandran Potti, Gandhiji and Village, P. 48 in his paper on *Gandhi and the Village*.

We do not have to go by what the British said. We have a picture of the Indian villages as drawn by Professor Needham whose credentials are impeccable. The most distinguishing characteristic of the Indian village was the absence of slavery, something which was unique to India. Every other village society in the world was based on slavery. "It was a society which was fundamentally sound in a learned way the seats of power being filled by scholars not military commanders. Central authority relied a great deal upon the automatic functioning of the village communities with minimum interference." (Ibid). Confusion sometimes arises because Gandhi was not always very careful in drawing distinction between what he felt was

the minimum need and what was the ideal. Since for him ends and means were reversible or rather were the two sides of the same process, he let the distinction between the minimum and the ideal also get blurred but this is no reason why we should not make that distinction clear while conceptualising on Gandhi's ideas.

SEVERAL DIMENSIONS

What does villageism or Gandhian concept of Gram Swaraj mean? As mentioned earlier, the concept has several dimensions. Therefore, one has to elaborate upon each of them separately and then integrate them. Let me first of all recount what Gandhi thought, believed and argued about his concept of a village. First of all, next to family, village is the next higher unit for full-fledged socio-economic arrangement or formation. The question is how small is small? It is not very helpful to say that small is beautiful nor is it possible to give an abstract definition of the small. The degree of smallness or largeness of a unit is contingent upon the satisfaction of some other objectives, values and premises.

Politically a village has to be small enough in order to permit everyone to participate directly in the decision making process. It is the basic institution of participatory democracy. But if most of the decisions are made by those for whom the decisions are meant for, then the size of the political unit is automatically established in relation to those decisions and concomitant functions. Of course the size will keep changing as technology, new demands and problems arise. For instance, if communications are fast, more than one, i.e. group of villages may become the basic political unit. But there will be some upper limit.

On the economic side, given the art of production and the relevant technology which can optimise the use of local resources, the size of a village is an economic unit will be determined by the application of the principle of bread-labour self-sufficiency in the satisfaction of the basic needs and production by masses organised on the generalised cooperative principle. Gandhi said, "In the final analysis,

the unit of society should be a village or call it a manageable small group of people who would in the ideal, be self-sufficient (in the matter of their vital requirements) as a unit and bound together in bonds of mutual cooperation and inter-dependence." (Quoted by T.K. Ooman)

This is not the place to discuss the structure of a village economy but since we are speaking about a dynamic balance between individual and collectivity, it is desirable to mention the nature of the economic organisation at least in the crucial area of ownership and cultivation of land. People have often criticised Gandhi for not clearly stating his views on land. To some extent it is true that in the early period he was more interested in bringing everyone under his umbrella and played down conflicts. As time passed, he realised that the Congress Party had to be radicalised if freedom was to be meaningful. He wrote, "I firmly believe too that we shall not derive the full benefits of agriculture until we take to cooperative farming. Does it not stand to reason that it is far better for a hundred families in the village to cultivate their lands collectively and divide the income therefrom than to divide the land any way into a hundred portions? And what applied to land applies to cattle." R.K. Kaul, Gandhi and the Village, in *Gandhi & Village*, p. 84.

The village will be by definition self-reliant and self-sufficient. However, such words as self-sufficiency and self-reliance are often used loosely. Therefore, one has to be precise about the words used because it is crucial to the analysis of the concept. Gandhi distinguished between two words, 'self-contained' and 'self-sufficient'. The two are not coterminous. When a unit is self-contained it enters into very little contact with others. But a self-sufficient unit is not so. It may be self-sufficient in the production of goods in which its capacities and resource endowments permit but no village can be self-contained because that will mean imposing isolation on a group. Gandhi clearly stated, "Let us not forget that it is man's social nature which distinguishes him from the brute creation. If it is his privilege to be independent it is

equally his duty to be interdependent... It will be possible to reconstruct our village so that collectively, not villagers individually, will become self contained." Quoted by T.K. Oomen, In other words self-containment is limited to inter-personal relations.

Therefore, although a village will be a very small unit, it is not so by definition or without criteria. The size is subject to political and economic constraints because the idea of self-sufficiency should not lead to the idea of village isolation. It is also subject to value constraints. It so happens that value constraints may push it in the direction of smallness, but the economies of scale may push it in the opposite direction. But the right balance can be struck.

USE OF TECHNOLOGY

It is necessary at this stage to clarify the limits of the use of technology in a village. Gandhi stated, "there would be no objection to villagers using even the most modern machines and tools they can make and can afford to use." (Ibid) It is true that the contrast is necessary between *villageism* and *industrialism*. The word industrialism should not be equated with industrialisation. Industrialism is a culture, the culture of unlimited technology, unlimited expansion, unlimited organisation and above all of expanding alienation. By and large, Gandhi believed that a healthy society can use a full spectrum of technologies from the most sophisticated to the most primitive if it satisfies certain principles such as the nonviolent character of production, absence of exploitation, non-alienation and above all if it ensures that technology remains servant and does not become a master of men.

There are other constraints which Gandhi suggested into which we need not go here. But the essential principles are: full employment, comfortable living and satisfaction of cultural wants (Gandhi had stated, "it is man's cultural wants, a subject of tremendous philosophic and economic significance which is seldom even mentioned). In other words the

technology of the village has to satisfy the principle of not only economics but social and cultural requirements as well. "When our villages are fully developed there will be no dearth in them of men with high degree of skill and artistic talent. There will be village poets, village artists, village architects, linguists and research workers. In short, there will be nothing in life worth having which will not be had in villages". Nehru (Jawaharlal) Selected Works Vol. 4, Orient Longman, New Delhi, p.16.

The important aspect of the Gandhian approach is that he argued from the angle opposite to what the modern economists generally do. Although he was searching for a macro economic and social system, which would be nonviolent, he insisted that it is impossible to have such a system without starting first with the village as an "economic system" which ensured nonviolent occupations, absence of exploitation, and so on. It is here that the importance of production by the masses instead of mass production comes in. When a small group of people are producing goods largely for themselves or others, their consciousness about non-exploitation or nonviolence gets sharpened. Gandhi said, "A nonviolent occupation is...that occupation which is fundamentally free from violence and which involves no exploitation or envy of others... When a man is content to own only so much land as he can till with his own labour, he cannot exploit others. Handicrafts exclude exploitation and slavery." (Tendulkar D G) Mahatama, Vol. 3, 1969, Publications Division, New Delhi p. 104).

BREAD LABOUR

Bread labour is one of the most central and yet the most neglected concept introduced by Gandhi. Elsewhere I have given an elaborate analysis of this concept. Briefly it means that every body must perform a certain amount of physical labour so that the alienation that is created by the double conflict between a specialist and a generalist as also between intellectual and manual labour disappears.

The crucial problem is how

much of bread-labour? This can be best illustrated in the context of the village more easily because of the self-sufficiency principle of its organisation. It means that given the art of production and feasible technologies, every one must undertake that much physical work to that extent which results in the production of his basic needs such as food, clothing shelter etc. The problem can be easily identified and the objective achieved in a small society. And that is what makes the village a very important ethical-economic unit. Gandhi said, "Return to the villages means a definite, voluntary recognition of the duty of the bread-labour and all it connotes." Gopal (S) Op cit. p.158.

Marx also promised that under Communism distinction as between the intellectual and the manual labour, between the urban and the rural society and between the specialist and the non-specialist would disappear. Of course, Communist nations have gone the other way but the need to eliminate these distinctions in order to remove alienation cannot be denied.

If Socialism and Communism in the East European countries has violently contradicted and flouted the Marxian prognosis, the ideal cannot be given up. The reason is that Marx did not realise the contradiction between his technoeconomic system on the one hand the political and moral needs on the other. That is why new kinds of disparities in the Soviet Union are emerging and gripping that society. Villageism is the ideology which breaks down all the aforementioned distinctions.

MINIMISING SOCIAL CONSTRAINTS

All that has been said above leads us to an extraordinary direction. If the economic and political systems are what *villageism* produces then we come to an astonishingly pleasant conclusion that in this kind of society alone individual freedom is maximised under minimum social constraints. I have also to quote here a much quoted statement of Gandhi in order to make the point how the organisation of the village

September 16, 1983

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLES

as a political and economic unit is linked with the problem of maximising human freedom as well as fulfilling human obligation. "In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever widening, never ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle, whose centre will be the individual, always ready to perish for the village, and the latter ready to perish for a circle of villages." Bose (N.K.), Selection from Gandhi, 1972, Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad p. 91.

Since Gandhi believed in collective responsibility as much as in freedom, he was obliged to provide the framework of a unit which satisfied both. In that framework fundamental human rights were accompanied with corresponding human duties which an individual had to perform through some collectivity or the other. Few seemed to have bothered to note what Gandhi had said about the need for having an intense life and that the search for a unit which can guarantee that intensity of human life is the essence of human Struggle. And it is for this reason that Gandhi insisted that if one was looking for a place, an occupation, a social grouping for living an intense cultural or any other life, the village has the proper unit. He said, "The experience of mankind testifies to the fact that collective life is more genial, varied and fruitful when it is concentrated in small units and simpler organisations. It is only the small units that have the most intensive life. Collective life diffusing itself in vast areas would be wanting in cohesiveness and productiveness." D. Ramachandran Potti, Gandhi and The Village in Gandhi and Village p. 51.

This intensity was not a prerogative of the intellectual but that of everyone, and this is where Kumarappa raised the whole question of the village to the level not merely of a place guaranteeing noble occupations but a system which broke down all distinctions and inequalities. "Every occupation however humble was considered hallowed and thus raised from being mere humdrum routine existence

to the level of something noble and divine. A shoemaker has to make his shoes with as much a sense of religious mission as a priest when he offers prayers for the people. Work, however, commonplace, not being done merely for the sake of private gain but also for the need of the community could be elevated to the rank of worship. The economic order was not separated as today from the moral and religious order, under the plea of business being business, making business a matter of unjust exaction and plunder and religion a futile code of beliefs and rituals. Both religion and economic enterprise were regarded in the end as one and indivisible, for after all they were but aspects in the life of one and the same human being. The production of wealth was thus sanctified by a religious purpose, to contribute to the well-being of the community." Ibid. p. 52-53.

STRIKING A MEAN

Most significantly, the Gandhian concept of the village is the only valid example of the resolution of the inherent tension between individual values and social values. This is the most basic and enduring and yet unresolved problem in political philosophy. Individual values such as freedom and personal morality are universally recognised and Gandhi places the highest value on them. In fact he defines freedom as self-rule. But he also emphasises upon man's social obligations and objectives and said that "unrestricted individualism is the law of the beast. We have to strike the mean between individual freedom and social restraint." Harijan 27 May 1943. The problem is not merely practical in the sense of more accommodation of the extremes. For Gandhi it was also a moral problem and an endemic one to human condition. Hegel tried to find solution to the problem through his "principle of transcendence" which ultimately provided justification of the individual totally subjecting himself to the state. Ironically, Hegel's solution became the philosophy of the Right which with Marx and Lenin also became the philosophy of the

Left.

Village is the one institution in which the distance between human freedom and social obligation becomes the narrowest. In it, "the individual" emerges as Gandhi said "as an architect of his own government" in which "people are the roots and the state is the fruit". Young India 2 Feb. 1928.

Last though not the least, to Gandhi self-sufficiency of a political unit was also needed for establishing a strong base for tackling a situation which required conducting non-cooperation or Satyagraha. In meaning if it did not have built into its structure its essential praxis, the greater the degree of economic self-reliance of a political unit, the more lasting will be its capacity to struggle for its rights, for values and for non-violent behaviour. The institutions of self-sufficient political unit will give training, impart education, provide sustenance and work and above all create consciousness about the need to resist injustice, oppression and aggression. A small unit may be suppressed by force by a big unit but if the spirit of non-cooperation is fully developed and values strongly held, the victory of the victim will be totally empty. As inevitable when there are many such units struggling together, the victor may be defeated and defeated far more effectively in his victory.

The volume under review should have tackled these and other related issues in order to justify its title. But it has not. This long review intended to warn authors that it is not easy to tackle Gandhian concepts in the ordinary way. In fact every Gandhian idea has to be analysed within the context of his total conceptual framework.

J. D. Sethi, formerly a member of the Planning Commission, is a author of *Gandhi Today*.

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FIVE STORMY YEARS

Savarkar in London 1906-1911

by Harindra Srivastava

There is surely something extremely fascinating, inspiring and even romantic about the life and deeds of Veer Savarkar or SWATANTRAYVEER VINAYAK DAMODAR SAVARKAR. Even the overfertile fancy of a fiction writer cannot fabricate a more fantastic fable than the unadorned truth of Savarkar's life, as he actually lived it.

The 5 eventful years (June 1906-1911) which Savarkar spent in the proverbial 'Two Cities' of London and Paris and Indian Jails make an epoch which has not yet been subjected to close historical investigation. The book is an attempt, and perhaps the first of its kind, to give an incisive account of Savarkar's turbulent career in England and France.

It was during these years that Savarkar (then only in his middle 20s) founded the 'Free Indian Society' which almost every young Indian in England joined; wrote a fiery biography of Mazzini whose 25 pages of introduction the people learnt by heart; wrote another pamphlet O' MARTYRS on the Golden Jubilee of 1857 uprising which made even the Britishers wonder why 'with such words on, the paper did not burn to ashes'; his book THE INDIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE alias VOLCANO, through banned before completion, broke all sale records and was not available for even three hundred rupees; that his 'Epic Leap for Liberty' at the Marseilles stirred the whole world; his Trial at the Hague Court shattered all norms of Liberty, and made the Prime Minister resign, and whose 2 life term award of 50 years (unprecedented in the political history of the world) was universally condemned.

To accomplish the enormous task, the author took up extensive tours of Maharashtra, Andamans, England and other European countries. This has surely brought forth some startling revelations on a man who was, as his first biographer Chitragupta (Chakravarti Rajagopalachari) put it "...a prince among patriots, a Burke among politicians, a Machiavelli among diplomats, a genius among writers, a beauideal of revolutionaries, a paragon of reformers and a happy warrior who knew no defeat, showed no regrets and made no compromise."

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GUJARAT ECONOMY: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

(Monograph Series 10)

Edited by D.T. Lakdawala

This book is the outcome of a seminar on "The Development of Gujarat : Problems and Prospects," held at the Sardar Patel Institute of Economic and Social Research in August, 1981.

Gujarat is one of the four most developed states of India in terms of per capita income. It is ranked second in terms of industrial development and is highly urbanised. Its industrial centres are well distributed. During the two decades of its existence as a State, it has earned high reputation for its well-conceived policy initiatives and its level of administration. The people of Gujarat are enterprising and its professionals have revealed a high degree of scientific and technological competence. Above all, the various groups have a capacity to co-operate with one another to a common end. Through its 31 selected papers the volume attempts to give an account of the development of Gujarat since 1960 in different fields, the various problems it faces, and the possible ways of tackling them. A number of wide-ranging topics like Growth and Stability, Employment, Caste and Class, Agriculture, Industrial Structure and Industrial Relations and Social Services are dealt with.

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An Exercise in Verbiage

This aspiring book falls short of its aspirations. The jacket blurb claims it to be "a useful blend of theory and practice", unlike most environmental economics books which either "employ complex mathematical models or resort to a recital of case studies". In new sciences, especially, it is not easy to mix theoretical modelling and sensible, practical, readable writing. The author confesses : "Being impressionable, I like a bit of both, and I like to write the monograph in a way which reflects this".

He has tried but not quite made it in a way which gets across to the average bureaucrat, who is hardly aware he is an environmental planner; and usually looks upon himself as one with a statutory right to raise resources infinitely from finite sources, and complete expenditures according to budget by the last day of the financial year. The more so, if the reader is the "shrewd bureaucrat" the author wishes to address. Nor does that shrewd bureaucrat in 99 percent of cases have the faintest idea of an ecosystem and ecological concepts of carrying capacity and sustainable productivity. Nor, for that matter, do the same percentage of economists.

THE MISSING LINK

No, Sir, till you acquire the insights, knowledge, and writing skills to sit astride two disciplines, it is wiser to collaborate with the other. This book needed the collaboration of an ecologist, with general practical experiences of environmental sciences, and their desperate prospects in the real world where rough men rule. In that real world where big political and money power as behind every major environmental issue, from nuclear arms to Himalayan forestry; the only hopeful magistrate is a strong public opinion; —that which those rough men recognise as the reality behind the ballot box in democratic societies. Yet, by the author's own objectives, the politician and the educated public are not meant to be addressed by this book.

At best, the book may be a useful introduction of environmental economics to a member of the same tribe, namely, an economist. It is amazing that a book on this subject dealing with control on resources in an environment, should make no mention of some basic ecological principles by which natural resources are governed; eg.

—the "carrying capacities" of eco-systems, with all their constraints and opportunities, social systems and technologies; (this itself calls for modelling);

—the "food-chain" and its impact on resources, as a channel for the flow of energy in a biotic community.

Instead, we have an economist's treatment with an economist's jargon—"unidirectional externalities" et al;—and the over-simplifications of phenomena and problems, which are as remote from the decision-making situations of the real world, as the average economist can make them by two typical devices. First, to assume, "if everything else is equal, then,—!" Second, "excluding other variables, then—!" How, then, do we tackle that "interdependent web" which is at the heart of environmental science and real life ?

*Partha Dasgupta, *The Control of Resources*, pp. 219, Oxford University Press, 1983 Rs. 85.00
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October 1, 1983

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INDIA

NAIVE

A classic example of naive unreality is in the chapter on Environmental Control under Uncertainty. Das Gupta begins with assumptions of welfare economics, and then proceeds to assume that a government should take rational decisions, on the basis of the most informed opinions and data. "I shall assume that the government follows statistical decision theory and ranks options on the basis of then expected net social benefits." Who, other than the author, has ever known this to happen in the real world, and especially in the environmental management of natural resources? And what "rationality" has been evolved to blend purely economic cost/benefits with environmental impact studies? Surely, the author knows of the irrational, short-sighted vandalism of governments and business in the tropical forests in Brazil, and with both tropical and temperate forests in the Himalayas. Surely, he has heard of the irrational calculus of Himalayan dam builders, grossly under estimating siltation rates and reducing the life of the dams, by ignoring the catchment areas above the dams; not to speak of the displacement of poor people from inundated areas, and government's arbitrary disposal of a real human problem with a pittance of a monetary compensation. And who are the worst polluters in the capital city of Delhi, but the public sector transport and electricity systems.

Governments have not been, nor can be rational regulators of natural resources; if they are also its beneficiaries; if they are also impact makers on the environment, as they are all over the world.

Economists rejoice in jargon, and end up suggesting the impractical. If Brazil or Nepal or India deforest their lands, and this leads to all kinds of environmental consequences from climatic changes to floods in their own territories and in those of other countries, if the Swiss, French, and Germans pollute the Rhine ending up as a filthy effluent in the Low Countries and the North Sea; these are defined as "unidirectional transfrontier externalities"—beautiful phraseology! The author recognises the "resolution" of these problems poses difficulties. So the economist's answer is that the international community (undefined) should "pay compensation by way of an international subsidy"! This ingenious solution, simply because international law "awards polluters' rights—a nation having the right to fell its forests". Of all people, the economists should know the international aid and trade payments situation. And is it in the realm of even dreamable dreams for a non-existent entity like "international community" to :

- first evolve a rational formula or realistic criteria for such a subsidy; and
- b) expect any external country—USA or Basutoland—to pay compensation to any of these countries for the deforestation and spoliation of their own lands?

Chuck it, Professor Das Gupta.

The nearest the author has got to getting theory to face reality is in the section of Population as Social Capital; in which he rightly concludes: "The private return to having children is much greater than the social return in many parts of the globe". Many a "shrewd bureaucrat" and population planner needs to put this in his pipe, and, smoking, contemplate the revelation of the study of May and Heer (1968), which estimated that an average couple in India in the 1960's needed to have 6.3 children in order to be 95 percent sure of having a surviving son when the father reached the age of 65! This, with blind technology and bloated consumption, is at the heart of the human impact on the environment, for which the key question is the carrying capacities of humans and their livestock in developing countries, and galloping misdirected resource consumption in developed countries. Das Gupta, regrettably, does not bring these together.

DISAPPOINTING

So, for practical environmentalists, including "shrewd bureaucrats" and their political masters, this book is a disappointment, if most can even read it beyond the Preview. In the Envoi, Das Gupta, in rightly seeking to

draw a balance between the economist's and the environmentalist's view of the problem, himself takes a presumptuous one-sided view. He compares the "quaintness" of the environmentalist's writings with the "hard-nosed" ones of the economist. Judging by Das Gupta's effort, the economist is far from being "hard-nosed" enough. Perhaps, the problem is a unidirectional internality!

A.D. Moddie is a business executive who is now deeply interested in problems of environment.

A Welcome Contribution

S.S. Sidhu

The Steel Industry of India: Problems and Perspective

pp. ix + 182p, Vikas, 1983, Rs. 95.00

Reviewed by Indarjit Singh

The 168 pages of the book are packed with information, comments and anticipations for the future. There is ample criticism of past policies and planning. There is also plenty of advice to the future planners on certain premises. The book covers almost all aspects of steel industry. It is full of tables of inter-plant comparisons as also inter-country statistics of a relevant nature. Sidhu tries to draw lessons from the experiences of other countries but most of the time he overlooks the peculiar constraints and economic culture of this country. His suggestions for improvements therefore appear more homilies than serious propositions to be considered.

Two aspects of the steel industry are missing from his book. He has not considered the maintenance aspects of Indian plants situated as they are mostly away from the industrial belts. He has also not sufficiently appreciated the gigantic task of orienting almost a primitive people, who had not even handled a screw driver, for integrated steel plants. The training programmes and methods do credit to the instructors and the instructed alike,

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Sidhu might have, with profit, compared in greater detail the magic that the Japanese Steel industry is with a bold initiative on economies of scale and the measly corresponding Indian industry. The romance of absorbing over 100 million tonnes steel in the Japanese economy might have indicated to him some worthwhile lessons for reorienting the Indian culture of the begging bowl and diversified facilities depending upon the methods and equipment from various countries. It is not possible for the Indian industry even to absorb 7-8 million tonnes of finished steel. The SAIL stock yards are full causing economic loss and affecting future production.

Sidhu has shown preference for national outlook on raw materials of the industry and has opposed, in a way, the stress on captive mines. He has indicated in an O.R. study of sorts that the former is more economic. I would say other things being equal, Sidhu misses many constraints which would not make it appear as an easy proposition that his restricted O.R. study envisions.

A CAPTIVE INDUSTRY

His preference for centralisation is exhibited again for planning for blast furnace sizes and characteristics for the future (with a rap on the knuckles for past omissions of bureaucracy and technologists) and for overall marketing of steel. With a begging bowl for acquiring facilities for plants and waiting for plants from the like HEC to pay off till Greek Calends, to use a conveniently applicable cliche, it is hoping too much that there would be a national design for the future blast furnaces. Centralised marketing has done a great deal of harm to the SAIL plants which have become administrative and not economic units. Moreover if Sidhu had analysed the uses of steel in depth, over 85% of the production in the country would be consumed by Government directly and indirectly. The poor householder and the small industrialist are always walking round offices and officials for steel. The steel industry is really a captive of the government. The various theories regarding determination of demand,

distribution of steel and pricing are handmaidens of Government interest. They fit a free economy and not the type of regulated industry that we have. In this system, the Government gets its requirements at fixed price and the normal individual has to pay black market price unless he has a pull. However on an academic plane, the chapters on demand, distribution and pricing are the best in the book particularly as Sidhu has practical experience of these aspects of steel industry in the country and he has for sometime revelled in the intricacies of these bureaucratic exercises through a large contingent of technologists cooling their heels with figures.

Sidhu makes masterly analysis of the mini-steel industry and comes to the conclusion that, both because of its haphazard growth and constraints of scrape, qualitatively and quantitatively, it has very little scope for rationalisation with a view to upgrade its product mix. It must serve only the peripheral purpose of low grade products required by the ordinary householder and small industrialist.

The book is a mixture of academic comments and some practical observations. Nothing is so new as to be a revelation to the people. Both technological and academic people will find however a great deal as it presents an integrated picture.

LOOKING AHEAD

He has indicated several lines of thinking for the future. But unless it is possible to create avenues for consuming steel in the economy much more than at present, the growth is bound to be slow. It was the fond hope of one minister to put up productive capacity of 25 million tonnes by 1975. As against it, we are still at 33% of that target. This shows the lag that arises from constraints of investment in the economy and the leeway we have to make up in raising living standards and industrial potential.

The various options open for the 1990s and beyond have no value as at present our hands are full with plants, being set up for political consi-

derations. Sidhu has quite rightly deprecated this tendency but economics is not the entire life of a nation. It has also to pull together. Considerable frictional losses in the economy perhaps are natural with the type of competitiveness we have generated in the economy when everyone wants something from someone else.

On the whole Sidhu has made a good job of the material at his disposal. The book is well got up and the jacket is attractive. It is a volume that should adorn many an office and home.

One last point. He has got many wrong ideas through hearsay and not by personal investigations. Perhaps he did not have the time. He states that Bhilai Steel Plant had some hidden additional capacity. It was not hidden but plain well known as the designers had introduced higher capacity facilities to make it easier to expand in continuous phases to about 3 million tonnes. These were an economic burden on the plant as they could not be utilised because of other constraints. One such constraint was the soaking pit facilities which had barely a throughput of one million tonnes annually. The result was that the fixed cost of additional facilities could not be worked off its rated production. It was clear in 1963 that its break-even would be 105% of rated capacity. The task therefore was how to expand the throughput of soaking pits beyond this figure. Therein lies the romance of improvisations and innovations which led to a throughput of 115% of rated capacity. With the innovation on bottom making of steel melting furnaces, the plant achieved 118% of rated capacity and not 109%, as stated by Sidhu.

As regards Russians the advice was welcome but there was no supervision even in 1964.

Sidhu has also missed mentioning the drag on production resulting from expansion of plants like Bhilai where construction of new facilities, junctioning and operation of the plant went on simultaneously.

Indarjit Singh is a former General Manager of the Bhilai Steel Plant.

October 1, 1983

Deprivation & Its Social Roots

Durganand Sinha, R. C. Tripathi and Girishshwar Misra, Editors

Deprivation and its Social Roots

pp. 269, Concept Publishing House. 1982, Rs. 80.00

Reviewed by B.B. Chatterjee

In economics, the phenomenon of poverty has come to occupy a focal point. The outreaches of poverty cover a variety of other phenomena belonging to other fields. Somewhat recently, the psychological aspects of diverse outcomes belonging to the outreaches of poverty have attracted considerable research attention. The depth, as well as wide-band character of the spectrum of this research investment are very nicely reflected in the present compilation, ably edited by Professor Durganand Sinha, Ram Charan Tripathi, and Girishshwar Misra, all faculty members of the Psychology Department of the Allahabad University. (Since the publication of this book, Professor Sinha has assumed the Directorship of the A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna). The book promises to provide a rich fare, and fulfills it.

GENERIC TERMS

"Deprivation" as used these days, is a generic term, subsuming many diverse things, such as, disadvantage, handicaps, deficits, and so on. The fact that roots of many of these phenomena are basically economic and social in nature, was recognised quite early. There is another increasing realisation: poverty and deprivation have other correlates than merely economic and social: they may be psychological, educational, legal, spiritual, and so on. It is also becoming increasingly clear that the various deprivation-like processes are complexly interrelated, and to tease out a simplistic cause-and-effect type of the analysis of such complicated processes is beset with theoretical as well as methodological difficulties, some of which are intractable. Does economic condition determine social locomotion, or vice versa? Simplistic answers to such basic questions will not suffice any more.

The purely negative and dele-

terious aspects of the impact of deprivation and disadvantage need not be questioned. However, what 'mix' of antecedental conditions—social, cultural, economic, environmental, ecological, geographical, climatological, genetic, ethnic, physiological, and so on, bring about what sort of, and what magnitude of deficiencies and distortions, at the cognitive, affective and psychomotor functions domain, are only now being teased out by patient and sustained research effort, making use of sophisticated concepts and methods. The scientific importance

of studying the generic phenomena of deprivation in its broadest ramifications is being increasingly recognised. The University Grants Commission made a grant to the Psychology Department of the Allahabad University to organise a multidisciplinary symposium on Psycho-Social Deprivation, which was held in 1977, Fourteen papers presented in that Symposium have been brought together in the volume under consideration. Laced with very succinct editorial comments interspersed throughout the book, the papers highlight the essentially interdisciplinary nature of the phenomena of deprivation and its impact. Contributors belonged to such diverse disciplines as psychology, sociology, linguistics, child development and political science.

The book is divided into three sections, each having its own intro-

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duction. The first section comprises six papers dealing mainly with the conceptual and measurement dimensions of deprivation. Three papers, viz., "The meaning and measurement of poverty" (Ramashray Ray), "The concept of deprivation—some issues" (R.C. Tripathi), and "Some methodological problems of Deprivation" (Sinha) belong together, by providing new insights into intricate nature of the phenomena under discussion. The case for replacement of what may now be considered relatively naive and simplistic approaches to the generic phenomenon of deprivation by more sophisticated ones is bolstered by the remaining three articles of this section: "Towards an ecological framework of deprivation" (Sinha), "There is a method to the measurement" (Anandlaxmy), and "Methodological implications of using the socio-economic—status scale as a control variable in disadvantage—deprivation studies" (Chatterjee). These three articles serve as a corrective to adoption of complacent attitudes which favour viewing deprivation as a single, unidimensional phenomenon.

PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES

Section Two contains seven articles brought under the rubric of Psychological Consequences: Cognitions and Motivations. J.P. Das and P. Soysa, in their paper "Late effects of malnutrition: A biomedical and psychological study" dwell upon the nutritional correlates of deprivation. Then there are two papers on the debilitating impact of deprivation on cognitive functions, one by Shantilata Sahu, and the other by Girishwar Misra. Still, there is a third paper that is distantly related to this general area: "The poverty of language: A linguistic appraisal" by Annamalai. Further, we have two papers dealing with motivational and personality correlates of deprivation, one by D. Sinha and G. Misra, and the other by Namita Pandey and R.C. Tripathi, in addition to one paper by Sinha on the impact of deprivation on the development of perceptual skills. These seven papers provide a fairly representative cross-section of the type of empirical research that is

currently holding the stage in the country in the field of deprivation studies.

Section Three contains a single article by R. Rath entitled "Problem of integration of the disadvantaged to the mainstream" which deservedly takes care of the applied and pragmatic aspects of deprivation studies.

Two signal features of the book, which make it a meritorious compilation, may be pointed out now. One is that the general level of sophistication of all the fourteen contributions in this compilation is uniformly high, without entailing any sacrifice of their lucidity and simplicity of presentation, at the same time

maintaining their depth. The second point is that all the articles of the first section, while tackling with structural, measurement and conceptual aspects of deprivation, have avoided becoming abstruse and polemical: the authors appear to believe in the merit of having their feet firmly implanted on the solid grounds of empirical bases, so to say.

The editing, printing and get-up of this book are consonant with the richness of its content.

B.B. Chatterjee is Professor of Psychology at the North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong.

Religion in Modern India

Giri Raj Gupta, Editor

Religion in Modern India

pp. 422, Vikas, 1983, Rs. 150.00

Reviewed by M. Gopalakrishnan

This book is the fifth volume in the series entitled *Main Currents in Indian Sociology* and is devoted to Religion in modern India. At the outset (in the "Acknowledgements") the editor admits, and rightly too, that "any attempt to present a comprehensive study of religion in India, especially Hinduism, if not impossible, is difficult, at best". The contributions are based upon empirical research in specific areas. On the inside jacket (front) is written, "The essays are divided into four categories. The first deals with the nature and emergent forms of religion; the second with popular myths, rituals and symbolism; the third focuses on the most recent work on other Goddess cults and the fourth on comparative and adaptive aspects of religion... The studies taken as a whole reveal religion as a regnant and dynamic force holding Indian Society together adapting to changes without radically altering its structure".

In fact, the editor refers in the introductory note, to Sir Monier Williams' statement (1891) on Hinduism that its most vital quality is its receptivity and all-comprehensiveness, its non-opposition to

the progress of other systems, its willingness to include all other religions in its all-embracing arms and everwidening fold and its infinite adaptability (which is its strength) to the infinite diversity of human characters and human tendencies.

There are actually eighteen contributors to this edition though the outer jacket mentions only fifteen names and the editor himself has not contributed any articles (other than the introduction).

For reasons best known to the editor, the arrangement of the articles follows a definite path. There are four parts titled asunder: One: Nature and emergent Forms of Religion.

Two: Popular Myths, Rituals and Symbolism.

Three: Mother Goddess Cults and Manifestations.

Four: Comparative Aspects of Religious Insulation & Adaptation.

One would have wished, however, that the first article were on a total picture of Hinduism as it exists in modern India—a sort of initial delight, for later dishes to follow, to the serious readers of the book. Instead, one sees Grace. E. Cairne's

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article (albeit valuable, by and large) on Dharma and Moksha which are stated to be highest values of the Great Tradition in modernizing India. In the initial abstract of this article the author refers to four underlying main (Purusharthas or) principles, namely Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha.

BEWILDERING VARIETY

The four varnas based on one's native talents and not on the accident of birth, were the basic pillars of this socio-religious edifice as found in the *smrithis* in their nascent purity. These are, according to the author (of the first article) valid even today as the basis of the great tradition of Sanskritic Hinduism; so far as good. One is however, surprised to find the author stating (p 6) "Unfortunately, Hindu Culture like the culture of other nations has not attempted to put into practice the moral ideals formulated by its spiritual leaders". Perhaps, a more hasty conclusion cannot be formulated! *It is probably more accurate to say that a general fall in standards of morality that is observable in Hindu society as a whole in recent decades has pushed to the background the observance of the ethical and moral codes that have survived for millenia on this sub-continent.* The causes are (a) increasing poverty & the widening gulf between the "haves" and the "have nots" (b) galloping population (c) respect shown by many sections of the society to the affluent class regardless of the means used by its members to acquire wealth and (d) the decreasing regard shown to the poor but morally rich persons by those in authority and by the well-to-do.

After going through the delineation of Dharma & Moksha in modern India (and the importance attached to them in the teachings and principles of Brahma Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna's and Vivekananda's philosophy and the philosophy of Gandhi, Aurobindo, Bhagwan Raman Maharshi and Sankaracharya, the Vaisnav, the Chaitanyaites philosophies, the ISKCON movement and the Krishna Bhakti cults as practiced in modern India,

one gets a bewildering variety of Hindu tenets, precepts and practices.

The ultimate conclusion of the author is that the four religious practices of (a) worship of Deities at home (b) Temple worship (c) Periodic visits to religious mathas and (d) Pilgrimages to sacred centres which are widely popular today lead one to conclude that the great tradition of religious worship is thriving today. One cannot but agree with this conclusion, particularly with the observation (p 11) that the Gita & the Ramayana (were they written in the first century after Christ?) have made a leap across centuries to the modern times and have influenced Hindu religious thought enormously.

In the second articles, Arvind Sharma tries to answer the question "What is Hinduism?" through a sociological approach. He states that the task of framing a definition of Hinduism has proved so difficult & complex that modern scholarship has virtually abandoned the effort! And, as if to support it, he refers to three persons viz. David. L. Sills, M.N. Srinivas and A.L. Basham. Surely this is a hasty conclusion or such a learned writer! No doubt great thinkers like Nehru have written that "Hinduism as a faith is vague, amorphous, manysided, all things to all men" (Discovery of India, 1946). But such a mystic approach is not universal even if it were natural. Surely, Mahatma Gandhi and Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan in the present century and Ramakrishna, Vivekananda & several great thinkers in the past hundred years have come out with statements and definitions on Hinduism that are clear enough?

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The author concludes somewhat unsatisfactorily in his all too short article that "the definition of a Hindu is being framed on a Hindu understanding thereof...and Hinduism is the religion of the Hindus". This whole effort reminds me of an attempt by a teacher in a school to define Hinduism to the boys and girls in his class. He said that it denoted everything (meaning thereby that all living humans are equal and contain in themselves a supra powerful being) and also denoted 'nothing' (that one cannot adequately describe it and all our efforts to do so will end up in nothing).

HINDUS & INEQUALITY

In the third and concluding article of Part-I, Marvin Davis discusses his thesis which challenges Louis Dumont's theory viz., that the individual is an important unit of thought and action only in modern countries of the West and should not be attributed to more traditional societies. Inadequately enough he bases it on the Bengali conceptions of Individual as a microcosm of the Universe, as the normative subject of institutions and as a unit of rank. The author states (somewhat cryptically and possibly rashly) that "Hindus regard all Humans as fundamentally unequal" and that Indianists are generally agreed on this. It would have been perhaps better if he had referred to the Universality of man as stated in all ancient (and not so ancient) Hindu scriptures (the Bhagvadgita, Sankara's philosophy, etc. and as reiterated in the last two centuries by great savants like Ramakrishna,

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Vivekananda et al. One is inclined to see a glaring omission here.

However, he throws useful light on the life-stages and goals of a Hindu person—an aspect which makes up for the omissions stated. His reference to the Bengali experiences seems to take the focus elsewhere viz. that the individual as a microcosm is an important unit of thought among the Bengali Hindus. (perhaps that was his intention?). One must, however, concede that the rest of the article makes absorbing reading.

Part II opens up with Susan S. Wadley's delightful article on the role and impact of the printing press on religious practices in North India on the basis of her examination of a limited set of texts. She concludes that in situations where a wide range of religious belief and practice exists, the influence exerted by the printed word is minimal on the religious practice in that region. It is difficult for us to agree with this and we have to be cautious against total acceptance because the written words are heard by the illiterate also by word of mouth (which is how most of all we today have survived over the millennia.) However, her detailed analysis and tabulation of the Hindu festivals and the common aspects of these make interesting reading.

On the other hand, William McCormack in his article "Popular Religion in South India reviews the research on this subject and states it has had an intellectually feeble past. He is critical of M.N. Srinivas's hypothesis of Sanskritization and does not look too kindly upon Louis Dumont's contribution on Pramalar Kallars of South India. He summarizes the research of the past five decades into popular religion in South India and refers to three categories under the headings :

- (a) World view
- (b) Cognition of the supernatural
- (c) Folk religion as behaviour

He describes the literature he has selected for his study (starting from a cut off point 1920 AD), excluding other religious influences from it and throws a search-light on 'popu-

lar Hinduism" as responding to man's felt needs. This, according to him, is possible because it gives the people something to talk about, including as it does among other things, dimensions of sociability and play.

He lists out (admittedly an incomplete one) the books and articles on the subject and suggests that his conclusions are only tentative. More important, he gives suggestions for detailed studies on the subject. This really is of greater value to the reader.

MOTHER GODDESS CULTS

The third part of this volume consists of three articles on "Mother Goddess Cults and Manifestations." In the first one Suzonne Hanchett argues against the background of the Ganapathi festivals and Narasimha Jatra (in a village in Karnataka State) how these can be used for "symbolic communication and negotiation between conflicting Brahmins, non-Brahmins and Harijans (P. 131). It appears from a reading of this paper that her observations are based on the experience she gained during her stay for 16 months in 1966 & 1967 during research at Bandipur in Karnataka State on the border with Tamil Nadu. These are not of much interest or value to an advanced Indian reader except to reveal what a Western sociologist thinks.

Janet Benson's article entitled "Dasara. Rituals of Social Relatives in South India" is an attempt on her part to apply the theory of influence of religion on social behaviour to her observations and experience in a village in Medak district in Andhra Pradesh. This too is of limited significance to the expert on Hinduism.

Edward O. Henry writes about the mother Goddess cults in Eastern U.P. The paper is in two parts—the first, an overview of village religion (again the micro-cosmic approach) explaining its gross division into Sanskritic and non-sanskritic complexes and the second, a description of "Mata Mai" in a village. The summary and conclusions towards the end do try to say how these cults show beliefs and

practices regarding tangible matters of crucial importance and allow the non-Sanskritic, little tradition to attract even upper caste followers whose acts the Brahmins endorse. A reverse trend also, says the author, is discernible viz. the lowest caste (untouchables) members mobilize fears in the community and thus acquire a measure of influence in the lives of the upper caste superiors. All in all, a deuced interesting article, this is.

Jacob Pandian describes the beliefs and rituals associated with the mother Goddess of a Tamil village and discusses how that deity functions as a parochial model of Hinduism. In a well-written essay he argues that this symbol assists in the maintenance of social solidarity. This essay also is built, like the predecessors mentioned earlier, around a study of a village experience. The word 'parochial' means exactly what it says viz. an "organizational system which serves to identify local religious beliefs and rituals" (P 210). It seeks to describe both 'order' and 'disorder' in Hindu Theology and the immutable link that exists between them.

Pauline M. Kolenda also takes up another aspect of the Mother Goddess Complex—this, among North Indian sweepers. Here too the single village study is the backbone of the paper. Not only that, it is even more restricted, to wit, the universe is that of a small colony of a hundred sweepers. The author suggests that the Arya Samaj reform movement also has had its impact on the village.

James J. Preston's paper which follows sketches the broad outlines of Goddess worship in Coastal Orissa, with reference to an anthropological survey of fourteen key Goddess temples. A notable observation by him is that while "Temples near the eastern coast were found to be highly Vaishnavized, those near the western mountainous area tended to retain strong non-Brahmin and Tantric motifs. He admits, like a true researcher that the survey he conducted" only scratches the surface of a vast phenomenon". This he has done, in spite of its limitations, in preference to the case study method because he

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selt that single case studies cannot shed light on the Indian mosaic. True indeed !

INSULATION & ADAPTATION

We now enter part IV of the book with the articles seeking to throw light on the comparative aspects of religious insulation and adaptation. In the first article Yogendra K. Malik develops the thesis that "as a result of social mobilization and modernisation taking place in Indian society, the traditional agents of socialisation, such as the religious leaders, no longer significantly determine the socio-political values and attitudes of the youth". (p. 251). The youth on their part are guided more by secular considerations than by the sacred ones. These conclusions are based on a study in two north Indian states viz. Punjab, Haryana and in Delhi. They have, between themselves a majority of either Sikh (Punjab) or Hindu (the remaining two States) population and all are advanced. However, the author admits that these conclusions cannot be applied *mutatis mutandis* to other northern States. We have to look upon these conclusions with skepticism, particularly in view of the recent Akali agitation. Obviously theory is theory and experience is experience.

John MacDougall's two cases from late 19th century Bihar are the odd man out in this collection. He attempts to develop a satisfactory explanation of the different roles that religion played in two social movements in the late 19th century viz. the Sardar movement in the Ranchi district (the *adivasis* of Ranchi districts were the principal players in it) and the Kherwar movement in Santal Parganas district. The article includes two clearly drawn maps showing the *adivasi* belt of Bihar, one in isolation from and the other in relation to the rest of India. In both cases the traditional groups (or societies, if you prefer) experienced only the initial tremors of modernisation and were attempting to avoid being submerged. The author has done well to carry out his research in an exhaustive manner, particularly by

adding for the benefit of the reader four appendices containing material from revenue records. One interesting observation that any faithful historian must make is that unlike the earlier bloody revolts by *adivasis* (in 1832) these two movements were pacific.

Next, Paul Hockins and Anthony R. Walker write about the Todas of the Nilgiris, in particular, the secondary Funeral Ritual which they attended on two days in January 1963. The events are recorded truthfully and with an eye to detail. There is much (to the western observer at any rate) of complex symbolism. After reading through the account I felt somewhat deflated, since I expected the authors to come out with their observation. They have nicely avaded this act by indirectly taking refuge under the pretext of lack of space.

Sushil K. Usman's paper tells us how the malkanas (a unique community of agriculturists in Northern India who are neither here nor there) have developed a religious intermingling through diverse practices. They exhibit symbols specific to Muslims, Christians and Hindus, in

name and use of sacraments. But they have no hope of total assimilation by either of the religions for a long time to come.

In the last two articles we hear about religion as found among the Indian communities outside India and a comparative analysis of the Indian and American world views. They have succeeded over the course of decades in maintaining the Indian identity through the observance of their own religious and social practices.

All in all, I must say, it has been a very rewarding and satisfying experience for me to read the book. I profited much by it and I commend it to all those interested in Religion and Sociology of the Hindus (I did deliberately omit here the other religious denominations because this book deals with a few aspects of one religion).

The price is a little too high (Rs. 150/-, for India only) but in these days of inflation who will question it ?

M. Gopalakrishnan is secretary to Agriculture in the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

Teaching and Training Methods

International Labour Office

An Introductory Course in Teaching and Training Methods for Management Development
pp. xxi + 29, Sterling, 1983, Rs. 100.00

Reviewed by G.N. Badami

In introducing this particular book to the professionals, I am reminded of three 'T's—Teaching, Training and Techniques. The publication rightly emphasizes only the latter two 'T's—Training and Techniques. There is a major difference in teaching and training. In teaching, the emphasis is on knowledge and in training, the emphasis is on skill. Teaching is like a knife and training is like its sharp edge. Knowledge by itself is not productive unless it is equipped with skill—like the knife with its sharp edge. Training deals with practice and performance.

The various authors who have made this book possible have covered all the techniques of training.

They have provided simple, step by step instructions to the trainer, how to select a particular technique or method for imparting knowledge and skill to the practitioners. In the case of a trainer, the techniques are his tools. Like the craftsman, the trainer has to select the right type of tools from the array of tools which the authors have provided in the Tool Kit.

It covers the design of the Training Programmes-cum-all the known methods of imparting the skill and finally assessing the impact of the training. The trainer has the flexibility to select the methods and improve their effectiveness with his experience in the techniques.

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It is a beacon which provides the direction and lights the road for leading other Professional Managers

towards Managerial Effectiveness.
G. N. Badami is Personnel Manager of Ashok Leyland Ltd, Madras.

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On Mysteries and Mystifications

Chaman L. Sahni

Forster's *A Passage to India : The Religious Dimension*
pp. 203, Arnold Heinemann, 1981, Rs. 60.00

Reviewed by M. Upadhyaya

Is *Passage to India* an important book? Or is it outdated? How can it be compared with the literature of the later post-colonial period? Lionel Trilling, who reviewed Forster's book in 1943, asked the questions "Is this the truth about India? Is this the way the English act? Always? Sometimes? Never? Are Indians like this? All of them? Some? Some of them? Why so many Moslems and so few Indians? Why so much Hindu religion and so little Moslem? And then finally the disintegrating question, What is to be done?"

Now that the British have packed and gone, can it be said that they left behind a legacy which continues to cast its shadow on the *Passage to India* and the lives of the people? V. S. Naipaul, who made another kind of 'Passage to India' some years back, called India 'a wounded civilization'. "It seems to me always there is India: the magic of the past, the death of the intellect, spirituality annulling the civilization out of which issues India swallowing its own tail...no historical nation of the past, identity beyond the tenuous ecumenism of Hindu beliefs and in spite of racial excesses of the British period not even the beginnings of a racial sense."

Naipaul went back leaving the suppurating wounds behind. Forster came and saw India as a mystery and tried to understand the complexity and variety. The novel strains under prophetic and visionary proportions which sometimes upsets its balance. Trilling therefore says, "The story is beneath and above the plot and continues beyond it in time; the question 'What then must be done?' is never answered or not answered in the language in which the

question has been asked. The book simply involves the question in ultimates."

AN ATTEMPT TO RE-FOCUS

Chaman Sahni's express purpose in writing *Forster's Passage to India* is to retrieve an interpretation and a focus which has been lost in the welter of critiques. He has scanned through Forster's materials in order to show the depth of Forster's research and mission of understanding India which led him beyond "the vague jumble of rajahs, sahibs, babus and elephants..."

Sahni explains in detail and quotes from Forster's source materials which includes very esoteric works, art criticisms and religious works like the Bhagvad Gita, the Upanishads, Vishnu Purana, Mahabharata, the Koran, Urdu poets, as well as Forster's private notes and his autobiography *The Hill of Devi*. Sahni decodes the religious symbols and some examples of his explanations are cited here as illustrations.

Forster was especially intrigued by folk interpretations which he felt enriched religion. The 'bhakti cult' was born when there was a fusion between the cowherd god Krishna and the Vishnu legends which made religion a highly intensive and emotional experience, being also a protest against ceremonialism and priesthood. For instance, when Mrs Moore hears Godbole singing, she asks him of Krishna "But he comes in some other song I hope?" Godbole answers dejectedly "he refuses to come..." The answer Sahni says would be inexplicable to the English as well as the Moslem.

The song is a rendering of the round dance which is mentioned in

the Bhagwad Gita and Bhagavata Purana, though both give different versions. Both use the word 'yogamaya' in referring to God's ever-recurring play (*lila*) in the world of Becoming through Krishna's assumption of the human form for the good of mankind. Thus the nymphs or gopis who yearn for Krishna contain the quintessence of love and mysticism symbolised by the utter self-oblivion and self-abandonment of the gopis in the song. Forster criticised the westerners who regard the gopis' dance around Krishna as erotic, or the pranks of Krishna as debauched and immoral. "The Hindu", Forster explains, "is concerned not with conduct, but with vision. To realize what God is seems more important than to do what God wants. He has a constant sense of the unseen, of the powers around if he is a peasant, of the power behind if he is a philosopher...to realize or not to realize, that is the question that interests him."

RELIGIOUS OVERTONES

Siva and Krishna, parts of the Hindu pantheon, are "steps towards the eternal". So when Krishna refuses to come in Godbole's song Sahni interprets from the Bhagwata Purana "the implication is that he wants the devotee to attain the heightened state of self awareness in which all distinctions are obliterated, in which the *bhakta* attains *divya drishti* (divine vision)...Thus Sahni backs up each symbol used in the novel from different sources.

Towards the end of the novel Forster describes the ceremony of the immersion of the city Gokul which also symbolically represents the end of Krishna's life on earth before he joins the other gods. For the bhaktas, this is the revelation of supreme glory to the finite human beings who are caught up in the trap of "samsara". Forster was thus fascinated by mystery which pervades the Hindu spirit and the crucial question asked by the English characters in the novel is 'What is the real India? Is it a mystery?

Fielding, the English school principal, replies that all mysteries

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are really a muddle. But the mystery remains and cannot be grasped—it's beyond time and space. Forster asks in the novel 'How can it be expressed but in itself? Not only from the unbeliever are mysteries hid, but the adept himself cannot retain them.' Sahni approximates this to the lines of the Kena Upanishads "It is not understood by those who (say they) understand it./It is understood by those who (say they) understand it not."

In the last section of the novel, the Gokul Ashtami represents the final realisation of Krishna and Godbole represents the true devotee. Fielding asks Godbole what he thinks of the Aziz-Quested incident in the caves, Godbole's answer baffles Fielding. Godbole says that according to Hindu philosophy "...nothing can be performed in isolation. All perform a good action when one is performed and when an evil action is performed, all perform it." Godbole's philosophy springs from the Hindu belief in the fundamental unity of the cosmos.

In another instance, Sahni explains the symbol used by Forster in ordinary experiences which Forster noted in the *Hill of Devi* and transmuted into the novel. While Aziz and Miss Quested are travelling in a procession, Miss Quested makes a discovery that the twisted trunk is not really a snake but "the villagers contradicted her. She had put the word into their minds and they refused to abandon it...Nothing was explained and yet there was no romance." Sahni adeptly explains the symbology used here as the divide between maya (illusion) (avida), and incapability of perceiving the *Sat* (real) and explains how only the Brahman can release the trapped *maya*.

CORE OF HINDUISM

Though Sahni's explanations are illuminating he stops at description. Can the above event be experienced differently? Miss Quested's revelation does not produce any reaction in the villagers, the mystery lingers on and the villagers are suffused by it. How should this incident be interpreted? Is it an acceptance as a

resignation to things? Is this a general Hindu malaise? Is Sudhir Kakar, a contemporary psychoanalyst, right when he says "We Indians use the outside reality to preserve the continuity of the self amidst an ever-changing flux of outer events and things"? Men are fused into the environment. There is no way of differentiating the self from the others and no way of acquiring an identity.

Sahni feels the caves section of the novel represents the core of Hinduism; the physical locale of the Marabar which are really the Barabar caves, represents the subterranean depths of Hinduism and is older than the Himalayas. It has also concentrated the religious activity of the Buddhist, Jain and Hindu.

The caves may then represent the 'impersonal cosmic principle "Niyati or destiny" of the *Ajivika* sect, the total renunciation and isolationism of Jainism, the irresolvable dichotomy of *purusha* (spirit) and *prakriti* (matter) represented by the Sankhya yoga, and undifferentiated oneness that lies at the root of the concept of *Brahman* in *advaita Vedanta*. Thus the echo in the caves symbolises the ultimate perception of the Hindu mystic. Mrs Moore is bewildered and her western values shaken, she realizes the futility of all human endeavour by whispering these words: pathos, piety, courage—they exist, but they are identical and so is filth. Everything exists, nothing has value"—her Protestant faith is disturbed.

Forster points out in his book *The Gods of India* that 'religion, in Protestant England is mainly concerned with conduct. It is an ethical code with divine sanction, it is true, but applicable to daily life while the

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Hindu is concerned not with conduct but with vision'. Mrs. Moore after her cave experience finds herself slipping into a twilight state between the noumenal and the phenomenal worlds, her defenses have fallen, this state is also the precursor to the state of *nirvana* or release from *samsara*. Thus Mrs Moore becomes passive, her responses are deadened and her death in the ocean represents that she has become part of the Universal Consciousness.

MUSLIM BACKGROUND

One of the best chapters of the book is the one which deals with the Muslim background and sources and one is impressed by the author's exhaustive research. Forster talks of the triangularity of Indian politics and of the unity and fissiparous tendencies among the Hindus and Muslims. Forster articulates the question of the unification of the country in the form of a problematic "Shall the Indian look to the land he lives in and try and make it a nation? Or shall he look at his own particular past—to Mecca if he be Moslem, to the Vedas or Upanishads if Hindu—and find in that his inspiration for the future? Heaven forbid that we should assist him in his choice: either goal seems barren if we may deduce from the history of Europe. But the choice itself is living, not to be sneered at and we can see him hesitating over it even before the English came, advancing towards national unity under Akbar, retaining into religious diversities under Aurangzeb."

Dr. Aziz, a protagonist of the novel, is nurtured on Persian poetry on the mysticism of Jalaluddin Rumi, Ghalib, Hafiz, Hali and Iqbal. Sahni explains that Rumi was a great exponent of Sufism which has

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been defined as 'a religion of love without a creed or dogma—it was a protest against monothicism, legalism, formalism, and transcendentalism of Muslim orthodoxy.

Besides Rumi there were other poets and Sahni quotes from various sources to show their influence on Indian Moslems, in shaping and formulating their aspirations and energies. The British rule signifies the eclipse of a civilization which belongs to the past and the beginning of a crisis of identity. The present events cannot be grasped; they are baffling. The poets intercede to provide a matrix for action and a structure of meaning. Ghalib particularly appeals to the Moslems in the novel as he expresses the crumbling of an old order when Bahadur Shah the last of the Moghuls is exiled to Rangoon. Sahni quotes Syed Ross Masood, "To him (Ghalib) the advent of the English and of his new customs sounds the death knell of the old society to which he was intensely devoted and of which he was such a brilliant ornament." But Sir Aziz Ahmad, author of *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan 1857-1964* felt that Ghalib clung to a past and that Ghalib wrote "poetry primarily of losses and consequent grief, poetry also of what was, what could have been possible but was no longer."

The author also believes that Hali's poetry of 1879 had a shattering effect on the Muslims who had earlier been indifferent to pathos and the mournful, so sensitising their emotions and feelings and creating the sensibilities for imbibing varied influences. But the movement for revivalism was brought to a head by Iqbal, (though of course during Forster's visit to India Iqbal was popular with both Hindus and Muslims—his political standpoint had not yet become separatist.

SOCIOLOGICAL INSIGHTS

In *Passage to India* Dr. Aziz reflects the average Moslem who has absorbed these influences which have assumed a political form. Aziz was more influenced by Aurangzeb than by Akbar and believed in the superiority of his faith and creed. When Quested asks Aziz about the tolerance and the liberal religion of Akbar he replies, "Yes Akbar is very wonderful, but half a Hindu, he was not a pure Moslem." Which makes Hamidullah cry out, "No more was Babur, he drank wine," Aziz retorts, "But Babur always repented afterwards which makes the entire difference and Akbar never repented of the new religion he invented..."

Iqbal made a remarkable insight into the history of Muslim nationalism when he wrote "The history of the preceding Muslim dynasties had taught Aurangzeb, that, the strength of Islam in India did not depend as his ancestor Akbar had thought, so much upon the goodwill of the people of this land, as on the strength of the ruling race. With all his keen political perception, however, he could not undo the doings of his forefather. Shivaji was not the product of Aurangzeb's reign : the Maratha owed his existence to social and political forces called into being by the policy of Akbar. Aurangzeb's political perception, though true, was too late. Yet considering the significance of his perception he must be looked upon as the founder of Musalman nationality in India. I am sure posterity will one day recognize the truth of what I say."

This chapter on Muslim sources and background has particular significance especially for its socio-political and political insights. This chapter illuminated by Sahni's research conveys the great artist in Forster, in showing Aziz as an archetype Sunni Muslim who is caught in a political ferment as the tide of events, effects, the structure of deep-rooted sentiments, deflecting it towards nationalism or towards separatism. Forster displays an avid knowledge of the strands and development in Muslim as well as Hindu thought and of the incorporation of elements of folk paganism into the configuration of an orthodox religion. He has been able to comprehend this flux not only for Muslim religion but also the Hindu.

Sahni's study provides a file on each of the characters of the novel and also shows Forster's skill at universalising experiences from multiple diversities—only a great writer

can do this. But Sahni's work results in a portrayal of Hindu characters who are steeped in the quest of *nirvana* while Muslims are more politically involved. Which further creates an irretrievable wedge in the novel. Sahni insists that Forster's novel is not a political or a sociological one but has a religio-mystical purpose.

AESTHETIC SKILLS

Though Forster was enamoured by mysterious India he is able to transcend the mysteries by his aesthetic skills and attempts of being a visionary. But Sahni pins Forster down to it by exalting the mystery so he takes this particular quotation of for his conclusion. "Perhaps life is a mystery, not a muddle they could not tell. Perhaps the hundred Indians which fuss and squabble tiresomely are one and the universe they mirror is one they had not the apparatus for judging." E.M. Forster's harshest critic Frederick Crews said that "between the pathetic futility and the absolute mystery, no middle ground remains for action and the Hindu ideal of oneness though it does take notice of the totality of things, abolishes the intellectual sanity that makes like endurable to the western mind."

Naipaul reacts strongly against mysteries. 'Hinduism hasn't been good enough for the millions. It has exposed us to a thousand years of defeat and stagnation. It has given men no idea of a contract with other men, no idea of the state...' But is the problematic, the question at issue, one of Hinduism? Between the 'thesis of Indian spiritualism as against the Western antithesis of rationalism'. Malcolm Bradbury commenting on Forster said, "In confronting one social world with the standards of another, he (Forster) stretches through the social and political implications to the religious and mystical ones and finally to the most basic question of all—how in the face of such contingency one structures meaning.. When Forster says 'the spirit of the Indian earth tries to keep men in compartments and even the sects are divided within themselves just as the earth is' ...at one point Aziz

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and Fielding both agree that, the English should leave but their horses swerve apart, earth and sky separate, leaving events to possibilities, and Forster had no absolute answer or the means for them to be defined.

And there have been events... attempts...fissures...fusion...unity ... or unification of forces? Were they later forged, embodied by Gandhi or by Naxalism? Do they leave further possibilities, for further

meanings to be structured?

For finally, the flux of events can only be understood when persons and people given an articulation and expression to their needs and aspirations by giving it a structure and a form,

M. Upadhyaya is a research student in Sociology at the University of Bombay.

Malgudi Minor

R. K. Narayan

Malgudi Days

pp. 246, Allied, 1983 (Indian reprint), Rs. 40.00

Reviewed by M. K. Naik

Malgudi Days bears the same title as Narayan's first collection of short stories which appeared in 1943, but this latter day *avatar* of the book actually comprises stories taken from three separate collections—*An Astrologer's Day* (1947); *Lawley Road* (1956) and the recent *Old and New* (1981). It is rather interesting to go into the details of the selection made. The book contains 16 of the 30 stories from *An Astrologer's Day*, 8 out of the 27 new stories in *Lawley Road* (one story here is from *An Astrologer's Day*) and all the 8 new stories contained in *Old and New* (the rest of the stories in this book are from *Lawley Road*.)

The criteria for the selection are not quite clear. While some of the better stories like "The White Flower" and "Under the Bunyan Tree" are not included, the new collection could perhaps have done without definite lightweights like the animal stories: "The Blind Dog", and "The Tiger's Claws" and "The Sanke-Song". But a possible reason for their inclusion is probably that the selection, first published abroad, was obviously meant for foreign consumption and Narayan—a hard-boiled professional—knows that stories such as these are particularly appealing to a foreign audience since they fit in admirably with pre-conceived Western notions about

India, the 'exotic land of snake-charmers and tigers'.

SAME MIX

To consider the new stories first, one notices that in general the 'mixture' is very much 'as before'. There is the inevitable snake story ("Naga") repeating one of the many familiar variations on the serpent-lore to which there is no end in this country. The comedy in "The Edge" and "God and the Cobbler" arises out of incomprehension and misunderstandings. In "The Edge", Ranga the knife-grinder finds himself subjected to the surgeon's knife in a Family Planning Centre, without understanding fully how and why he is there (though unlike the knives he sharpens, he finally escapes untouched.) "The God and the Cobbler" is easily one of the most memorable stories here. This encounter between an Indian cobbler and a Western hippie generates much comic misunderstanding (like a similar meeting between the Indian goat-herd and the American tourist in "A Horse and Two Goats") but in the process, does offer flashes of insight into two cultures.

Narayan's favourite technique of ironic reversal is seen in operation in "Second Opinion" and "Hungry Child". In the first story, which is

rather unusually long, moving as it does at a leisurely pace, a youth who does not wish to marry at all, reluctantly agrees when told by the doctor that his mother is suffering from a heart condition; but there is a sudden twist at the end, when it is discovered that that was after all a false alarm and now the young man who has committed himself naturally feels cheated. Raman in "Hungry Child" befriends a small boy lost at the "Expo-77-78". Feeling rather lonely after having been jilted by his girl Daisey, he conjures up vision of adopting the boy and raising him, when suddenly the boy's parents arrive on the scene and take him away without so much a word of thanks the crest-fallen Good Samaritan.

"Emden" is an entertaining character-sketch on the lines of similar studies like "Annamalai" and "A Breath of Lucifer" in *A Horse and Two Goats*. "Selvi" is representative of another of Narayan's customary strategies viz., the repetition of a situation from a novel of his in a short story. The story here repeats the fate of the Raju-Rosie relationship in *The Guide* with certain variations (Similarly, in "Hungry Child", the Raman-Daisey relationship in *The Painter of Signs* is an element in the narrative). "Cat Within" is easily the weakest story here.

This narrative of the complications that ensue when the nocturnal disturbance caused by a panicky cat which has accidentally caught its head in a narrow brass jug is mistaken for the depredations of a powerful ghost at best succeeds in creating some rather farcical humour. One feels that the proper place for a story like this is not a selection by a major writer but the Sunday page of a newspaper which dutifully offers its holiday reader half an hour's elementary entertainment as a useful aid to post-Sunday-lunch forty (and usually many more) winks. But then one remembers that Narayan began his career as a short story writer by writing for the Sunday papers and the stamp of the slick magazine story is alas still to be found on some of his stories in practically every collection.

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LOCAL COLOUR—TOO THICK

One somewhat disturbing feature of these new stories is that Narayan appears to lay on the local colour rather too thick in some of them. (At least that is the impression I gather, but maybe I have an ultra-suspicious mind!). One remembers that in the earlier stories, references to Malgudi locations came unobtrusively and almost inevitably. One gets a feeling that the author is now perhaps getting a little too self-conscious in the matter, as if he is aware of what is expected of him and what he must offer the reader. (I hope I am wrong, because I have been a great admirer of the best in Narayan).

Little comment is necessary on the "old" stories with which all readers of Narayan are familiar. Rereading them confirms previous impressions among which the one about Narayan's persistent use of the irony of circumstance is most prominent. Stories like "An Astrologer's Day", "The Missing Maliu" and "The Doctor's Word" rest upon

a final shock or discovery of surprise or reversal and make entertaining reading. The exercises in the supernatural like "Such Perfection" and "Snake-song" only betray Narayan's lack of a poetic imagination which alone can secure for such narratives the indispensable "willing suspension of disbelief. Stories of character like "A Willing Slave" and "The Axe" are also limited successes because in this type of narrative Narayan needs more elbow room to succeed fully as the longer and better realized character stories like "Annamalai" and "A Breath of Lucifer" (neither of which is included here) show.

And the stories in this collection—both old and new—still continue to make one ask the question: Why has Narayan written so few stories which can really be called memorable, though he has hardly written one which is dull? Is it because he needs the roomy freedom of the novel to organise his insights more meaningfully? or is it because the narrow confines of the short story expose his limitations?

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MAP OF MALGUDI

An interesting addition to the collection is the map of Malgudi prepared (we are informed) by James M. Fennelly of Adephi University to illustrate his paper "The City (*sic* Malgudi is a municipal town and Narayan himself calls it so everywhere except at two places—*Mr. Sampath*, p. 130 and *The Painter of Signs*, p. 12, where it is called a 'city') of Malgudi as an Expression of the Ordered Hindu Cosmos". At first sight the map indeed looks impressive but closer scrutiny reveals several howlers, the most glaring of which must be noted, since as a 'Made in U.S.A.' product it is likely to be accepted as an authoritative document. First, 'Jagan' has been made 'Jagar' and 'Krishna' 'Krishwar' (The American equivalent to this would be, I suppose, making Reagan 'Reaga' and leaving 'Kissinger', 'Kissing'. Place-names are treated equally cavalierly, 'Tayur' becomes 'Tayu' and 'Sukku' 'Sokkur'. Among locational howlers, the prize should go to the

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placement of Trichy towards the north of Malgudi. Actually, since Malgudi is situated between Madras and Tiruchirapalli, Trichy must be to the south of Malgudi, as a casual glance at the map of India will show.

Furthermore, the untouchable huts near the river are shown as "Untouchables (*sic*) village". Intensive scrutiny may reveal further discrepancies, but this is hardly the place to embark upon that kind of an exercise. One is only surprised to

know that this map has been printed in the book "at the request of R. K. Narayan". One wonders whether he had a careful look at it before he made the request. But then how can one blame an Indian author if he takes entirely on trust what renowned Publishing firms like Viking and Heinemann decide to print. ?

M. K. Naik is Professor of English at Karnataka University, Dharwar.

Atom for Peace

Rama Rao

India and the Atom

pp. 176, Allied, 1982, Rs. 50.00

Reviewed by Rakesh Kumar Datta

A book on India and the Atom by Col. Rama Rao, extolling the merits of atom mainly in the field of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, is a welcome step. Besides, recounting the technological advances that spurred the arms race, the author significantly projected India's advocacy for nuclear disarmament. However, her contributions will be more effective when she develops nuclear competence of her own.

The seven chapters alongwith eight appendices in the book provide useful technical data. It traces in the first chapter the development of nuclear science from the time radioactive phenomenon were investigated to the completion of the Manhattan Project in 1942, to the deployment of the atom bomb in 1945, which pushed the world into the age of the unclear war and diplomacy. Soon after it, the efforts to build the bomb began in the Soviet Union followed by Britain, France and China. The chapter also records the advances made in this regards in Israel, South Africa and Pakistan, which are trying hard to achieve the status of a nuclear Power.

The second chapter deals with the Super Powers, development in nuclear, space and weapon technology where both powers have directed their efforts toward designing

and developing sophisticated weaponry to maintain lead over each other. The period witnessed the birth of missiles, 'the TRIAD SYSTEM' which has added another dimension to the nuclear race. Further advances in electronics, space and laser technology is also going to contribute immensely, according to the author.

PEACEFUL USES

The third chapter discusses the peaceful use of nuclear energy and its valuable utilisation in the area of agriculture, evacuation, engineering, industry, medicine and for stimulating the economic growth of both developing and under-developed countries. Another potential area, where nuclear technology can contribute significantly is toward solving the energy crisis. While comparing the cost effectiveness of power from coal and nuclear energy the author has worked out the economics of the two and has gone heavily in favour of the latter duly supported with technical data.

In the Indian context again, the author has recommended the use of nuclear energy taking into consideration our limited oil and scanty resources. However, the differences between the unclear haves and those

who are determined to develop this power on the issues of N.P.T., international inspection, etc., have inhibited the harnessing of this energy for peaceful purposes at full scale.

Coming to the next chapter, which deals with India's nuclear technology, the author has traced its progress in five phases—starting from 1946 to the present critical phase, where fresh plans have to be evolved to make India self reliant in nuclear and space technology, besides creating the climate and facilities for rapid technological and industrial growth. Earlier, apart from outlining the importance of nuclear technology for India, the author has also hinted at India's nuclear policy of using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and her efforts for total and complete disarmament.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The fifth chapter on Nuclear Weapons and National Security, discusses the role of nuclear weapons in the contemporary situation where besides preventing a war their feverish build up is dangerously increasing the chances of war. While touching on the current U.S. doctrine for fighting nuclear war and the de-nuclearisation plan for the non-nuclear States, the Indian case for developing nuclear competence has been argued well.

The sixth chapter is devoted to the progress made in developing nuclear technology, since there have been rapid advances in this field during the past three decades. Fast Breeder Reactors utilising rich uranium as well as thorium are coming into use as power reactors, designed earlier, are getting obsolete. Other developments include fusion fission hybrid reactors and fusion machines beside developments in laser technology. The author has also covered India's nuclear technology programme, its failures and its few achievements in which a small beginning is indicated, but an emphasis has been laid for a more advantageous and a bolder programme in this field.

In the last chapter, the author has pointed at the feverish nuclear

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arms build up by both Super Powers and their endeavours to sustain the same. However, currently the European countries have started showing their concern at the deployment of nuclear weapons in their countries, which is a welcome step. Further, given the economic and political stakes that Europe constitutes for both the Super Powers, it has to take the lead in calling for dismantling and elimination of strategic weapons. In this regard, the author

has also highlighted the role of the third world countries and India in particular, which can play a useful part in promoting the cause of nuclear disarmament.

Authored by a distinguished military thinker the book provides a useful insight to its readers over the matter of nuclear energy.

Rakesh Kumar Dutta lectures in military studies at Punjabi University, Patiala.

INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE
Examines patterns of group formation and behaviour in Pakistan and their impact on political development.

Naik, M.K. *The Ironic Vision: A Study of the Fiction of R.K. Narayan*. Delhi, Sterling, 1981. 163 p. Rs. 80.00

Attempts an intensive scrutiny of the regional element in Narayan's fiction and its vital relationship with his ironic vision. A detailed scale map of Malgudi is also appended.

Books Received

(A brief notice here does not preclude a detailed review later on)

Das, Sasi Bhushan. Wilfred Owen's Influence on Three Generations of Poets. Calcutta, K.K. Roy, 1982. 282 p. Rs. 70.00 (Hardbound) Rs. 60.00 (Paperback)

Johari, J. C., ed. Indian Freedom Movement and Thought 1919-29 : Lal Bahadur. Delhi, Sterling, 1983. xvi, 443 p. Rs. 175.00.

This third volume of Das's Owen trilogy traces the influence of Wilfred Owen on the contemporaries—T. S. Eliot and Herbert Read, the 1930s poets (the Avden Group), and the poets of the Second World War.

Deals with a significant portion of contemporary Indian history and politics (1919-29) and places in perspective the role of the Swaraj Party led by Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das.

Fonseca, A. J. Food Aid for Relief and Development : An Evaluation. Delhi, Indian Social Institute, 1983. 134 p. Rs. 25.00

Kochanek, Stanley A. Interest Groups and Development: Business and Politics in Pakistan. Delhi, Oxford, 1983. xiv, 393 p. Rs. 110.00

Examines the significance of food aid and its social, economic and political implications at the national and programme levels. Concludes upon an analysis of benefits and damaging consequences of food imports and food aid for the domestic economy that India is ready for transition from food aid to food Security.

Ramanujam, G. *The Honey Bee: Towards a New Culture in Industrial Relations*. Delhi, Sterling, 1983. xii, 112 p. Rs. 45.00

Pleads for industrial relations based on 'community of interests' instead of those based on 'conflict of interests'.

Tariq Mehmood. *Hand on the Sun*. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1983. 156 p. £ 1.75

A novel on racial tensions that bring out boldly the anger, fear and resentment that lie at the heart of minority groups in England.

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